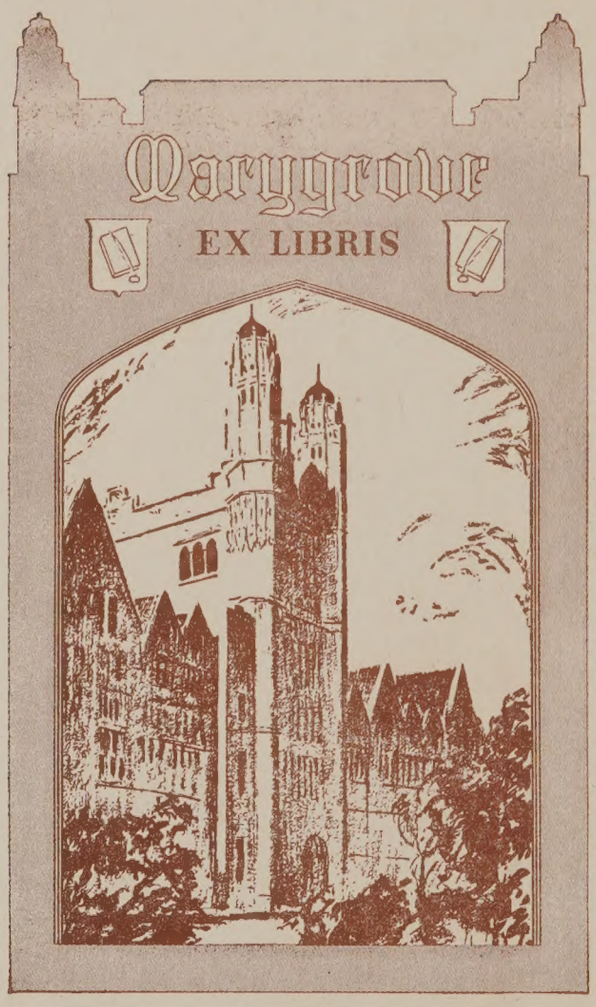



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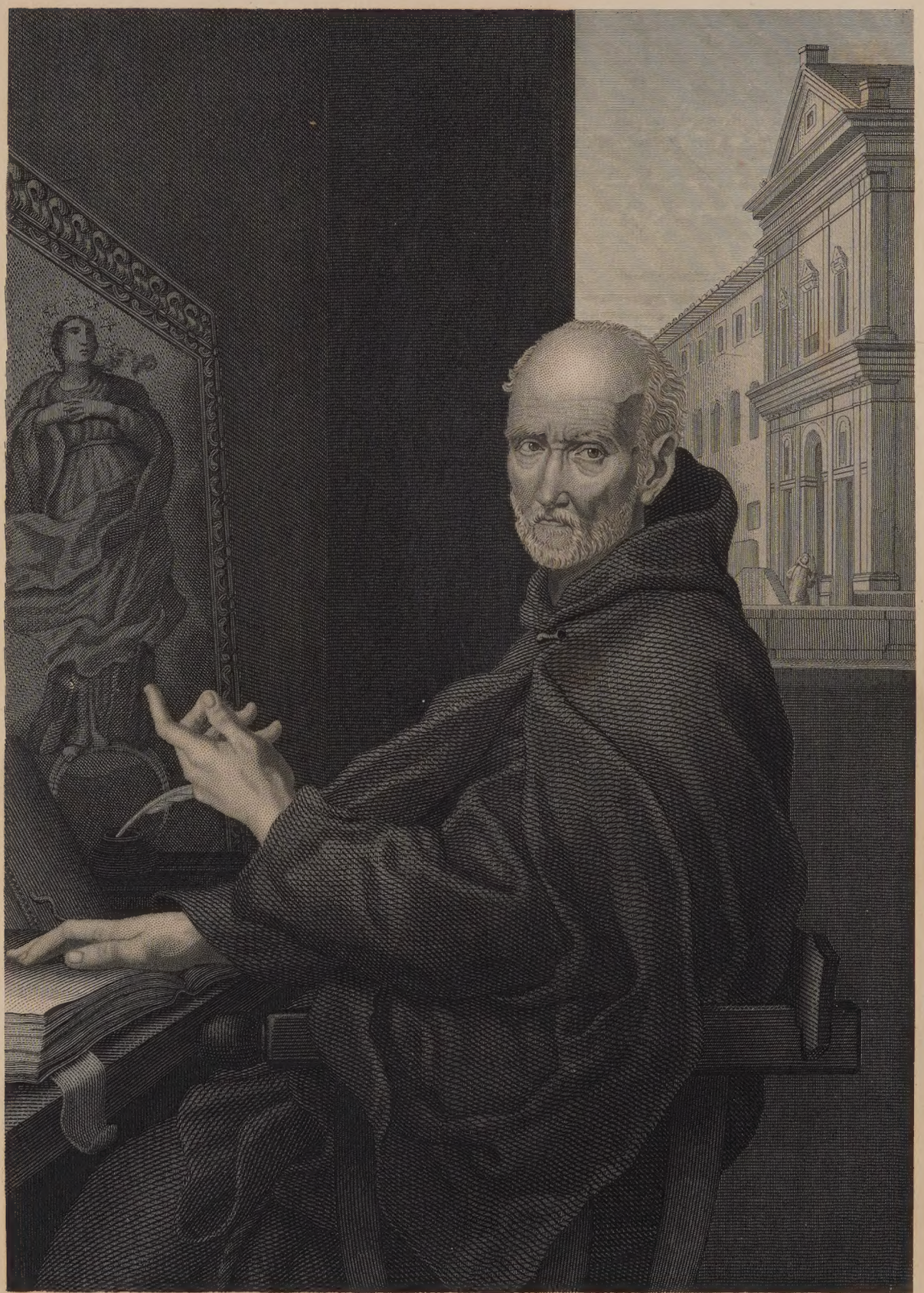
Mrs. Chas. R. Jackson
2535 Sheridan Ave
Detroit, Mich.

THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.





REV. LUKE WADDING.

NEW YORK, D & J SADLIER & Co

The History of Ireland



NEW YORK,
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THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

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TAKEN FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS,

AND

DEDICATED TO THE IRISH BRIGADE.

BY THE ABBÉ MAC-GOEGHEGAN.

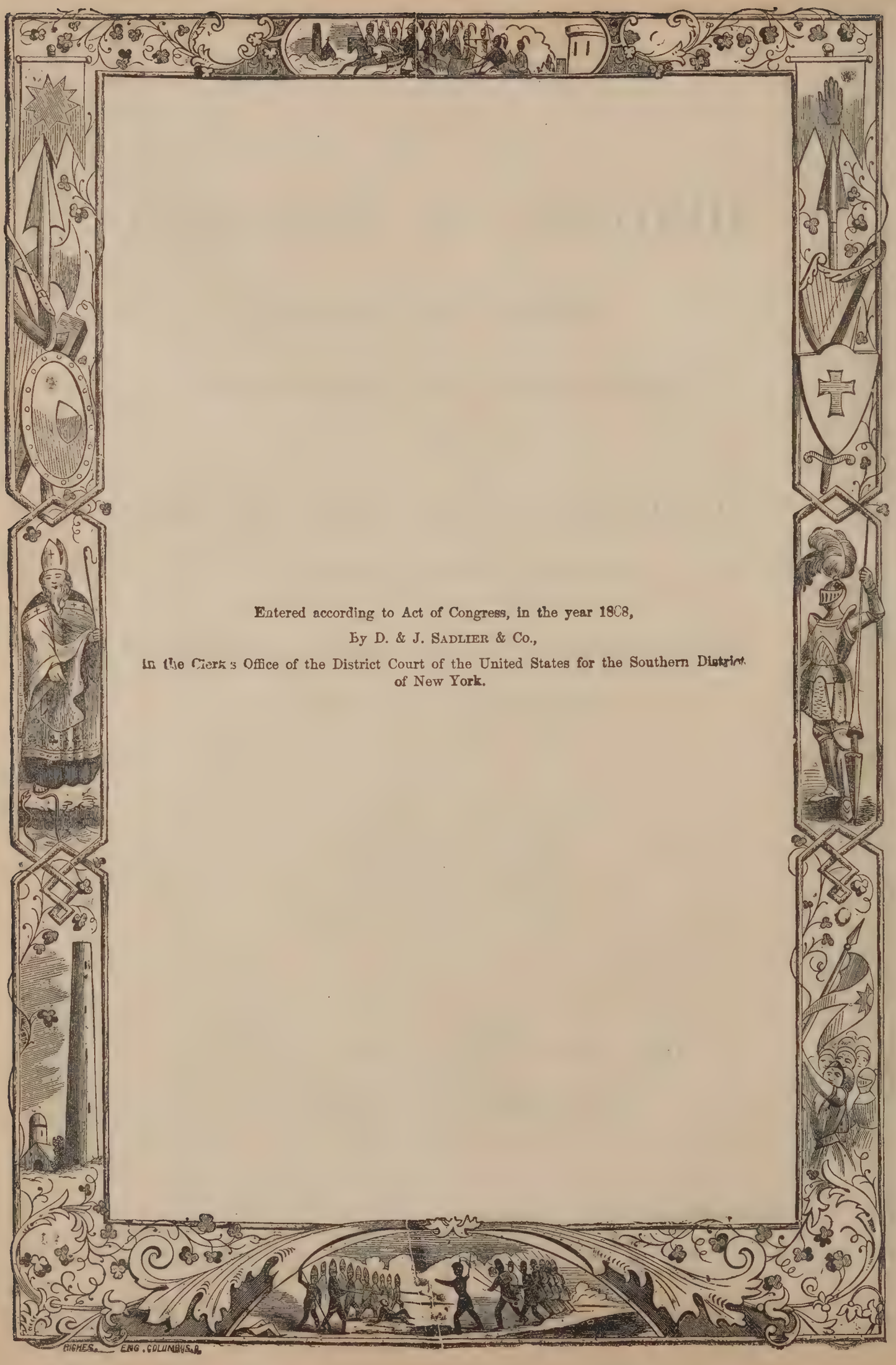
With a Continuation from the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time

BY JOHN MITCHEL.

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betray'd her:
When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from the proud invader;
When her kings, with standard of green unfurl'd,
Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger:
Ere the emerald gem of the western world
Was set in the crown of a stranger."

MOORE.

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HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

PREFACE.

One of the most important works that have ever been written respecting Ireland, is the history of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan. It may be a matter of surprise to the unthinking, that this most valuable and interesting history has not before this been translated into English; but this surprise must be lessened when we reflect, that, besides the distracted situation of this country, and the passions that have agitated her different sects and parties, there were other more powerful causes which might have prevented the publication of the great truths contained in this rare history of Ireland.

Under such circumstances it cannot be wondered at, that an impartial history, which has made known to France and to the Continent the wrongs and the sufferings of Ireland, and one that has accurately displayed the conduct of her enemies, and the struggles of her friends, should, even to this period, be unknown to the English reader.

The elegantly written calumnies of Hume have been generally circulated, while the plain truths of Mac-Geoghegan have been suppressed.

The circumstances which have given an impetus to the circulation of fiction, and the discountenancing of fact, are now at an end. The bad passions of Irishmen are subsiding, and the settlement of a great question (Catholic Emancipation) has taken away from all parties an interest in the concealment of what was just, while it has given to the people of all classes an inducement to know the truth alone, and nothing but the truth. With these objects solely, the translation of the work of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan has been undertaken.

The history of Ireland is generally complained of even in Ireland, while the ignorance of it in England has entailed upon Irishmen great and innumerable calamities. It is only by a knowledge of our country, that Englishmen can know how to estimate its worth, and, until a full and accurate knowledge of all its circumstances are attained, can the country expect justice to be done to it. Those, therefore, should be deemed the best friends to Ireland, who exert

themselves to induce their fellow-men to study her character, to know her situation, and to appreciate her value.

With such objects has the author of this Translation undertaken the risk of giving to both countries the work of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan; and from Irishmen at least, he looks with confidence for that support and patronage which patriotism alone should induce them to afford him

He begs the liberty, therefore, of subscribing himself their very humble and devoted servant,

PATRICK O'KELLY.

N. B. *Some portions of this valuable history were unavoidably omitted in the former edition, translated by Mr. O'Kelly, but they shall be inserted in this edition, which has been carefully revised and corrected by the Translator*

DEDICATION

TO THE IRISH TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.

GENTLEMEN,

To you I owe the homage of my labor; you owe to it the honor of your protection. The history of Ireland belongs to you, as being that of your ancestors; it is their shades that I invoke in a foreign land; it is their glory that I recall The records of their exploits and virtues, which fill a space of so many ages, I here bring to your review.

Among all the virtues, whereof you shall see so many brilliant examples, you will remark two that were peculiarly dear to your ancestors, viz., an ardent zeal for the true religion so soon as they were made acquainted with it, and an inviolable fidelity to their kings: such are the qualities, gentlemen, which still characterize you.

Europe, towards the end of the last century, was surprised to see your fathers abandon the delights of a fertile country, renounce the advantages which an illustrious birth had given them in their native land, and tear themselves from their possessions, from kindred, friends, and from all that nature and fortune had made dear to them; she was astonished to behold them deaf to the proposals of a liberal usurper, and following the fortunes of a fugitive king, to seek with him, in foreign climes, fatigues and danger, content with their misfortune, as the seal of their fidelity to unhappy masters.

France, which among so many virtues (of which she is a model) places in the first rank loyalty to her kings, was delighted to see those strangers dispute with her the glory of it: she gladly opened to them a generous bosom, being persuaded that men so devoted to their princes, would not be less so to their benefactors; and felt a pleasure in seeing them march under her banners. Your ancestors have not disappointed her hopes. Nerwinde, Marseilles, Barcelona, Cremona, Luzara,

Spire, Castiglione, Almanza, Villa Viciosa,* and many other places, witnesses of their immortal valor, consecrated their devotedness for the new country which had adopted them. France applauded their zeal, and the greatest of monarchs raised their praise to the highest pitch by honoring them with the flattering title of "his brave Irishmen."

The example of their chiefs animated their courage; the Viscounts Mountcashel† and Clare,‡ the Count of Lucan,§ the Dillons, Lees, Rothes, O'Donnels, Fitzgeralds, Nugents, and Galmoys,‖ opened to them on the borders of the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Po, the career of glory, while the O'Mahonys, MacDonnels, Lawlesses, the Lacys, the Burks, O'Carrols, Craftons, Comerford, Gardner, and O'Connor, crowned themselves with laurels on the shores of the Tagus.

The neighboring powers wished to have in their service the children of those great men; Spain retained some of you near her throne. Naples invited you to her fertile country: Germany called you to the defence of her eagles. The Taffs, the Hamiltons, O'Dwyers,¶ Browns, Wallaces, and O'Neills, supported the majesty of the empire, and were intrusted with its most important posts. The ashes of Mareschal Brown,** are every day watered with the tears of the soldiers to whom he was so dear, while the O'Donnels, Maguires, Lacys, and others, endeavored to form themselves after the example of that great man.

Russia, that vast and powerful empire, an empire which has passed suddenly from obscurity to so much glory, wished to learn the military discipline from your corps. Peter the Great, that penetrating genius and hero, the creator of a nation which is now triumphant, thought he could not do better than confide that essential part of the art of war to the Field Mareschal de Lacy; and the worthy daughter of that great emperor, always intrusted to that warrior the principal defence of the august throne which she filled with so much glory. Finally the Viscount Fermoy,†† general officer in the service of Sardinia, has merited all the confidence of that crown.

But why recall those times that are so long past? Why do I seek your heroes in those distant regions? Permit me, Gentlemen, to bring to your recollection that great day, for ever memorable in the annals of France; let me remind you of the plains of Fontenoy, so precious to your glory; those plains were in con-

* M. de Vendôme, called the Chevalier de Bellerive, who had a particular esteem for that warlike nation, at the head of whose sons he had fought so many battles and gained so many victories, confessed that he was surprised at the dreadful feats that these army-butchers (as he called them) had performed in his presence.—*Camp de Vendome*, p. 224.

† M'Carthy. ‡ O'Brien. § Sarsfield ‖ Butler

¶ General O'Dwyer was commander of Belgrade.

** He was nephew of General Brown

†† Roche, otherwise de la Roche.

cert with chosen French troops, the valiant Count of Thomond* being at your head, you charged with so much valor an enemy so formidable; animated by the presence of the august sovereign who rules over you, you contributed with so much success, to the gaining of a victory, which, till then, appeared doubtful. Lawfeld beheld you, two years afterwards, in concert with one of the most illustrious corps of France,† force intrenchments which appeared to be impregnable. Menin, Ypres, Tournay, saw you crown yourselves with glory under their walls, while your countrymen, under the standards of Spain, performed prodigies of valor at Campo Sancto and at Veletri.

But while I am addressing you, a part of your corps is flying to the defence of the allies of Louis,‡ another is sailing over the seas to seek amidst the waves another hemisphere, the eternal enemies of his empire.§

Behold, gentlemen, what all Europe contemplates in you; behold herein the qualities which have gained esteem for you, even from your most unjust enemies Could a compatriot to whom the glory of Ireland is so dear, refuse to you his admiration? Accept, gentlemen, this small tribute of it.

Honor with your support a history, which the love for my country has caused me to undertake; your protection and patronage will render this work respectable, and may merit some indulgence for its defects; it should have none, were my labor and zeal equal to render it worthy of those to whom I dedicate it

I am, with profound respect,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble and most obedient servant,

J. MAC-GEOGHEGAN.

* At present Mareschal of France, Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Commander of Languedoc.

† The King's Regiment.

‡ The regiment of Fitzjames, composed of Irish cavalry, in the army of the Prince of Suabia, distinguished itself at the battle of Rosbach, against the Prussians.

§ General Lally, with his regiment, embarked for Pondicherry.

INTRODUCTION

To observe order and system in writing this history, I have thought proper to divide it into three parts, the objects of which appeared to me equally interesting. The first comprises the times which had passed from the establishment of the Scoto-Milesians in Ireland, down to the first century; that part, therefore, during which the island had been buried in the darkness of paganism, I call "Pagan Ireland."

The second commences with the beginning of Christianity in that country in the fifth, and continues until the twelfth century: this part I call "Christian Ireland."

Lastly, the third comprises the different invasions of the English, their establishment in that country, and all that has occurred down to our time.

In the first part, or Pagan Ireland, will be seen, first, the natural history of the country; second, a critical essay on the antiquities of the Milesians; third the fabulous history of the Gadelians; fourth, the religion and customs of the Milesians; fifth, their civil and political government; sixth, their domestic and foreign wars; seventh, the different names under which that country has been known to the natives and to strangers; eighth, its general and particular divisions, its dynasties, and territories; also, the names and origin of those who were the proprietors of it.

In the second part, or Christian Ireland, will be seen, besides its profane history, the great progress that religion and learning had made from the fifth to the ninth century; the confusion caused to the state, and the disorder which prevailed in the church for some time, by the invasion of the Danes; tranquillity restored, and the exercise of religion re-established in its ancient splendor after the final defeat of those barbarians, which happened in the beginning of the eleventh century, until the arrival of the English towards the end of the twelfth.

Lastly, in the third part shall be described the manner in which some English colonies came to establish themselves in Ireland in the twelfth century; the wars which they made upon the old inhabitants of the country during four hundred years; the reunion of the two people in the reign of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England; finally, we shall conclude by giving a detail of the strange revolutions which have, since that time, arisen to Ireland.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

THE AUTHOR.

The times in which the writer of this work was born, form so remarkable an epoch in the History of Ireland, that, before I enter into any account of his early life, it may not be amiss to make some remarks upon the principal features by which they were characterized. Ireland was then, in very truth, suffering, prostrate, trodden to the earth, and ground down by every kind of oppression, the most iniquitous and tyrannical. Every vestige of freedom was obliterated, and the remnants of her ancient glory still visible, bearing the marks of recent violence, spoke but too eloquently of the past, while they seemed but little calculated to awaken hopes of future amelioration. Every thing bore an aspect drear and desolate; whole towns and villages were forsaken. Here stood the dilapidated tower; there the ruined abbey, its altar desecrated and its shrines polluted, while its inmates, hunted like the game of the hills, endeavored

—— "in a strange land to find
That rest, which at home they had sought for in vain."

The war that placed William firmly on the English throne, and banished his imbecile and wretched predecessor, the unfortunate James, from the realm of his fathers, had been brought to a close before the walls of Limerick—"City of the violated treaty." The illustrious leader of Ireland's armies, Patrick Sarsfield, created "Earl of Lucan," and the other commanders, made their last stand within the walls of this city, where the articles of treaty were entered into, and in a short time after so basely violated, although ratified and sanctioned by the solemnity of an oath. And thus the "Island of the Betrayed," foolishly confiding in the honor of a monarch of England, having, besides, the apparently good

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

security of his solemn oath, fell, the victim of perfidy, perjury, and broken faith into the ruthless hands of the worst and the wickedest of tyrants. Every species of persecution was had recourse to against the professors of the Catholic faith, and every inducement held out to allure the people from the religion of their fathers. To prevent the education of future ministers, and deprive the people of a priesthood—the only safeguard of a faith, and the true source for its conveyance from generation to generation—all the iniquitous laws of Elizabeth were strictly enforced against the ecclesiastical institutions for the diffusion of theological and philosophical information. In a word, the bloody tragedies of Henry and his virgin daughter's reigns were reacted, with every addition which the improved taste, sharpened by the experience of the actors, could suggest.

The dreadful manner in which the Catholic clergy and people were treated, elicited the sympathy and commiseration of the rest of Europe. Among the many letters of condolence addressed to the clergy and people of Ireland during these times of horror, there is one from the then Supreme Pontiff, Innocent XII., dated at St. Mary Major, on the 10th of June, 1698. In this letter the holy father, after speaking in feeling language of the ordeal of persecution the church of Ireland had undergone, exhorts the prelates and people to confidence in the mercies of Him who suffered so much for the salvation of sinners. "Nor" (says he) "are your sufferings like those of yesterday; they are the sufferings of centuries; your nation, renowned for sanctity, has preserved for ages the glory of the faith, to your eternal honor, and the salvation of your souls. Therefore, suffer all things with Christian patience, knowing that the Lord will not permit any being to be tried beyond his strength.—As to us, our prayers shall be unceasing before the throne of mercy." Thus was Ireland situated in the reign of William. In the latter end of that reign, about the year 1698, the subject of this sketch was born, in the neighborhood of Mullingar, in the province of Leinster. His father belonged to that class commonly designated as "substantial country farmers," and finding in his son a desire to enter a college and prepare himself for the ministry, he determined to part with him, "it might be for years, it might be for ever," and procure him that education in a foreign college, which unjust laws deprived him of at home. Thus braving every danger, at a tender age the young aspirant embarked for France, and entered the college of Rheims, then celebrated for the learning and ability of its professors.

From the time of Mr. Mac-Geoghegan's entrance into this celebrated institution to the time of his ordination, I can find but very scanty means of information

as regards his progress. This alone is certain, that he distinguished himself as a student of Philosophy, and obtained, in his general examination in Theology, the first prize afforded by the faculty at Rheims. Having obtained his sacerdotal ordination, he continued still in the College, acquiring further knowledge, and preaching occasionally in the churches of the city. About the year 1736, our historian went to England as chaplain to an English gentleman, whose name I have not been able to ascertain. During Mac-Geoghegan's engagement with his gentleman, he found means to travel into Ireland, and visit his native place. We may well imagine what were his feelings at the sight of the manifold sufferings and dreadful persecutions under which his poor countrymen were laboring. Having travelled through countries where his faith was triumphant, where respect was paid to conscientious conviction, where men were not "hanged and quartered" for worshipping God, where license was not given to a libertine soldiery to satiate their base appetites in defenceless villages, and there murder, in cold blood, large crowds of men, women, and children, he must have contemplated, in bitterness of heart, the melancholy scenes poor Ireland then presented We next find Mr. Mac-Geoghegan in Paris, attached to one of its churches, actively engaged in the duties of the ministry. At this time his historical labors seem to have commenced: a time when exiled Irishmen displayed to the world their valor, their piety, and their prowess. In those days France numbered among her armies a corps, which none, even the most inveterate enemy of Ireland, dared deny to be the flower of chivalry, the saviours of France, the terror of England,—"The Irish Brigade." The illustrious "Dillon," foremost of the first, best of the good, bravest of the brave, witness to the broken treaty of Limerick, together with many others of his countrymen, went over to France, and there formed the gallant band of which he was unanimously appointed leader. In this place it is unnecessary to say any thing more about the "Irish Brigade." Their deeds of valor are matters of history: and the well-fought field of "Fontenoi," where,—at the soul-stirring watchword from the lips of Dillon, "Irishmen, remember Limerick!"—the tyrant Saxon persecutor bit the dust, or fled in confusion, before the thundering charge of the glorious exiles of poor Ireland, will be, while the world remains, the monument of their valor.

To this Brigade our historian had the honor of being chaplain. It was in very truth an enviable position. With what great and good men did it not give him perpetual intercourse! There was Dillon, Purcell, Cusack, Butler, and a host of others, in whose society Mac-Geoghegan spent much of his time. At the

earnest request of many of the Irish exiles then in France, he compiled the present work in the French language, and dedicated it to the "Irish Brigade." As regards the merit of the work, one opinion has always prevailed, that among the many works already written on the subject, that by Mac-Geoghegan is unrivalled for discrimination, sound judgment, and freedom from all prejudice. Besides this, no writer could have within his reach better sources of testimony. The libraries of Paris, stored with the best works on Ireland, were perfectly at his disposal; and as to the important affairs connected with the reigns of James the First and Second, there could be no better means of acquiring information than those within the immediate reach of our writer. Mr. Mac-Geoghegan did not long enjoy the well-earned fame acquired by his literary labors. In the discharge of his holy duties a fever attacked him, and he died in the year 1750, regretted by his friends, (he had no enemies,) and was buried in Paris, where a simple slab records his name

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RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

The nation which forms the subject of this history is, without doubt, one of the most ancient in Europe.

An idea of its history must be agreeable to such as are desirous of exploring its antiquity. The situation of Ireland having rendered it difficult of access to invaders, her inhabitants lived during many ages free from all insult from their neighbors. They cultivated the arts, sciences, and letters, which they had borrowed from the most polished people of their time, the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and the patronage which their princes afforded to learning, joined to the esteem in which they held those who made a profession of it, contributed much to its advancement. A system of government founded on the laws of nature and humanity, influenced their morals. Some princes, possessed of a justice worthy of the first Christians, appeared like so many stars in an obscure night, from time to time upon the throne, and gave vigor to the laws enervated by the weakness of their predecessors.*

Ollam Fodla, one of their monarchs, summoned a triennial assembly at Teamor,† in order to regulate the affairs of the state, and to examine into the genealogies of families. He established schools for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, which the people had received from the ancients. Ugane-Mor, Aongus Tuirmeach, and Eocha Felioch, who had re-established the pentarchy, rendered jurisprudence vigorous, added new lustre to the laws, and granted a particular privilege to learning. Fearadach the Just, Feidlim the Legislator, Cormac Ulfada, and Cairbre the Second, surnamed Liffeachair, followed the example of their predecessors. The learned in jurisprudence who flourished in the different reigns, assisted the princes by their counsels.

Learning was not the sole occupation of the Scoto-Milesians; without mentioning their domestic wars, they often measured their arms, not only with the Picts, the Britons, and neighboring islanders, but with the Romans themselves, who were then the masters of the world. The expeditions of Eocha the Second, of Aongus Ollbuagach, son of Fiacha the First, Aongus the First, Ugane-Mor, Criomthan the First, Nial the Great, Dathy, and the dreadful devastations which they committed among the Britons, (of which Gildas complains,) furnish sufficient proofs of it.

The warlike character of the Scoto-Milesians appeared again, with splendor, in the long wars which they maintained against the Danes, and which lasted with doubtful success, from the beginning of the ninth century till 1014, when those barbarians were totally defeated at Clontarf by the valiant Brian Boroimhe, the monarch of the island, while they abandoned to them some other provinces, to free themselves of so formidable an enemy. Merit was not left unrewarded among them: the nobles were distinguished from each other, and they again from the people, by the number of colors, which each wore according to his rank. Enna the First ordered silver shields to be given to those chiefs who distinguished themselves in war; Muinemon added to them chains of gold, and Aldergode decreed gold rings as a reward to those who would distinguish themselves in the arts and sciences.

Lastly, the antiquaries, doctors, bards, or poets, called also "Fileas," were rewarded with lands, which had been assigned for them.

During the fifth century, Christianity presented new scenes in Ireland. That nation, so attached to the superstitions of paganism and idolatry, and versed in the theology of the Druids, became afterwards, by the preaching of the Gospel, the theatre of religion, and a seminary for strangers, while Gothic ignorance spread itself over the face of Europe. Thus, it may be said, that the four first ages of Christianity were the most brilliant, both of the ancient and modern history of that people; but the harmony of the

* Ante C. 720 † Afterwards called Tara.

government and glory of Christianity became eclipsed in the ninth century, by the frequent invasions of the northern barbarians, who had overrun, about the same period, the greatest part of Europe. Their incursions continued for two centuries with doubtful success; the barbarians were often defeated, and in the end totally expelled.

The constitution of the state had been so shaken by this war, that it could never be re-established, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made. A decay in religion, and corruption in the morals of the people, from their intercourse with the barbarians; the interruption to the legitimate succession to the throne, which occurred about the time of Malachy the Second, by the intrusion of the provincial kings; and the different factions always attendant upon usurpation, brought insurmountable obstacles to its re-establishment, and were favorable circumstances to the ambition and cupidity of a neighboring nation.

Although history was cultivated among the Scoto-Milesians, more than among any of their contemporaries, notwithstanding also their great care to preserve to posterity the remembrance of their exploits; yet that people were but little known to the learned before Christianity. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, and other writers, have made their ignorance appear, by giving arbitrary descriptions of this island, and by their exaggerated representations of the rudeness and barbarity of its inhabitants.

The English, having, in the twelfth century, put an end to the Irish monarchy, and wishing to give a color of justice to their usurpation, and to the tyranny which they exercised against the inhabitants of the country, have, without any other title than a fictitious bull of Adrian the Fourth, and the right of the strongest, represented the Irish as savages, who inhabited the woods,* and who never obeyed the laws, as if these titles were sufficient for stripping them of their properties.† What! that people so renowned in the first ages of Christianity for their piety and learning, and among whom the Anglo-Saxons themselves went, according to their own historians, to be instructed, during the centuries which preceded the invasion of the English, are all of a sudden reduced to the condition of savages![‡] The metamorphosis is too difficult to be admitted, and at the same time too obvious for us not to feel how absurd such an accusation must be. A nation that wishes to enslave others, generally treats those who will not submit to its laws as savages: a little attention, however, paid to the state in which Ireland then was, and to the pretensions of the English, will easily destroy the imposture. More than two thousand years had already elapsed, during which that people, commanded by native princes, were governed by their own laws; consequently they would not receive those of strangers, in whom they discovered neither character to inspire them with awe, nor power to make them obey. Although part of Ireland had at first submitted to the English, still more than two-thirds of it, far from bending under a yoke that seemed odious to them, were always under arms, to defend both their lives and properties against those tyrants. If he that repels an enemy, who comes armed to invade his patrimony, should be treated as a barbarian or a savage, the most polished nations and the most magnanimous merit the same appellations. Gerald Barry, a priest, and native of the country of Wales, in England, called in Latin, Cambria, (from whence is derived the name of Cambrensis, under which he is known,) was the first stranger who undertook to write the history of Ireland, in order to perpetuate the calumnies which his countrymen had already published against its inhabitants.

Circumstances required that they should make the Irish pass for barbarians. The title of Henry the Second was founded only upon a bull obtained clandestinely from Pope Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman by birth. The cause of this bull was a false statement which Henry had given to the Pope of the impiety and barbarism of the Irish nation. Cambrensis was then ordered to verify, by writing, the statement upon which the granting of the bull had been extorted. He did not fail to intermix his work with calumnies, and groundless absurdities; however, the credit of a powerful king knew how to make even the court of Rome believe them. It was in this spirit that Cambrensis wrote his history, and from thence the English authors have taken the false coloring under which ancient Ireland has been represented. Passion and interest made them pass over the recantation which Cambrensis felt himself obliged to make, in the latter part of his life, of several false and calumnious imputations, with which his history had been filled. Cambrensis did not possess the necessary requisites for an histo-

* Sylvestres Hiberni.

† Camd. edit. Lond. p. 730.

‡ "They retired hither, for the sake either of divine study, or a more chaste life."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 27

rian. History is not a mere production of the mind: it is an assemblage of facts, the arrangement of which depends alone upon the author. To write the history of a country it is essential to know it, likewise the character and genius of its inhabitants, and to be capable of consulting its annals. Cambrensis possessed none of these qualities with respect to Ireland, the history whereof he undertook to write. It is true, that he had been twice in that country, first through curiosity, in 1171, to witness the advancement of his relations and friends; secondly, as preceptor of John, Earl of Mortagne, son of Henry the Second, to whom the king his father had given the title of Lord of Ireland. In those two voyages he remained but eighteen months in Ireland, and saw about one third of it, which alone obeyed the English; he could not with safety put his foot into any other part of the kingdom. Being incapable of consulting the records of the country, (written in a language to which he was altogether a stranger,) he was obliged to substitute, instead of truth, falsehoods, and the productions of a prejudiced mind, to swell his volumes. Could a stranger, after spending some months at Paris, without knowing either the language, consulting our historians, or visiting the learned men of the country, be capable of writing a history of France? If he chose to describe the morals and customs of the lowest among the people, without even alluding to the heroic virtues of our kings, the bravery and generosity of our nobles, and the acknowledged merit of an infinite number of our fellow-citizens; if he dwelt, in fine, on what was most vile, without speaking of the civil and military government, or of the fundamental constitution of the state, could such a man aspire to the title of historian? Would it not be the true means of rendering the author contemptible, together with his work? Such has been precisely the disposition and capacity of Gerald Cambrensis. Have not the Irish an equal right to complain of him, as Josephus (in his first book against Appion) complains of some Greek authors who undertook to compose the history of the Jewish war, the destruction of Jerusalem, and captivity of the Jews, from hearsay, without having been ever in the country, or seen the things of which they wrote, and who, he said, imprudently assumed to themselves the title of historians?

Our ambitious author, wishing, as he himself says, to acquire glory and immortalize his name* by a description of Ireland, wrote five books in Latin, the three first under the title of "Topography of Ireland," and the other two under that of "Ireland conquered by Henry the Second." Those are indeed pompous titles, but are not at all applicable to so imperfect and weak a production; the title of Topography is unfitly applied to the description of a whole kingdom, and the name of Conquest does not belong to an agreement made between Henry the Second and a part of that nation. It was under such titles, however, that he had the presumption to begin, and promise, not only the history of the actual state of Ireland, but also of its antiquities.

It is not to be wondered at that Cambrensis has succeeded so ill, and that his work deserves not even the name of history. He was prejudiced against the Irish people, and his ignorance of their language rendered him incapable of consulting their annals. He had seen but the few cities which were in the power of the English, and continued in the country too short a time to make the necessary researches; that care he committed to his friend Bertrand Verdon, who remained in it but six months after him; therefore the collection of materials, which could serve as a basis to his pretended history of Ireland, was so inconsiderable, and so filled with fiction, that he never gave even the description of a county, town, or village, not even of that part* of it which he had seen. He gives us for a history the fabulous narrative of four fountains, three islands, three lakes, and the sources of four rivers,† of which the Shannon, the most considerable, discharges itself, according to him, into the North Sea. He scarcely mentions who were the first inhabitants of the country. As to the Scoto-Milesians, who were the peaceful possessors of it for more than two thousand years before his time, he contents himself by saying, that there had been a continued and uninterrupted succession of one hundred and eighty-one monarchs, who reigned over that people, but says nothing of their history, laws, government, or of their wars; neither does he furnish any catalogue of their kings. He, in a few words, says that the six sons of Muredus, king of the province of Ulster, had made a descent upon Scotland. The invasions and wars of the Danes in Ireland he touches upon very lightly, but is grossly deceived, as much in

* "I will be read by the people, and if the predictions of the prophets contain in them any truth, I will live by fame through every age."—*Cambrensis, Preface.*

* Grat. Luc. cap. 10, page 100

† Grat. Luc. cap. 2, page 6

reference to the period of their first landing in that country, (which he fixes in the year 838,) as he is respecting the name, exploits, and country of Gormundus. Such reveries he has no doubt borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Like certain animals, which wallow in mire, and prefer it to the sweetest flowers,* he attached himself to whatever he could discover meanest and most vile among the people; unsupported likewise by any written authority, or the evidence of any correct or impartial man, he composed an absurd collection of old women's, sailors', and soldiers' stories, which he seasons with scandalous aspersions, satires, and invectives against the nation; neither prince nor people, clergy, secular or reglar, are spared: he respects nothing; every thing becomes the object of his calumnies and detraction.† Having spent five years in composing this fine work, the five books of his pretended history of Ireland came forth. In raptures with that new production of his genius, and unable to conceal his vanity, Cambrensis repaired to Oxford,‡ where, in presence of learned doctors and the assembled people, he read, after the example of the Greeks, his topography, during three successive days, giving to each book an entire day. To render the comedy more solemn, he treated the whole town splendidly for three days: the first was appropriated to the populace; the second to the doctors, professors, and principal scholars of the university; and lastly, the third day he regaled the other scholars, soldiers, and citizens of the town: "a noble and brilliant action," says Cambrensis himself, "whereby the ancient custom of the poets has been, for the first time, renewed in England." But unfortunately for him, the success did not answer his expectations: it was easily seen, particularly at court, that the bad choice he had made of the materials whereof his history had been composed, and the fables he had introduced into it, could be but the effect of his ignorance, or hatred for the Irish nation. They were not astray for the cause of that hatred; besides the private quarrel which he had with Aubin O'Molloy, monk of the order of Citeaux, and abbot of Baltinglass, in which he was defeated, and which excited his anger against that nation, he wished for the ruin and destruction altogether of the Irish, who might prove an obstacle to the aggrandizement of his relations and friends, as appears from his second book on the conquest of that people. Nothing tends to discover* more easily the malignity and inconsistency of Cambrensis' mind, than the extremes into which he lets himself be carried. Sometimes he extols with warmth the merit of his relations, newly established in that country; again he exclaims violently against the English and Normans, engaged with them in the same cause, against the Irish.

While king Henry II. lived, that prince was, according to him, "the Alexander of the west," "the Invincible," "the Solomon of his age," "the most pious of princes," who had the glory of repressing the fury of the gentiles, not only of Europe, but likewise of Asia, beyond the Mediterranean. The most extravagant phrases which the refined flatterer could invent were not spared in extolling him, contrary to reason and common sense; for example, he did not blush to say of that prince, that his victories and conquests were limited only by the circumference and extremities of the earth. However, so soon as the king was dead, (as David Powell remarks,) he broke forth into a thousand invectives against his memory, in the book entitled "The Instructions of a Prince," and gave free vent to his ancient enmity against him. That alone should suffice to characterize this author, and to show to what little credit every thing else which he advanced is entitled.

The reproaches which were directed against Cambrensis for having inserted in his writings so much fabulous matter, obliged him to recant what he had advanced, both by an apology, inserted in the preface to his book, called "The Conquest of Ireland," and in a treatise on "Recantation." In these he acknowledges that, although he had learned from men of that country, worthy of belief, many things which he mentions, he had followed the reports of the vulgar in many others; but he thinks as St. Augustine, in his book on "The City of God," that we should not positively affirm, nor absolutely

* "He hath defiled his writings with the filthiness of the rabble: he resolved to stuff the whole nation with the imperfections of the populace, recorded by himself, like the spider which draws poison from the thyme, from which the bee extracts honey. He has thus formed, from among the most abandoned of the Irish, a package; leaving those things which he found most eminent, unnoticed. Whatsoever filth he discovered, appeared as a gem o him; with it, as if most precious, has he arranged his productions and work, so that, like the swine, he delights more in the dunghill than to enjoy himself amidst the sweetest odors."—*Gratianus Lucius*, p. 5, c 41.

† Grat. Lucius, cap. 5, p. 38.

‡ Usser. Silog. edit. Par Epist. 49, p 84, et 85

* Grat. Luc c 7, p. 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, &c.

deny, the things we have only from hearsay. Sir James Ware, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," knew how to appreciate with justice the merit of our author. The following is the opinion he holds of him: "Cambrensis," said he, "has collected into his topography so many fabulous things, that it would require an entire volume to discuss it correctly." In the mean time he warns the reader to peruse it with caution; he then adds, "That it astonishes him how men of his time, otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed upon the world, by giving as truths the fictions of Cambrensis."*

But, notwithstanding these incontestable proofs of the fallacy and imposture in the writings of this discredited author, and although they had lain 400 years in obscurity, until 1602, when Camden had them published at Frankfort, all who have spoken of the Irish since that period, but particularly the English, have no other foundation for their abuses against them than the authority of that impostor. The evil has become so general throughout Europe, that in most books and geographical treatises, wherein there is mention of the manners and customs of nations, we find upon the Irish only the poisoned darts which Cambrensis had directed against them.†

After the character now drawn of Cambrensis, let the judicious and impartial reader judge if he can be considered as a grave historian, and one worthy of credit; or if he should not, on the contrary, be looked upon as a libeller and impostor, who sought, by amusing the public with absurd tales, to disgrace, against all truth and justice, an entire nation. All others among the English who have undertaken to write the history of Ireland, particularly since the Reformation, have, "like the asp that borrows the venom of the viper,"‡ taken the same tone as Cambrensis, and faithfully followed his tracks; among that number are, Hanmer, Campion, Spencer, Camden, &c. By breathing the same air as he, they were animated by the same spirit, and have inherited all his hatred against the Irish.

It is then but reasonable that every stranger of good discernment should distrust all that has appeared on the affairs of Ireland from the pens of such authors, and from those who have followed their footsteps; it is a rare virtue in an enemy to render justice to his adversary, and there are none from whom we could less expect it than from the English. Their natural presumption, inflamed by success, has caused them to act at all times as if they were exempt from following the ordinary rules of justice and humanity towards those whose bad fortune had submitted to their laws. For the truth of this statement we can call upon the testimony of the Welch, the Scotch, and other nations, over whom they have ruled during some time. As to Ireland, we can assert that they have never ceased to govern it with a rod of iron. Would it be, then, reasonable to attach belief to all that such masters have disseminated throughout the world in order to palliate their own injustice?

The same motives which actuated Cambrensis in the twelfth century, have guided the pens of the English historians since the Reformation. The Irish could never bring themselves to renounce the religion of their forefathers, or embrace the new maxims of the reformers; their perseverance in the simplicity of the primitive faith has become a pretext for dispossessing them of the patrimony of their ancestors, and for turning their most unoffending acts into pretended causes for condemning them. When the strong man has resolved to oppress the weak, it is easy to find a cause for his oppression, and give to it an appearance of justice.

The history of Lord Clarendon would appear to merit some respect in public estimation, by the rank of state minister, which he held under the kings Charles I. and II.; but every prepossession in his favor will lose much of its weight when it is known, that that minister contributed much to the dreadful fate of the father, and intended also to ruin the son, by the excessive regard he manifested through life for the parliamentarians, and the strong aversion he entertained towards the Catholics. His apprehensions of seeing the authority of the parliament annihilated by a victorious king, caused him to use all his influence and artifice with Charles I. to divert him from the good use he should have made of his victories. His hatred to the Catholics made him thwart every offer of service which the

* "Many things concerning Ireland could be noticed in this place as fabulous, which Cambrensis hath heaped together in his topography. To analyze or descant upon each would require a whole tract. Caution should be particularly applied by the reader to his topography, which Giraldus himself confesses. I cannot but express my surprise, how men now-a-days, otherwise grave and learned, have obtruded on the world the fictions of Giraldus for truths."—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, c. 23.

† Grat. Luc. c. 1, page 4.

‡ "They are borne by a similar propensity to traduce the Irish, (as it is expressed in the proverb,) the asp borrows poison from the viper."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c 1, p. 3.

confederates of Ireland continued to make to the king against his rebellious parliament, offers of service for which they asked no other recompense than a moderate liberty in the exercise of their religion. Although the king had, on various occasions, consented to receive them, that minister, with his associates, contrived to render them unavailing. Clarendon displayed anew, under Charles II., when restored, the surprising effect of the two passions which guided him. The wicked Cromwellians, who merited the heaviest punishments that could be inflicted, were rewarded at the expense of the faithful Irish, the properties of a great number of whom were sacrificed to the detestable maxim which Clarendon, in order to cover his flagrant injustice, influenced the young king, too easily led, to adopt; it was, "Win your enemies by doing good to them: you will be always sure of your friends." The above facts had passed before Clarendon wrote his history; he was obliged to adopt every thing that malice and self-interest could excite among the Cromwellians, for the purpose of blackening the Irish, and palliating his own conduct.

Doctor Burnet found it too much his interest, in the revolution which happened in the reign of James II., not to give to that event the most specious coloring. Unable to amass a fortune by an upright course, he became a preacher and firebrand of sedition. The rich bishopric of Salisbury was too considerable a reward for a venal writer, who was not curbed by the reins either of probity or religion; still the refusal given him by the prince of Orange, of the archbishopric of Canterbury, armed him against his benefactor, and caused him to unveil truths that were not honorable to that prince's memory. How much vanity and self-interest guided the haughty and insatiable mind of that prelate, it was quickly discovered by his ingratitude. The stranger will perceive what esteem can be due to his writings, from the sound refutation given to his two first books on the Reformation, by Joachim le Grand, in his history upon the divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon: it was published at Paris, in three volumes duodecimo, in 1688; that author took in it the defence of Sanderus against him.

Every thing which I have said concerning the characters of Clarendon and Burnet, will be admitted by every honorable man in England. The memoirs of Higgins, an English gentleman of acknowledged probity, bear ample testimony of it. Among all the histories of England which have appeared in foreign countries, that of Rapin Thoiras merits a preference, both for the order and perspicuity of its details, and arrangement of its materials. It should not be matter for surprise to see an author, who had been brought up in the Presbyterian principles, avow himself on every occasion, opposed to the pontifical authority; it is but acting ingenuously according to his own maxims and opinions; the enlightened reader cannot be mistaken in that. The efforts which he has used for preserving the appearance of impartiality between the factions that had torn the state under the reign of Charles I., merit our regard. Although he appears to favor the parliamentarians, the royalists may derive great advantage from what the force of truth had drawn from the mouth of an advocate pensioned by their opponents; we discover in him much less acrimony upon the affairs of Ireland, than among the generality of English historians; he furnishes many arguments that could be well applied in vindication of that country.

Father D'Orleans is far less excusable for the little justice he has done to Ireland, in his superficial and mutilated account of the wars in that country, with which he closes his history of the revolutions in England. There is much cause for suspecting that this father let himself be guided by some one interested to advance the honor of England. Surely, the vigorous defence which Ireland sustained for three years, ought to make that country blush for having surrendered itself to the prince of Orange, without striking a blow to oppose him.

Thomas Innes, a Scotch priest, published at London, in 1729, a critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of North Britain. This work shows the author to have been a man of letters. The connection that was between the Scots and the ancient Scoto-Milesians, engaged him in a criticism on the antiquities of the latter, in which he makes use of but common-place topics. He says much, and proves little; he strives to insinuate that all the accounts concerning the Milesians are founded merely on the fabulous narration of bards, without any tribunal having been appointed to examine them. No distinction is drawn between the mercenary rhymers, who went from house to house, and those who were employed by the state, whose writings were subjected to the judgment of the assembly at Teamor. This writer upbraids also the Milesians, with the contradictions of their historians, concerning their antiquities, and the epochs of their history; but ought we to suspect the authority of the Bible, because

the calculations of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins, all differ with regard to the years of the world, since the creation up to the Christian era? This author would have to answer the same objections for the writers of his own country. Fordun, Major, Boyce, Buchanan, and others, are not in accordance upon every subject. But it was reserved for our author to contradict them all, and to sap the foundation of every thing they advanced concerning their antiquities. From a chain of possible propositions and self-conjectures, he asserts with confidence that the Scots were a people different from the Milesians, who established themselves in Ireland about the time of the Christian era. His words are the following:

"It is possible," he says, "that the Milesians might have been established in Ireland many centuries before the Incarnation, and that there had been among them, as among other people, a succession of kings of their race, since Heremon, without the Milesians having been properly the same as those who were afterwards called Scots, and without the latter having been established in that island before the Incarnation, at which period they settled there as conquerors, and made themselves masters of the government, as the Franks had done in Gaul, the Goths and Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, and the Saxons in Britain." Behold a system founded upon possibilities; he wants only to give reality to it; it is that which embarrasses our critic; "because he finds no contemporary writer to attest it, not *even* among the *Milesians*, who possessed (according to him) neither monuments, nor the use of letters, before the time of St. Patrick." Our critic has no apparent respect for M'Kenzie, his countryman, who is equally as he entitled to credit; and affirms that he saw many ancient Irish manuscripts; among others a history of the kings of Ireland, written by Carbre Liffechair, monarch of the island, about the time of the Incarnation, and consequently long before St. Patrick. The inference which he draws from the real conquests of the neighboring countries by the barbarians, to establish a chimerical conquest of Ireland in the first century by the Scots, is a false reasoning. On one side they are supported by monuments which cannot be doubted, and by the unanimous consent of all the world; on the other, it is founded, according to the declaration of our critic, on conjectures only, and inferences that are merely plausible. For want of authority he raises other batteries, and draws from consequences, results which were inseparable from revolutions that had happened in other countries, without losing sight of the parallel between the Scots and the Franks. He quotes Ptolemy, and some other writers of antiquity, without deriving from them any real advantage; but the silence of foreigners regarding the name "Scot," before the third or fourth century, makes him triumph in his expedient. Must we not know a people before we can tell them by their name? The Scoto-Milesians were, without contradiction, better known to the ancient Greeks and Phœnicians than to the modern Greeks. The latter, weakened by the great wars they had to maintain against the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans, were obliged to neglect that commerce which their predecessors had kept up with the Milesians; and the Romans, who never made a descent upon their island, knew them only by the incursions which they, in conjunction with the Picts, made into Britain, and from thence foreigners call them indiscriminately "*Hiberni*" and "*Scoti*;" names that were then synonymous, and which, in the sense of the authors who used them, signified the same people. Lastly, all the strength of the arguments of Innes, is founded upon false principles, and tends but to overturn, by conjectures and negative arguments, a system adopted by the most learned historians of his nation. Against the antiquities of the Milesians, he advanced again many other difficulties, which I shall examine in the course of these memoirs.

The author of the age of Louis XIV. gives a description of the last wars in Ireland, with but little advantage to her inhabitants. Besides the impressions which this writer has received among the English, incapable of doing justice to any people whom they oppress, he has too scrupulously followed the accounts given in Holland by the refugees, who were equally attached to the glory of the prince of Orange as to the interests of a religion, the support of which was apparently the motive for his usurpation and tyranny. His prejudices have influenced him to represent the Irish, whom he allows to be good soldiers in France and Spain, as a people that always fought badly at home; the passage of the Boyne by the prince of Orange, he describes as one of those bold enterprises which should astonish the world, and compares it to the passage of the Granicus by Alexander the Great, or of the Rhine by Louis XIV.

Although the lively representations and brilliant style of an author may darken truth in the eyes of a reader whom they charm,

they have not always the same effect upon the minds of a more enlightened and less prejudiced world. The Irish are equally brave in every country. If they appear to be more so in France and Spain than at home, it arises from this, that they are better trained in foreign countries, where they enjoy the advantages of learning the military discipline, for which they have a natural turn, which opportunity is denied to them in their own country. Their conduct in the last wars of Ireland, about which our author appears as little informed as he is about their supposed want of resistance at the battle of the Boyne, takes nothing from their valor; King James had, according to the author's acknowledgment, but about twenty thousand men, viz., nearly six thousand French and fifteen thousand Irish. The latter were troops newly raised, undisciplined, badly provided, and still worse armed. The prince of Orange had thirty-six thousand veteran troops, all English and Dutch. The river Boyne, which is always fordable in summer, and has often not more than three or four feet of water in many places, was no great obstacle to their passing it. The reader, therefore, may judge of the disproportion and inequality of the two armies. The fate of the day could be easily foreseen. On the one side were twenty thousand men, three-fourths of whom scarcely knew how to handle a musket, and commanded by a king who, naturally kind-hearted, felt some compassion for the English, whom he considered as his subjects, though armed against him; on the other, an army much superior in numbers and experience, commanded by the prince of Orange, who, although more accustomed to lose battles than to gain them, was a very formidable enemy in the present conjuncture. As our author affects to be silent on every thing that passed favorable to the Irish nation during this war, he makes no mention of a singular action which occurred while the English were crossing the river: three or four Irish gentlemen, having advanced into it with pistols in their hands, shot Marshal Schombergh, in the midst of the English army, having taken him for the prince of Orange. He omits also to mention the resistance made by the Clare dragoons and other troops against the army of Schombergh, at the passage of Oldbridge; they were forced on the second attack to give way, after having left a number killed upon the spot. As to the prince of Orange, who proceeded up the river to Slane, with half the army, which he commanded in person, he had no great difficulty to chase away two regiments of dragoons who were guarding that passage; but every opposition became unavailing. The king did not wait the event of the battle; escorted by some chosen troops, he took the route for Dublin, where, stopping for a day, he proceeded thence to Waterford, and there embarked for France. The rest of the army, seeing themselves without a chief, marched towards Limerick; the brigade of Surlauben formed the rear-guard, which the prince of Orange did not dare to attack. The other French troops took the road for Cork and Kinsale, and embarked there. Thus ended without a battle the passage of the Boyne, so much boasted of by English and Dutch historians, of whom our author is but the echo, and which, in truth, should not add much to the laurels of the prince of Orange.

Our author says nothing of the first siege of Limerick, so glorious to the Irish, who overthrew the enemy, already in possession of the breach and part of the city; they drove them back even to their camp. This action made the prince of Orange raise the siege, and make to his troops this reproachful remark, which was as glorious to the besieged, as it was humiliating to the besiegers;—"Yes," said he, "if I had this handful of men who defend the place against you, and that you all were within, I would take it in spite of you." His retreat was so precipitate that he set fire to the hospital, to cover the shame of having abandoned his sick and wounded. The battle of Aughrim which was fought the year following, and where the Irish troops, though vanquished, performed prodigies of valor, and the second siege of Limerick, the obstinate defence of which obtained a capitulation, the most important and advantageous that has been ever witnessed, were equally honorable to the Irish nation: but our author passes suddenly from the Boyne to the second siege of Limerick, without mentioning the glorious actions that occurred in the interval. Perhaps he was ignorant of them, or if not, that he wished to minister to the honor of this hero; it has been long since said of him, what Camden* said of Buchanan, that he was a better poet than a writer of history; "Buchananus poeta optimus."

The memory of these events is too recent, and there still exist too many living witnesses of the valor of our people on that occasion, that false representations should gain credit in our days; but posterity cannot avoid adopting the errors which they will find dif-

* Brit. edit. Lond. p 89.

fused throughout the writings of prejudiced and ill-informed historians, if there be not placed now before their eyes matter wherewith to undeceive them. How can it be supposed that the stranger will be upon his guard against the dishonorable imputations with which these authors have loaded their writings against the Irish, if it be not made known that those who have robbed the Irish of their possessions are likewise interested to rob them of their honor.

It is to be regretted, that among so many learned men, of whom Ireland justly boasts, none have taken the trouble of writing a regular history of their country. It appears that the Danes, who, by their invasions, infested Ireland for two centuries, had destroyed part of her ancient monuments; those barbarous invaders taking delight to destroy churches, abbeys, and other places which served as depositories of learning. Ireland had hardly time to breathe, after having shaken off the yoke of the Danes, when she fell under that of the English. These new masters made it a maxim of their policy to abolish the use of the language and of letters among the Irish. These reasons, added to the little encouragement given, since the invention of printing, to a nation oppressed and overwhelmed with the weight of tyranny, have caused those venerable remains of antiquity to lie buried in obscurity. The interest which I take in every thing that concerns Ireland, makes me often sigh for the additional misfortune which the general ignorance of its history produces, and has long since inspired me with a desire of remedying that evil.

In writing the history of Ireland, I have no pretensions farther than to give an abridgment of it: too happy shall I feel, if able to smooth the way, or give emulation to others who may have more leisure or capability than I. My desire is to give to the stranger an idea of its history, and to preserve in his mind the sorrowful remembrance of an expiring nation. It is for him I write, in order to efface from his thoughts the bad impressions he may have received of it. It is he whom I am ambitious to satisfy, through gratitude for the protection given to the exiled portion of that nation, against which tyranny has pronounced this dreadful sentence,

"Veteres migrate coloni;"

and from whom the remembrance of Sion often draws a sigh—"Flevimus cum recordaremur Sion."

PART I.

OF PAGAN IRELAND.

CHAPTER I

NATURAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

Ireland, one of the most considerable islands of Europe, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean to the west of England, and extends from the 50th to the 55th degree of north latitude, and from the eighth to the twelfth degree of west longitude. Its form is nearly oval; from Fair-head in the north to Mizen-head in the south, its length is about three hundred miles;* in breadth from east to west, it is one hundred and sixty miles, and about 1400 in circumference; it contains about eighteen millions of acres, English measure. The distance of Ireland from Great Britain varies according to the inequality of the coasts of the two countries: some of the northern parts are but fifteen miles from Scotland; however, the general distance from England is forty-five miles, more or less, according to the different position of the coasts. Ireland is two hundred and twenty miles distant from France, four hundred and forty from Spain, and about fourteen hundred and forty from New France in America. In the northern parts, the longest day is seventeen hours twelve minutes, and in the most southern, sixteen hours twenty-five minutes. From its being situated in one of the temperate zones, the climate is mild and agreeable. Although less extended than Britain, says Orosius, "Ireland is from the temperature of its climate, better supplied with useful resources."† Isidore says, "It is smaller than Britain, but more fertile, from its situation."‡ The venerable Bede confirms the opinions of these writers: he observes, that "Ireland greatly surpasses Britain in the healthfulness and serenity of its air."§ Cambrensis adds, that "of all cli-

* Stanihurst, de reb. in Hib. gest. 1. p. 15.

† "This is more peculiar to Britain: in its extent of land it is narrower, but in heat and climate it takes precedence."—*Orosius Hist.* book 1, c. 2

‡ "It is narrower in extent, but more fruitful, from its situation."—*Isidorus in his Book of Origins*, c. 6, book 14.

§ "Ireland is, by far, superior to Britain, from its serenity and salubrity of climate."—*Bede's Church Hist.*, book 1, c. 1

mates Ireland is the most temperate." "Neither extraordinary heat in summer is felt there, nor excessive cold in winter.* That country," he adds, "is so blessed in these particulars, that it seems as if nature looked upon it with a more favorable eye than on any other."†

The testimony, however, of Cambrensis appears somewhat doubtful and exaggerated. Rain, snow, and frost, are not unfrequent during the winters in Ireland; from its exposure to the exhalations of an immense ocean, and those which the westerly winds from America bear to it, and which are not interrupted in their course by any other land, nor opposed by the contrary action of the continental winds, it must naturally be subject to such vicissitudes of climate. It must be observed, that the English writers have always endeavored to heighten the excellence of the climate of Ireland, and fertility of its soil, not forgetting at the same time to lower the merit of the inhabitants, and to render them contemptible. We shall have an opportunity to discuss hereafter their motives for this two-fold exaggeration. Cambrensis, who extols so much the fertility of that island, represents the inhabitants as a people without morals, comparing them to undisciplined savages, that will not submit to be governed by laws. Camden, another English author, says, that "if that country had sometimes a bad character, it arose from the rudeness of its inhabitants. We shall not at present reply to the invectives of these writers; we will have an opportunity of doing it in another place. If ferocity and rudeness go generally hand in hand, does it become the English to disparage their neighbors with such epithets of abuse?

The moisture of the Irish climate, together with the great number of lakes and bogs that are to be found throughout that country, caused by the stagnation of the waters after the tillage and culture of its lands had been interrupted, in the ninth and tenth centuries, by the frequent invasion of the northern barbarians, must, it would appear, render that country unwholesome, and be the cause of rheumatism, dysentery, and other distempers: they are only strangers, however, that are subject to be attacked by these disorders, the natives generally escape, and live to an advanced age. Men have been often discovered to have lived to a great age in that country, whom sickness had seldom visited before death. "The climate of that country," says Cambrensis, "is so temperate, that neither infectious fogs, nor pestilential winds are felt, so that the aid of doctors is seldom looked for, and sickness rarely appears, except among the dying."*

Ireland is intersected by a great number of rivers and lakes. In the province of Leinster we find the Barrow, which takes its rise in the mountains called Slieve-Bloemy, in the Queen's county, formerly Leix: it runs through part of the county of Kildare and Carlow, and empties itself into the sea at Waterford, with the Nore and the Suire.

The Nore has its rise in the Queen's county, waters that of Kilkenny, and then loses itself in the Barrow, some miles above Ross.

The Boyne, which rises in the King's county, runs through Castlejordon, Ballybogan, Clonard, Trim, and Navan, in East Meath: its waters are increased by many other small rivers, and it falls into the sea at Drogheda.

The Liffey has its rise in the county of Wicklow, and makes a circuitous course through the county of Kildare, where many small rivers unite their streams with it. At Leixlip, within seven miles of Dublin, a very high cascade is formed, where the waters tumble from the top of a sharp rock; in the language of the country it is called "Leim-en-Uradane," in English "The Salmon's Leap." The country people say, that when the salmon strives to reascend the river in that place, it leaps holding its tail between its teeth, in order to pass the rock: but if it fail in the attempt, which frequently happens from the height of the rock and rapidity of the water, it is caught in baskets, which the fishermen are careful to place at the bottom to take them. The Liffey passes through Lucan and Palmerstown, and, after forming some smaller cascades in its course, empties itself into the sea at Dublin.

The Slaney takes its rise in the county of Wicklow, and, after running through Baltingglass and Enniscorthy, falls into the sea at Wexford.

Lastly, the Iny and the Brosnagh, the

* "Of all countries it is the most temperate. either the burning heat of summer impels to the shade, nor the rigor of the winter invites man to the fire. At all seasons a peculiar mildness of climate prevails."—*Topography of Ireland*, c. 25.

† "Nature has bestowed on Ireland a mildness of look and climate."—*Cambrensis*, p. 727.

* "So great is its temperature of climate, that neither the infectious cloud, nor pestilential air, nor noxious blast, requires the aid of the physician; few men, except the dying, will be found infected with disease."—*Topography of Ireland*, 1, c. 27.

first of which rises in Lake Ennil, the latter in the King's county, lose themselves in the Shannon, one in the lake called Lough Ree, the other near Banagher.

The chief rivers of Ulster are: the Bann which rises in the county of Down, and together with the river Tonwagee, runs through the great lake called Lough Neagh; having then the county of Antrim to the right, and Derry on the left, it forms in its course a more considerable cataract than the Liffey at Leixlip: it passes then through Coleraine, and falls into the ocean. This river is considered to be one of the best in Europe for its fishery of salmon, eel, and other fish.*

The Morne flows from the county of Tyrone, and being joined by the Derg and the Finn, which have their sources from two lakes of the same name in the county of Donegal, they run in the same channel, and after crossing Strabane and Derry, fall into Lough Foyle, and from thence into the ocean.

The Earn, the source of which is on the borders of the counties of Longford and Cavan, crosses the latter, and falls into a lake of the same name, in the county of Fermanagh, and from thence passes, by Ballyshannon, into the ocean.

The Swilly, in the county Donegal, falls into a lake of the same name, which communicates with the ocean.

The river Laggan, in the county Down, passes through Dromore, Lisburn, and Belfast, and falls into Carrickfergus Bay.

The Newry, after having served for limits to the counties of Armagh and Down, falls into the sea at Carlingford.

The Shannon, which can by a fair title be termed a river, is the chief one not only of Connaught, but of all Ireland, and deserves to be classed among the first rivers of Europe. It is called Senna by Orosius, and has its source in a mountain of the county of Leitrim, called Sliew-Nierin, which is so named from the mines of iron that are found in it. Its course from where it rises to its mouth is nearly one hundred and forty miles: many other rivers fall into it, and it forms several very considerable lakes. It waters Lanesborough, Athlone, and Banagher, separating West Meath and Leinster from Connaught. From Banagher it flows to Limerick, from whence it bears ships of the greatest burden into the Western Ocean, a distance of about fifty miles.

The other rivers of Connaught are not considerable. The Moy, in the county of Mayo, falls into the ocean at Killala, having Tirfiacria in the county of Sligo, on its right bank, and Tiramalgad in the county Mayo, upon the left.* The Suck runs between the counties of Roscommon and Galway, and loses itself in the Shannon near Clonfert. The Gill, a little river in the county Galway, discharges itself into the bay of Galway.

The rivers in the province of Munster are: the Suir, which, taking its rise in the county of Tipperary, on the borders of Ossory, passes through Thurles, Cashel, Clonmel, Carrick, and Waterford, and from thence flows with the Barrow into the sea.

Avoine Duff or Avoine More, in English "Black water," has its source in the county of Kerry, and after watering Mallow and Lismore, falls into the sea at Youghal.

The rivers Lee and Bandon, in the county of Cork, discharge themselves into the sea, the one below Cork, the other at Kinsale.

The Leane and the Cashon, in the county of Kerry, empty themselves into the ocean, the first in the bay of Dingle, the other at the mouth of the Shannon.

The most considerable lakes of Ireland are the following: Lough Neagh; (lough signifies lake.) It is thirty miles long and fifteen broad; its waters are celebrated for the quality they possess of changing wood into iron and stone.† Lough Foile, and Lough Earne; these being joined by a canal, form two lakes. Lough Swilly, and Lough Cone, at present Strangford,‡ in the province of Ulster. There are also some other lakes less considerable in this province, viz: Lough Finn, Lough Sillin, Lough Ramor, Lough Reagh, Lough Eask, and Lough Dearg; the last is famed for the devotion of the faithful, who resort there to perform a pilgrimage.

The most considerable lakes of Connaught are: Lough Corrib, Lough Mask, Lough Conn, Lough Ree, Lough Boffin, and Lough Allen, in the Shannon; Lough Gara, Lough Aarow, and Lough Rea.

The lakes to be met with in Munster are called: Lough Ogram, Lough Oulan, Lough Kerry, Lough Lene, and Lough Derg.

There are in West Meath, Lough Ennil, Lough Hoyle, Lough Derrevarragh, &c.

In Ireland we meet likewise with mountains, promontories, and capes. The highest mountains, generally called the Curlew Hills, are in the county of Wicklow; those in the Queen's county are Slieve Bloema, and in the county of Mayo, the mountains of Cruachan.

* Ogyg part 3, cap. 3.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 3
† Wareus, Antiq. Hib cap. 7
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap 49, 50

There are many bogs in that country,* where the people cut turf with narrow spades for fuel; it abounds with all kinds of grain—wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, &c.,† every thing grows there in abundance; its pastures are considered the best in Europe, both for the quality and quantity of their grass, which caused Bede to say, that it was "an island rich in milk and honey;" "dives lactis et mellis insula."‡ It appears too, that in his time the vine was cultivated there; "nec vinearum expers."

Fruit-trees thrive well in Ireland, such as pear, apple, peach, apricot, cherry, plum, gooseberry, and nut trees.§ It is true, they are not met with in the fields and on the roads, as in France, Flanders, and other countries, being generally planted within enclosures, and in gardens.

Ireland is rich in her herds of oxen, and flocks of sheep, goats, and swine: it is said, that the cows will not give their milk without the calves, and that to succeed in getting it, it is necessary to deceive them by showing a skin filled with hay or straw. The sheep are shorn twice a year.‖ They yield a great quantity of wool,¶ but it is not so good nor so fine as in other countries.** The horses called hobbies by the English,†† which were first brought from the Asturias, are bred in Ireland; they are excellent both for the saddle and the draught. Their saddle-horses have a certain gentle and regular movement, called "amble," but are very quick at the same time.‡‡ The rider might, while seated upon his horse, when walking, bear a full glass of liquor in his hand without spilling it.§§

Paulus Jovius, according to the account given by Ware, saw twelve Irish hobbies, of a dazzling whiteness, caparisoned in purple, with silver bridles and reins: they were led in parade with the trains attendant upon the Sovereign Pontiffs.

Eagles, falcons, and other birds of prey are likewise in Ireland; greyhounds, and other hunting-dogs, are there in common. Bees are so plenty that swarms are found even in the trunks of trees.

* O'Sullevan. Hist. Cathol. Hibern. Compend. lib 1, cap. 6.

† Petr. Lombardus de regno Hib. Comment, cap. 8.

‡ Lib. 1, cap. 1. § Grat. Luc. cap. 10, page 104.

‖ "Here the snowy fleece is shorn twice a year; and twice each day the flocks bring back their udders distended."—*S. John.*

¶ Pet. Lombard. Comment. cap. 8.

** Idem. cap. 10. †† War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 7.

‡‡ "Their pacing is gentle, by the alternate extension of their legs."—*Plin.*

§§ Camd. Brit. p. 727

The woods with which that country was formerly covered, fed great numbers of fallow-deer; there are stags, boars, foxes, badgers, otters. Wolves were likewise in Ireland, but have been entirely destroyed within the last century.*

The plains and bogs of Ireland are full of all kinds of game; hares, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, snipes, plovers, quails, water-hens, ducks, and wild geese, are in abundance, as well as every other species of fowl. There is a particular wild bird in it that resembles the pheasant; it is called in the Irish language "Keark-Frihy." Some think that it is the same as the heath-cock; there is indeed an analogy from the name, as Keark-Frihy signifies heath-hen; however that be, this bird is not known, or at least very rare in France. Marshal Saxe had some brought from Ireland, to stock the plains of Chambord; he sent also to that country for horses and mares, and had them brought to supply his stud. The rivers and lakes of this country† are filled with fish of all kinds; salmon, trout, pike, tench, perch, eel, carp, and shad, are very common, without mentioning the sea-fish, which are taken in great quantities.

If we search into the bowels of the earth, treasures will be found in Ireland.‡ According to the historians of the country,§ the first gold mine was discovered near the river Liffey, in the time of Tighernmas, the monarch;‖ afterwards one of silver was found at Airgiodross,¶ and a foundry established on the borders of the river Barrow,** in which coats of mail, bucklers, and other armor were made,†† and given by the kings to such warlike men as distinguished themselves in battle. A mint was also founded for manufacturing gold chains,‡‡ which the kings and other nobles wore upon their necks as marks of distinction; rings, likewise, which were presented to those who distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences.

Thus it can be said that gold and silver were in general use in Ireland, even in the most remote ages of paganism. This abundance of wealth was increased, in the early periods of Christianity, by the riches the inhabitants gained from the frequent voyages they made into Britain and other countries.

* Petrus Lombar. cap. 10.

† Pet. Lomb. Comment. cap. 7.

‡ Idem. cap. 9. § Keating, page 64, 66, 74

‖ Anno. M. 3085. Ante C. 915.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21.

** Grat. Luc. cap. 8, page 59, 62.

†† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 28, and 33

‡‡ Keating on the reign of Eadna Dearg.

R. GHEE. ENG. COLUMBUS. Q

The immense treasures that the Normans plundered from the churches and monasteries of this country, as well as the annual tribute of an ounce of gold, called "airgiodfroin," exacted from the natives by the barbarians, during their dominion over them, furnish incontestable proofs of its wealth at that time.

We know, that in the time of Denis, Christian, and Gregory, who were abbots successively in the abbey of St. Benedict, established at Regensburgh (called also Ratisbon) for the Scoto-Milesians, (which was the old name of the Irish,) the kings and princes of Ireland, particularly Conchovar O'Brien, king of Munster, had sent by three remittances, about the beginning of the twelfth century, considerable sums of gold and silver, to rebuild their houses, then falling into ruins. After the abbey had been entirely rebuilt, and property purchased in the city and neighborhood for the support of the monks, there was a sum still remaining.* I shall not speak of the rich presents from the same king of Munster to the Emperor Lothaire II. to assist in the holy wars.† Cambrensis himself bears testimony to the wealth of that island, in the age which succeeded the devastations of the Normans: "Aurum quoque quo abundat insula."‡ Mines of quicksilver, tin, lead, copper, alum, vitriol, sulphur, antimony, and iron, are discovered there in great quantities; this last metal is manufactured in the country, and found to be not inferior in quality to that of Spain. However, the English government having made it a part of her policy to keep the Irish in subjection and dependence,§ have been always opposed to the increase of their wealth and the working of their mines Quarries of stone, resembling a hard freestone, are also found, besides coal mines, alabaster, and marble of several kinds, such as red, black, striped, and some mixed with white; there is another likewise of a grayish color, which becomes azure when polished: the houses in Kilkenny are built with this last kind, and the streets paved with it.

The produce and growth of the island,* and those articles which form its chief trade and export, are oxen, sheep, swine, leather, tallow, butter, cheese, salt, honey, wax, furs, hemp, wool, linen-cloths, stuffs, fish, wildfowl, lead, tin, copper, and iron. Ireland produces every thing necessary and useful, and could do well, without the aid or intercourse of any other country.

Its situation for trade with other nations is peculiarly favorable;† her harbors are more numerous and more convenient than those of England.‡ They were formerly frequented by the Phœnicians,§ the Greeks, and the Gauls. "Ireland," says Camden, "is to be admired both for its fertility, and the advantageous situation of its sea-ports."‖ Still the commerce of that country is inconsiderable, owing to the restrictions and narrow limits imposed upon it by a neighboring nation, which has tyrannized over it for some centuries, and prevents its wealth to prosper and increase.¶

In that happy country, the works of nature which are seen, excite our wonder; few examples of the same kind are in any other country of Europe. By a peculiar blessing to Ireland,** its land is entirely exempt from all venomous reptiles; some serpents, adders, lizards, and spiders are indeed to be seen there, as in other places; but by a strange singularity, they have not the poisonous quality inseparable from their nature in other countries,†† except in the island of Crete. When they are brought from other places, says Bede, they die when approaching that sacred land.‡‡ "Nullus ibi ser-

* "Isaac and Gervasius, who were descended from noble parentage in Ireland, being endowed with piety, learning, and eloquence, were joined by two others of Irish descent, viz., Conradus Carpentarius, and Gulielmus; they came to Ireland, where, after paying their respects to Conchur O'Brien, the king, they explained to him the objects of their coming. He received them hospitably, and after a few days sent them back to Germany, laden with gold, silver, and other precious gifts. With this wealth the abbot purchased several farms, towns, and country-seats; and in the city of Ratisbon, bought many lots, houses, and sumptuous buildings. After all this, there remained a large sum of that which was given by the king of Ireland; this the abbot Gregory resolved to apply to the sacred utensils of the temple, and with it he also built a new one ornamented and finished with carved stone; likewise a monastery of great extent, after taking down the old one which was falling into ruins."—*Chronicles of Ratisbon, by Gratianus Lucius*, c. 21, p. 162.

† Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, sec. 6, p. 447.

‡ Hib expug. lib. 2, cap. 15.

§ Pet. Lomb. ibid. cap. 9.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 7.

† Petr. Lombard, cap. 2.

‡ "The harbors of Ireland are better known for their commerce and traders, than those of Britain."—*Tacitus in his Life of Agricola.*

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 1.

‖ "Whether you consider the convenience of its sea-ports, or fertility of the soil, the country is blessed with many advantages."—*Camden*, p. 680.

¶ "If thou hadst not been too near to a faithless nation, there would not be upon the globe a more happy people."—*S. John, in his ancient poem on Ireland.*

** Pet. Lombard, Comment. cap. 6.

†† War. de Antiq Hib. cap. 7 ‡‡ Lib. 1, cap 7

pens vivere valeat." "Neither serpents, nor any venomous things," says Camden, "are to be met with." "Nullus hic anguis, nec venenatum quicquam." This happy exemption from poisonous insects is again expressed in some verses of Adrianus Junius, wherein the island is introduced as speaking of its own advantages.*

The wonders of two celebrated lakes in Ireland, Lough Neagh and Lough Lene, are well known to the learned by the different dissertations published upon them; among others, the philosophical lectures of Richard Barton, printed at Dublin in 1751.†

Lough Neagh, situated in the north of Ireland, is bordered on the northeast by the county of Antrim, by Tyrone upon the west, and Armagh upon the south; is thirty miles long, and fifteen broad; its waters possess a petrifying quality, which changes wood into iron or stone. Nennius, an English author, makes mention of it,‡ and it has been celebrated in some beautiful lines, by the author of the Ogygia.§ "Every thing which is thrown into a certain lake in Ireland," says Tollius, "is changed into iron or stone, if it fall to the bottom."‖

M. de Buffon mentions that "a lake is said to be in Iceland, which petrifies."¶ "The lake Neagh in Ireland," continues he, "possesses the same quality; but these petrifactions caused by the waters of the lakes are certainly nothing more than incrustations, such as the waters of Arcueil produce." Experience does not accord with the opinion of that celebrated naturalist. Incrustation is caused by concretion, and the application of a strange body on the surface of another, without altering its substance. In the petrifaction attributed to Lough Neagh, the changing of a piece of wood into stone is effected by the total change of the inner part, and in that the difference of bodies consists, as the matter is alike in all. Pieces of wood, after having lain a certain time in that lake, are taken out either partly or entirely petrified; some possess the properties of the stone, its heaviness, hardness, and solid cohesion of the parts, which make their separation difficult; while another retains the quality of wood, which is that of being fibrous and combustible.

There are two sorts of petrified wood: one is white; it appears on the outside to be wood, but is in reality a stone without any mixture. This kind being porous, is incomparably lighter than the common stone; it is susceptible of being cut, and is useful for whetting edged tools. The other, being less porous, is black, harder, and more weighty: a mixture in it is sometimes discovered, either on the surface or in the interior of the stone. The two kinds are alike in this, that they split like wood, and strike fire like the flint-stone; they will resist the strongest fire without being calcined or vitrified. It has been likewise remarked, that the second sort, after passing through the fire, becomes also white and light, as there will be voids remaining after the particles of wood which composed part of it are consumed. In those mixed bodies a matter is discovered, which is solid and transparent, resembling crystal. The celebrated Boyle makes mention of them in his essay on the origin and virtue of precious stones. He says, "There is a lake in the north of Ireland, which, like any other, abounds with fish. At the bottom, rocks are discovered with masses attached to them, which are clear and transparent as crystal. They are of several colors, some white, brown, and amber."

It is not well known, what kind of wood it is that petrifies in Lough Neagh; according to the general opinion, it is the holly; but it has been observed, that the grain of the petrified wood, after being polished, becomes variegated, whereas the holly does not. It would be more reasonable, in my opinion, to say, that petrifaction operates upon the wood (which is the oak, broom, and yew tree) that grows on the borders of the lake, or its vicinity; the agreeable smell which it produces would make one think it to be cedar. As to the time requisite for this petrifaction, it has not been

* "I am that icy Ierne formerly so called by the Greeks, and well known to the mariners of Jason's ship. To me God, the benign source of things created, has given the same privilege as to Crete, where the thundering and mighty Jove was brought up: there, if the terrific serpent were brought, lest it should pour from its hissing tongue the black poison of Medusa, daughter of Phorcus, the chops become compressed, and life together with its poisoned blood becomes extinct."—*Barton's Philosophical Lectures*, p. 85.

† Barton, Philosophical Lectures, p. 85.

‡ "There is another lake, named Lough Eachac, which changes wood into stone after a year. Men cleave the wood and shape it when put in."—*Ogyg. Wonders of Ireland.*

§ "In Ulster there is a lake called Lough Neagh. If wood be affixed in it to the bottom, after seven years that which is at bottom is changed into iron, in the water it becomes a whet-stone, and above the surface a tree."—*Ogygia*, part 3, c. 50.

‖ "In a lake in Ireland, every thing which is thrown into it is changed into iron, or becomes a stone."—*Tollius, Hist. of gems and stones.*

¶ Barton, ibidem.

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ascertained; some branches of holly are seen, which, it is said, were petrified in seven years: as to the precise time which might be necessary, it matters not, but the truth of the phenomenon is incontestable.

It is observed, that petrifaction is produced, not only in Lough Neagh, but also within its environs, to the distance of eight miles, even upon high and sandy soil to which the waters of the lake do not appear to have access. This discovery, by destroying the system which attributed the virtue of it to the water exclusively, seems to affix it to the soil, or at least to supply it with that quality by the power of the rain, or vapors which arise from the lake.

Although the phenomenon of petrifaction, like many others which we perceive in nature, be extraordinary, it is not supernatural; however, as it is not allowed man to fathom into all things, the cause of it is perhaps sought for in vain. The learned attribute it to the water or to the air. Water being fluid, is capable from its condensed gravity, of conveying strong particles in its current. The same may be said of the vapors which come forth from the earth. It is easy to conceive that pieces of wood which have lain for some time horizontally under the earth, having preserved the pores and tubes which served as conduits to the juice that nourished them during vegetation, easily admit into these tubes the fluid bodies, and that the particles of stony matter with which they are loaded being of a sulphureous and saline nature, separate themselves in their course, and penetrate into the sides of the tubes when the movement of the liquids is gentle, whereas too rapid a motion is injurious to petrifaction. In the course of time, a more abundant concretion of these particles is formed into a solid body, which by its corrosive quality is substituted for an equal quantity of wood, by changing the form of those bodies, and introducing that of stone. It is nearly thus that the changing of iron into copper is accounted for, which a fountain of running water, near the copper-mines of Hemgrunt in Hungary, and at Newsohl in Germany, produces. Great advantages arise at present to Ireland from this phenomenon; bars of iron, that lie in a stream of water which flows from the copper-mines in the county of Wicklow, become changed after seven weeks into copper, which is caused by the great quantity of vitriol accompanying the particles of copper, and prepares a receptacle for them by consuming the iron.

To be able to judge of the influence of the air as it regards petrifaction, we must consider the different circumstances of that element. The phenomenon cannot be attributed to the exterior air which forms the atmosphere of the globe; it being a much lighter fluid than water, its degree of rarefaction and motion is therefore too great to support the particles of petrifying matter, and conduct them to the equilibrium necessary for petrifaction.* Petrifaction is produced in the earth, consequently it is more the effect of the interior than the exterior air; the earth, like the animal body, receives much matter, and is purified in proportion, which, according to the season or climate, causes the different phenomena of thunder, rain, fever, plague, and other epidemic disorders. It receives likewise into its cavities much of the same kind of air which surrounds the globe; but as the situation of the interior air is different from that of the exterior, in regard to the variety of matter which it generates, and the causes which sometimes rarefy, sometimes condense it, without being subject to the violent agitations produced by storms and hurricanes, to which the exterior air is exposed, it must naturally produce different effects. Thus, without offending against the laws of physics, we may imagine it to be capable of bearing particles of stone or other petrifying matter into the pores and tubes of wood which it meets in its course. This is sufficient to account for the phenomenon of petrifaction.

The waters of Lough Neagh are also considered to be very salutary for such as are attacked by scrofula, and other like distempers.

In the bogs of Ireland, whole trees are often found lying horizontally some feet under the earth, without being petrified. These have fallen, either by the violence of the waters of the deluge, which had torn them from their roots, or more probably which the Normans had felled in the valleys that were then covered with wood, in order to impede the efforts of the Irish coming to attack them; it is a stratagem of war, practised even to this day. Those trees are sometimes seen burned at the thick end, no doubt because the barbarians not having sufficient axes, made use of fire to fell them. It is easy to suppose, that trees covered with

* "According to the laws of hydrostatics, heavy bodies do not swim in fluids which are less weighty; that is to say, the bodies whose surface contains more matter than an equal surface of fluid, must verge to the bottom, so that these bodies become diminished, according to the greater proportion between the surface and matter which it encloses."

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branches and leaves, and heaped one upon another, might have stopped the mire, which the waters that ran in the valleys carried along with them, and in succession of time have formed banks sufficient to prevent the running of the waters, and cause them to overflow the neighboring lands. Lakes and bogs are of course formed by the stagnation of those waters loaded more or less with strange bodies; the matter whereof they are composed is an accumulation of dried herbs, hay, heath, roots, and other things produced by stagnant waters, and forms in its mixed state but one spongy substance, which easily admits the water, and covered in course of time those trees altogether, that had contributed to its growth. Some of the bogs in Ireland are twenty feet deep from their surface to the bottom, which is a kind of potter's clay or sand. Thousands of acres are seen in different districts of that country, which considerably deduct from the produce of the island; otherwise it is extremely fertile. The only benefit to be derived at present from the bogs in Ireland, is the turf which is cut for fuel.

Lake Lene is not less remarkable than lake Neagh: it lies to the southern extremity of the island, in the county of Kerry. It is divided into the upper and lower lake, and contains in the whole about three thousand square acres: it is bounded south and east by the mountains Mangerton and Turk, west by Glena; to the north of it is a beautiful plain, ornamented with fine country-seats, and on the northeast is the town of Killarney. These mountains are covered from the base to their top with the oak, yew-tree, holly, and the arbutus,* which represent in their different degrees of vegetation an agreeable variety of colors, green, yellow, red, and white, forming an amphitheatre, which recalls in winter the charms of the spring. Some cascades are formed by the falling of the waters from the summit of these mountains, particularly from Mangerton, whose murmurs being repeated by echoes, add still more to the charms of this spot. On the top of this mountain is a lake, the depth of which is not known; in the language of the country it is called "Poulle-i-feron," which signifies "Hell's hole." It frequently overflows, and rolls down in frightful torrents.* Lake Lene contains several islands, which resemble so many gardens; the arbutus takes root among the rocks of marble in the midst of its waters. Nennius says, in his treatise upon the wonders of Ireland, that "there are four mines, namely, tin, lead, iron, and copper, which form four circles around the lake." He adds that "pearls are found in it, which kings wear for ear-rings."† There are indeed some precious stones in this lake, and in its neighborhood mines of silver and copper, more especially the latter, which at present makes of itself a great branch of trade.

The Giant's Causeway in the county of Antrim, in the north of Ireland, where the coast is elevated above the level of the sea, is another wonder, that merits the attention of the curious. This causeway, which is in the form of a triangle, extends from the foot of a mountain into the sea, to a considerable distance; its apparent length, when the waters retire, is about six hundred feet. It consists of many thousand pillars, which are pentagonal, hexagonal, and heptagonal, but irregular, as there are few of them of which the sides are equally broad; their size is not uniformly the same, varying from 15 to 26 inches in diameter, and in general not more than twenty. All these pillars touch one another with equal sides, which are so close, that the joints can be scarcely perceived; they are not all equally high; they sometimes form a smooth surface, and sometimes are unequal. These pillars, none of which are of a single piece, are composed of many unequal ones, from one to two feet high; and what is still more singular, these pieces are not joined by plain surfaces, being set one into the other, by concave and convex outsides, highly polished, the same as the sides of the adjoining pillars. There are some places where this colonnade is elevated above the earth thirty-two, and even thirty-six feet, but we

* "The strawberry-tree, in Latin the arbutus, is a shrub which in some countries becomes a tree. In the mountains of Lough Lene it grows to the height of 20 feet; its leaves, like the laurel, are always green, and at the end of a purple color; its flowers hang like grapes, are white, and of an agreeable smell, resembling the lily; its fruit resembles the strawberry in shape, but much larger; it is round, sour, and yellow, before ripe, it then becomes red; exquisite in taste, the inhabitants eat it as they would apples, but it is fit to drink water after it, otherwise it would be unwholesome."

* "It is usual to see some lakes on the tops of mountains, in Ireland, the waters of which fall precipitately into the valleys, where rivers are formed On Slieve Donart, in the territory of Mourn, and the county of Down, this is met with; also at Bantry, in the county of Cork, and at Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow."

† "There is a lake called Lough Lene, surrounded by four circles; in it many gems are found, which kings wear in their ears."—*Nennius, his Wonders on Ireland, Ogyg.* c. 5

are ignorant of its depth. People have dug at the foot of one of the columns, to the depth of eight feet, and it was found to be the same all through.

The stone, as to the substance, is a homogeneous body, which admits of no mixture, and is extremely hard; when broken, it is found to have a fine and shining grain; it is heavier than other kinds of stone, resists tools of the best temper, and of course, cannot be cut; still it dissolves in the fire.

Besides the Giant's Causeway, some other colonnades of the same kind are discovered on the land side; the most considerable is composed of fifty pillars, whereof the middle one is forty feet high, and the others, on the right and left, diminish like the pipes of an organ; it is on that account the inhabitants have given them the name of "The Organ."

Is the Giant's Causeway a work of nature or of art? That is a question of controversy, among the learned of England and of Ireland. Those who maintain that it is the effect of nature, prove it according to the rules of geometry; they cite a proposition out of Euclid, according to which "there are but three figures which can form a plain and continued surface, viz., six equilateral triangles, four squares, and three hexagons. But they say these rules of art have not been observed in the Giant's Causeway, which is composed of polygons having unequal sides, although they are very well adapted to the opposite side of the adjoining pillars, which cannot be attributed but to a superior Intelligence." It is added, "the joining of those pieces which compose the pillars appears to be a work of nature; whereas in all other columns, both ancient and modern, the pieces are joined by flat surfaces, and it cannot be conceived how the joining of the stones that form this causeway, could have been made without an infinite number of instruments which are not known to us."

This system of reasoning, though plausible, is not satisfactory; for besides our not being able to deny a thing because we cannot conceive it, it is certain the arts have had their revolutions, and that there have been many which formerly prevailed that have not come down to us.

The inhabitants of Ireland are tall and well made:* the strong exercises which tend to fortify the nerves, and render the body vigorous were at all times practised among them. Hunting, horse-racing, foot-racing, wrestling, and other like exercises, form still their usual amusements. We attribute to Lugha Lam Fada,* one of their ancient kings, the institution of military exercises, at Tailton in Meath:† those exercises consisted in wrestling, the combats of gladiators, tournaments, races on foot and on horseback, as we have seen them instituted at Rome a long time after by Romulus in honor of Mars, which were called "Equiria." Those games at Tailton, which Gratianus Lucius and O'Flaherty call "Ludi Taltini,"‡ were celebrated every year, during thirty days, that is, fifteen days before and fifteen days after the first of our month of August. On that account, the first of August has been and is still called in Ireland, "Lah Lugh-Nasa," which signifies a day in memory of Lugha. These olympiads always continued among the Milesians until the arrival of the English.§ We discover to this day some vestiges of them, without any other change than that of time and place. Wrestling, which we call in France, "le tour du Breton," the exercises of gladiators, and races on foot, are still on festival-days their common diversion in various districts of Ireland, and the conquerors generally receive a prize. The plains of Kildare are celebrated for the great concourse of nobility who assemble there every year. Race-horses are brought there from every province in the kingdom, likewise from England and other countries; considerable wagers are bet on these occasions, and more noblemen are ruined by them than by any other mode of gaming.

"The Irish," says Camden, "are warlike, witty, and remarkable for the just proportion of their limbs. Their flesh and muscles are so supple, that the agility which they possess is incredible."‖ Good, an English priest who wrote in the sixteenth century, after having been for many years in Ireland, a professor of humanity, gives the following description of its inhabitants: "They are a nation," he says, "to be praised for their strength, and particularly for the activity of their bodies; for a greatness of soul: they are witty and warlike, prodigal of life, hardy in bearing fatigues, cold, and hunger; prone to loose pleasures, courteous

* Petrus Lombardus, cap. 12.

* Keating on the reign of Lugha.
† Ogyg. par. 3, cap. 13.
‡ Gratianus Lucius, cap. 9, p. 85.
§ Ibidem, cap. 8, p. 58.
‖ "They are warlike, witty, and remarkable for the just proportion of their limbs. Their flesh and muscles are so supple, that the agility which they possess is incredible."—*Camden Brit.*, p. 680

and kind to strangers, constant in their love, hating also, seldom forgiving, too credulous, greedy of glory, and quick to resist injuries and insults."*

"Of all men," says Stanihurst, "the Irish are the most patient in fatigue, the most warlike; rarely do they suffer themselves to be cast down even in their heaviest afflictions."†

CHAPTER II.

CRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SCOTO-MILESIANS.

NOTHING has more engaged the minds of historians than the researches they have made on the origin of ancient countries, and there is nothing in which they have so little succeeded; so much of the marvellous has been introduced into the writings of the ancients upon these subjects, that it is with difficulty the small portion of truth found in them, can be distinguished from the fables which vanity has caused them to insert. Sacred history, therefore, can serve as the only infallible guide in the knowledge of antiquity. It has become so much the custom of every people to endeavor to ennoble their origin, and establish it upon an ancient and illustrious foundation, that it would appear new and obscure beginnings have something in them dishonorable: to give to them some brilliancy in the midst of the darkness which surrounds them, fable is often made use of instead of history: they prefer to lose themselves in an abyss of antiquity, rather than candidly avow themselves to be of modern mediocrity.

The Egyptians reckon a period of forty-eight thousand years, and pretend to have seen twelve hundred eclipses before the reign of Alexander the Great. Their historian Manetho, supported by the pretended inscriptions on the pillars of Hermes in the land of Seriad, describes the succession and reign of their kings for many thousand years before the time of the creation, as established by Moses. The Chaldeans ascend still higher: they pretend to have made astronomical observations, during four hundred thousand years. The Chinese count upon a revolution of forty thousand years, and pretend to have made observations long before the creation.

The learned consider these chronologies fabulous, and the pretended observations of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, to have been unknown to ancient astronomers. It has been proved that the history of the pillars of Hermes is but a fiction which falls of itself, whereas it is the opinion of every one, that Hermes was the first by whom characters were invented, and that the land of Seriad was not known to the ancient geographers. As to the chronology of the Chinese, it has been shown, that their pretensions have been contradicted by the ephemerides. The most ancient observations, acknowledged by them to be authentic, as has been made to appear, are those of two fixed stars, one in the winter solstice, and the other in the vernal equinox, in the time of the King Yao, who reigned after the universal deluge. If their historians give to their empire a duration of forty thousand years, it can be founded but upon an equivocal and uncertain tradition; whereas, according to their own acknowledgment, their books were all consumed in the flames, about two thousand years ago, by order of their Emperor Zeo, and no monuments remain among them more ancient than that period.

Similar ravings have found credit among the Arcadians, who boast that they are more ancient than the moon, and among the Sicilians, who pride themselves on the foundation and antiquity of their cities: they pretend, for instance, that Palermo was founded in the time of the patriarch Isaac,* by a colony of Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Syrians; and that Saphu, grandson of Esau, was governor of a tower named Baych in the same city. After the example of Manetho, they cite some ancient inscriptions, not better established than those of the columns of Hermes.† We can form the same opinion on the pretended antiquity of Messina, which they say was enlarged by Nimrod.

The origin of the Romans is not better

* The whole nation of the Irish are strong in their persons, peculiarly active, possessing a brave and elevated mind; sharp in their intellects and warlike. Life is not regarded in their propensities; labor, cold, and hunger are overlooked; their passions are strong in love; they are hospitable to strangers, sincere in their attachments, and in their quarrels implacable: too credulous, greedy of glory, they will resist insult and injustice, and most ardent in all their acts."—*Camden*, p. 789.

† "As has been already remarked, the Irish are extremely hospitable, good-natured, and beneficent. Of all men they are the most patient in suffering, and rarely overcome by difficulties."—*Stanihurst*, b 1, p. 48.

* Fazell. Hist. Sicul. decad. 1, part. prior. lib. 8

† Reinr, Notizie Istoriche di Messina.

established, as authors do not agree upon that point. Some attribute it to the Trojans; others give to them different founders: but without seeking after such distant prodigies of antiquity, the offspring of vanity, have we not the history of Brutus, forged by Geoffry of Monmouth, an English monk of the twelfth century? This friar, zealous for the glory of his nation, and wishing to give to it an illustrious beginning, introduces the story of a certain Brutus, great grandson of Æneas, the Trojan, having peopled Britain, and by this happy discovery, finds for it, at the same time, an origin and a name. This system did not succeed: it was rejected even by those whose interest it was to uphold it, particularly by Nubrigensis, Polydore Virgil, Buchanan, Camden, Baker, and others.

The higher we ascend towards the source of ancient history, the more obscure we discover it to be. It is probable that the ancient Milesians had been addicted to the marvellous as well as other people who were their contemporaries. The great antiquity to which they aspire, will no doubt appear astonishing. It is difficult to conceive that a people obscure and almost unknown, can trace their origin and genealogy to times so remote, while the most considerable countries of Europe are new, and still scarcely understand their origin. It is a paradox, I allow, but it must be likewise granted, that the thing is not impossible. The genealogies of the house of Austria, of the dukes of Ascot, and of some other princes, have been, it is said, traced so far back as the deluge. We have an example of it among the Jewish people. Although God conducted with a peculiar care the pens of the holy writers, in every thing regarding the laws, the prophecies, canticles, the history of the creation of the world, and all that was above human understanding; the same writers have treated of the genealogies of families, and have given an account of historical facts, which they had known from the study of tradition, and which were known to all who wished to be instructed in them.

After the precautions which are adopted in France, and other countries, by depositing in their courts of justice, and registries, returns of the baptisms, marriages, and burials, as also their plan of keeping the registry of their nobles, which is called heraldry, can it be hereafter a matter for surprise, if, after the lapse of two thousand years, genealogies make their appearance, and ascend from generation to generation up to us?

The matter is therefore possible, and reduces itself to the following question, viz., to know if the ancient Milesians carefully transmitted to posterity, since a certain epoch, some features of their history. Before this matter be farther examined, it is prudent to lay it down as a principle, which should be admitted, that all ancient nations have had their obscure periods, both fabulous and historical.

Varro distinguishes, after the manner of the Greeks, three different eras—

The first, from the creation to the deluge which is, he says, obscure and uncertain, because we are ignorant of all that passed during that time.

The second, from the deluge to the first olympiad, which he calls fabulous, from the many fables that have been related concerning that epoch.

Lastly, the third, from the first olympiad till our time, which he denominates historical.

Although the different periods characterized thus by Varro, undergo some difficulty by referring to the authority of the sacred writings; though Josephus, in his first book against Appian, assures us that the histories of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, set forth with truth and accuracy many things concerning the reign of their kings, and that they contain the principal events which happened in their countries before the first olympiad, even before Abraham and Moses; and although he praised so highly Dion the Phœnician, and Berosus the Chaldean, for the correctness and authority of their histories; and according to him, that these two historians have treated of the events which happened in the second distinction of time, named fabulous by Varro, particularly Berosus, who has spoken of the deluge, of the ark, the Armenian mountains where it rested, and that he has continued his history from Noah, and the first kings who reigned after the deluge; yet the distinction of time, made by that learned Roman, ought to be admitted into the histories of almost every people.

It is possible that some nations have preserved from tradition a general and confused idea of their origin, and of their first founders; but if it be required of them to fix their dates, or to examine in detail the form of their governments, they will either tell us nothing of these things, or speak of them as mere chimeras.

The ancient bards have preserved to us the memory of different colonies, which came successively to establish themselves in Hibernia, before Jesus Christ. But can we not suspect the truth of the accounts which they

have left us? The bards were held in high esteem among the Milesians, who called them in their language "Fileas," or "Feardanas," that is to say, philosophers. They enjoyed great privileges, and sat by right of suffrage in the assemblies of the state; possessions were given them from the liberality of the monarch, by the provincial kings and private lords.

Strabo* and Lucan called them poets, or prophets. Pomponius Festus says that a bard is a singer, who celebrates, in verse, the praises and exploits of great men. Diodorus Siculus calls a bard a composer of canticles.

The bards were, as O'Flaherty† and some ancient authors say, both poets and philosophers. They were masters of arts and sciences: their knowledge did not consist in the harmony of words to flatter princes. They described, like the Arabs and ancient Greeks, philosophy, the laws, and history, in verse, which style being more concise, was, at the same time, more easily retained.‡

The bards of Wales, as David Powell remarks, were employed for preserving the heraldry and genealogies of their nobles: the profession of a bard was, among the Milesians, for the same end.§ This office enjoined him to write the annals, genealogies, alliances, wars, voyages, and transmigrations of that people, who, in tracing them from father to son up to Milesius, are descended, according to the bards, from Japhet and Magog. This has caused Camden to say, that if every thing their historians relate concerning their antiquity be true, it is with justice that Plutarch calls that island Ogygia, which signifies very ancient. They draw, continues the same author, their history from the most remote antiquity, so that that of other nations is new when compared to theirs.‖

It is certain that every man then, as those of our time, were descended from one or other of the three brothers, Sem, Cham, or Japhet. It is also probable, that, while men were, in the early ages of the world, near their original stock, and lived to be very old, without being distracted by that variety of sciences and arts which luxury has produced in latter ages, nor by the knowledge of so many fine but often useless discoveries which at present occupy the minds of men: fathers took care to instruct their children in that which formed the chief object of their studies, namely, the genealogy of their families. All this seems like the truth; we need nothing more to found our conjectures upon; but that is not sufficient to maintain historical truths, particularly in referring to a period of antiquity, when people had not yet known the use of letters, "without the aid of which," says Newton, "they could with difficulty transmit or continue the memory of the names or actions of men, after death, beyond eighty or a hundred years."*

The bards were in general mercenary men, who gave themselves up either to the extremes of exaggerated praise, of which they were lavish, or to sharp satires, which they darted against those whose honor they had some motive for assailing. If, in spite of the regulations made and established by the assembly at Tara, for the purpose of restraining the Milesian bards, and limiting their enthusiasm, they had been often obliged to pronounce the sentence of banishment against them, to repress their insolence, (a sure proof that all they related ought not be received for historical truths,) what belief should be then attached to those of a more distant antiquity, whom nothing restrained, and who pursued with impunity whatever passion dictated? Can their correctness in the details which they have given of the origin of the Milesians, the genealogies of their chiefs, and the succession of their kings, be relied upon? Can we subscribe to their affected precision, in marking the day of the month, the week, or of the moon, and the precise place of their arrival in the island, at a time when chronology was so imperfect?

Let us strive to discover a standard whereby to avoid in this history, a boyish credulity, in admitting things that are improbable, as well as a forced diffidence, by rejecting what is well founded. Let us, with Varro, distinguish the different epochs, and unravel, as much as possible, the truth from what is false.

The Ante-Milesian history, which signifies all that is related of the first colonies who

* Geog. lib. 4.

† Lib. 5. Ogyg. par; 3, cap. 27.

‡ Newt. Chronol. chap. I p 11.

§ "They were philosophers in reality, and poets in name, but it need not be doubted, whether as philosophers or poets, they have written best on divine subjects. The character of the poets among the ancients, was that of wisdom, and, as in our days, their knowledge did not consist in the measure and scanning of words, nor in their flatteries of the great."—*Ogyg.* part 3, c. 30.

‖ "From the deepest sources of antiquity, the history of the Irish is taken; so that in comparison to them, that of other nations is but novelty and a beginning."—*Camd.* p. 728.

* Introduct. to Chron. page 7

were in possession of the island before the arrival of the Milesians, may be carried to times that are obscure, doubtful, and unknown

We can likewise bring back to fabulous times, the accounts of the origin of the Scoto-Milesians, the voyages and transmigrations of their ancestors, the Gadelians, in different regions, and of various circumstances which accompanied their voyage from Spain to Ireland, until their complete establishment in it, some time after their arrival.

In the mean while, let us allow that there are no positive reasons for opposing such accounts; all the arguments that can be adduced against them are negative, and consequently insufficient; besides, the objects being at too remote a period to be able to distinguish them, it is perhaps as well to credit as to reject them. All judgment should be suspended upon what is not proved to be absolutely true, or decidedly false.* That is the maxim which Camden, an English author, has judiciously adopted; his moderation in this instance cannot be attributed to a love for Ireland.† I shall observe the prudent counsel of that historian, and will give in the following chapter, under the title of fabulous history, what writers say concerning the primitive ages, both to preserve the thread of their history, and mark my respect for antiquity.‡

As to the Scoto-Milesians, if we consider them to have been established in Ireland for some ages before the Christian era, and composing a body of people governed by laws, living tranquilly, and, being separated from the continent, beyond the reach of insult from strangers, which period we may place before the reign of Ollam Fodla, (about seven or eight centuries before Jesus Christ,) we can fix the date of the Milesian history in the third degree of time, called historical by Varro. Their annals, since then, merit belief as much as any ancient history of other nations that we read of. Of that truth we shall be readily convinced by paying attention to the antiquity of the Irish language, which is certainly not derived from any that is spoken in Europe, and to the singularity of its characters, which have no prototype; also to the powerful motives which had influenced the Milesians in preserving their history.

Languages have generally their origin among the people by whom they are spoken. Those who maintain that the Milesians are descendants of the Gauls, strive to discover the root of the Irish language in the Gallic; but as the result cannot be more true than the principle from whence it is taken, it is more natural to refer, on that subject, to the traditions and ancient monuments of the Milesians. By these it is discovered that the Milesians are descended from a colony of Scythians,* who, after many migrations into different countries, came to settle and establish themselves in Ireland; that their language also, which they call Gaelic, from Gaodhal, one of their ancient chiefs, has been at all times the peculiar language of that colony, not only since their establishment in Ireland, but even from their going out of Egypt. A people who are victorious usually introduce into the conquered country their religion, laws, customs, and language: of this truth the Scots and Saxons will afford an example; the former of whom, consisting of some colonies of the Scoto-Milesians, who in spite of the Picts established themselves in a canton of Albania, have preserved their language, viz., the Scotic, which is still in use among them.†

The Britons, having called the Saxons to their aid against the Scots and Picts,‡ experienced the perfidy of their allies, who forced them to seek an asylum in Wales. The Saxon language prevailed therefore, and the Bretonnic ceased in England, except within the narrow confines of that province occupied by the Britons. It is not probable, therefore, that the Gadelians, during their sojourn in Spain, or the Milesians, their descendants, established in Ireland by right of conquest, and who had never borne a foreign yoke, had ever changed their language in changing their country, unless they could abandon their native tongue by substituting a strange one instead of it. The error of authors, which I have to combat here, arises from

* "I do not think that what is founded on conjecture, which borders upon truth, or what is supported by tradition, concerning the origin of a people, should be rejected."—*Buchanan, Scotch Records*, b. 1, p. 54.

† "That which it is neither my intention to refute nor maintain, should receive indulgence for the character of its antiquity."—*Brit.* page 728.

‡ "Its authority should be conceded to antiquity, and not repelled by vain conjectures, unless better and more authentic documents can be adduced."—*Ogyg* part 1, p. 2

* Ogyg. part 2, page 63.

† "They brought their language from Ireland into Britain."—*Joan. Major, de Gest. Scot.* b. 1, c. 9.

‡ "They were forced to send for the Saxons into their country, which turned to their own destruction. The English or Angli were very strong, but not at all faithful"—*Polydorus Virgil Eng. Hist.* b. 3, p. 131.

their affected ignorance of the true history of the Milesians. Contrary to the spirit of this history, these authors appear to confound the Milesians with a number of other colonies who came at different periods into Ireland, with the consent of the first inhabitants, and who learned and adopted the language of the country, viz., the Bretonnic, which did not undergo any material change by the mixture of different nations.

The arguments which Camden and others draw from a pretended connection or analogy of many Irish words with the Bretonnic, or Gallic, by proving that the Irish is derived from either of them, would equally prove the contrary to their assertions. It is well known that neighboring nations which trade together, (languages being subject to corruption and change,) borrow some words from each other, without either being an original source for the other to derive its language from. For example, the French and English languages are alike in many words common to both, without the one being derived from the other. Commerce was frequent between the Scoto-Milesians and the Britons: if either nation was rendered, from subjection, like the other, it was the lot of Britain at that time. The Scoto-Milesians held over them a superiority of genius, of riches, and of arms, as a celebrated poet gives at present to the English, from his own authority. They frequently brought war into their country, and carried away prisoners; the dreadful devastations which were committed by them, according to Gildas and Bede, furnish proofs of it. The Scoto-Milesians were at that time a free people, governed by their own laws, while the Britons, Gauls, and Spaniards were slaves, subject to a foreign power, and forced sometimes to seek an asylum in Ireland, to rescue themselves from the tyranny of the Romans.* It is known, besides, that the Firbolgs and the Firdomnians, whose language was perhaps a dialect of the Celtic, had a continual trade with the Scoto-Milesians, who, after they had conquered the island, assigned them some lands in it. Nothing more was necessary to cause some mixture of the two languages, and contribute to the supposed connection of the Scotic with the Bretonnic or Gallic, although they are fundamentally different one from the other.

We might say, that from the same cause the Scotic is derived from the Latin, because there are some words common to both languages, and which have the same signification. We discover an example in the numeral nouns, *anon*, *do*, *tri*, *ceathar*, and which appear the same as *unus*, *duo*, *tres*, *quatuor*, which the Latins make use of to express numbers. These words are in reality the same, and differ only in idiom. On that subject I have two replies, which ar alike unanswerable.

First—Words are arbitrary signs, invented to express the thoughts and communicate the ideas. These signs consist in a combination of letters, or of syllables, and which may be found the same in different idioms.

Second—The Scotic language being more ancient than the Latin, why should we suppose that it has taken from the Latin some of its words, rather than think the contrary? The trade which the Scoto-Milesians had with the Romans from the beginning of Christianity, the veneration in which they held their apostle and every thing that came from him, even the language in which he had instructed them, could not these make us think that they might have adopted some Latin words, and have, imperceptibly, forgotten their old ones, without the two languages having, on that account, any affinity between them?

The learned, who have undertaken the task of fathoming and examining the nature and difference of languages, have always put in the number of the mother tongues of Europe, the Scotic, and the Bretonnic, between which there has been no analogy.*

Joseph Scaliger counts eleven mother tongues in Europe; the Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Sclavonic, Epirotic, Tartarian, Hungarian, Finlandish, Irish, Welsh, and the Biscayan or Cantabrian. The number of the mother languages in Europe, of the least extent, says Nicholas Sanson,† is better known to us than of the other parts of the world, and may be reduced to six, viz., the Irish, Finlandish, the Bretonnic or Welsh, the Biscayan, Hungarian, and Albanian. The Irish language (continues he) is, besides in Ireland, still spoken in the north of Scotland. The Finlandish is used in Scandinavia, which comprises Finland and Lapland. The Bretonnic, which is the language of Lower Brittany, in France, is likewise called Welsh, being the native language of Wales, a province of England. The Biscayan comprises Lower Navarre, with Labour, in France, and Biscay, in Spain

* "After the Romans had extended their empire over almost all countries, many flocked to Ireland out of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, to escape from the Roman yoke."—*Camd. Brit.* p. 728.

* Grat. Luc. cap. 3.

† Introd. à la Geograph. 2 part, livre 3, chap. 5 des Langues.

The Hungarian is the language of Hungary and Transylvania, which countries belong to Turkey in Europe, and the Albanian is thus named from Albania, a country also of Turkey in Europe.

To refuse to a nation the use of letters, displays a wish for sapping the foundation of its history, and depriving it of the means of transmitting its tradition to posterity. It is possible that some facts of history have been preserved by oral tradition, as it is said the works of Homer had been, during many ages, preserved by the memory alone; but such tradition, without the aid of letters, must be very imperfect.

Bollandus was the first who refused to the Milesians the advantage of characters. He says, that, like the Germans, the Pagan Irish had not, before the time of St. Patrick, the use of letters, nor any method of preserving upon paper or other matter, the memory of their deeds; that among all the liberal arts, they knew but a sort of rhyming poetry, which was in great esteem with them, and served instead of memoirs and annals: and that St. Patrick, who was versed in Roman literature, was the first that introduced among them the use of letters.

It appears that Bollandus, an enlightened man in other respects, has not sufficiently examined this criticism. His error has arisen from a false deduction, drawn from what he had read in Nennius, Colgan, Ward, and others, concerning St. Patrick. These authors say, that the saint had given the "abjectoria," or, as Nennius has it, the "abjectoria," that is to say, the alphabet, to those whom he had converted. The Roman characters were, in fact, not known to the Milesians before the time of St. Patrick; but this truly apostolical man, wishing to strengthen the new converts in the faith, by reading the Holy Scriptures, and to render that infant church conformable to the universal one, in the rites and manner of celebrating the divine mysteries, and in the use of other writings of the church, took the opportunity of giving them the Roman characters, that they might be able to learn that tongue; and the translation of these works from the Latin into the Scotic language would have been difficult for a man that had not been perfectly instructed in the latter. But these authors, in speaking of the Roman letters, do not take from the Milesians all kinds of characters; on the contrary, they suppose that they possessed such as were suited to their language; whereas, in the same chapter in which Colgan says that St. Patrick had given to Fiech, one of his disciples, the alphabet, written with his own hand, he adds that this same Fiech was sent some time before into Connaught by Dubtach, whose disciple he was, to present some poems of his own composition, in the Scotic language, to the princes of that province. He also speaks of a hymn in that tongue, which Fiech had composed in honor of St. Patrick. Lastly, that Fiech had made so great a progress in the Roman language, that in less than fifteen days he knew the entire psalm book, which could never be possible without a previous knowledge of other characters. Ward* tells us, that Benignus, a disciple of St. Patrick, and his successor in the see of Armagh, had written a book, partly in Latin and partly Irish, on the virtues and miracles of that saint, and that Jocelyn made use of it in writing his life. If letters had been unknown to the Scoto-Milesians before that time, as Bollandus asserts, how could Fiech and Benignus have been able, says Harris, to write so elegantly and poetically in that language, and make use of characters that were not till then known to them?

Cæsar, Pliny, and some other authors, in speaking of the druids, inform us, that they were learned; that they knew theology, philosophy, and other sciences; and that those of Gaul who wished to attain perfection in the knowledge of their mysteries, went into Britain to be instructed in them. Cæsar says, that they did not commit their mysteries to writing, but that in all other affairs, whether public or private, they made use of Greek characters.†

It is certain that their order was established in Hibernia, in the time of Cæsar, of which Ware bears testimony.‡ It is also certain that the druids of Hibernia were connected with those of Britain, and that they enjoyed the same advantages in the sciences, letters, and in every other thing.

The characters made use of by the Milesians, long before St. Patrick, are herein subjoined. It is only necessary to discover whether they were Greek or Phœnician; that, however, shall be examined in course. But what need for resorting to authority? A moderate idea of the elements of the Scotic language, of the figure, order, and the number of its characters, also the mysterious manner which the ancient Milesians made

* Wardeus, Vit. Rumoldi, p. 317.

† "They were said to learn, there, a great number of verses. Neither do they consider it lawful to commit their mysteries to writing, though in almost all public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters."—*Cæsar in his Gallic Wars*

‡ Antiq. Hib. cap. 5

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use of in writing, will be sufficient to prove their antiquity, and the peculiarity of these characters. Those ancient characters are, in their figure, different from the other languages of Europe. The alphabet of the Greeks, and the abecedarium of the Latins, sufficiently point out the order of their letters by their initials—A. B. of the Greek tongue, and A. B. C. of the Latin. In like manner, the Bobelloth, or Beith-Luis-Nion of the Milesians, express the order of their letters by their initials, B. L., or B. L. N. The alphabet of the Milesans has this in common with the Hebrew, that, in both languages, the name of the letter is a substantive. For example, in the Hebrew, "Aleph" signifies guide, or conductor; "Beth," a house, &c. Thus in the Milesian, "Beth" is the name of the birch tree, "Luis" signifies the wild ash, and "Nion" the true ash. There is this difference, however, that the Hebrew letters derive their names from all kinds of various objects, whereas those of the Milesians represent only different names of trees; because the druids, who were the wise men of ancient times, and who lived in the woods, thought they acted conformably with nature in giving to their characters such names as might be retained, in order to impress their disciples with the ideas they wished to inspire. We must remark here, that in the Beith-Luis-Nion, or alphabet of the Milesian language, the N., at present the fifth letter, was the third in ancient times: it is also to be observed, that the characters such as are here represented, have greatly degenerated, and are no longer what they had been in the times of paganism, and in the first ages of Christianity.*

BEITH-LUIS-NION;

OR

ALPHABET.

			Irish,	Latin,	English.
1	B	ᚁ	Beithe,	Betulla,	Birch.
2	L	ᚂ	Luis,	Ornus,	Wild Ash.
3	F	ᚃ	Fearn,	Alnus,	Alder.
4	S	ᚄ	Suil,	Salix,	Willow.
5	N	ᚅ	Nion,	Fraxinus,	Ash.
6	H	ᚆ	Huath,	Oxiacanthus,	White thorn.
7	D	ᚇ	Duir,	Ilex,	Oak.
8	T	ᚈ	Timne,	*Not explained.*	
9	C	ᚉ	Coll,	Corylus,	Hazel.
10	M	ᚋ	Muin,	Vitis,	Vine.
11	G	ᚌ	Gort,	Hedera,	Ivy.
12	P	ᚐ	Peth-boc,	*Not explained.*	
13	R	ᚏ	Ruis,	Sambucus,	Elder.
14	A	ᚐ	Ailm,	Abies,	Fir Tree.
15	O	ᚑ	Onn,	Genista,	Broom,
16	U	ᚒ	Ur,	Erix, or Erica,	Heath,
17	E	ᚓ	Egdhadh,	Tremula,	Aspen,
18	I	ᚔ	Idho,	Taxus,	Yew.

Besides these simple characters, there are some diphthongs and unnecessary consonants, erased from the modern alphabet; if the *h* also, which is but an aspirate, be taken away, the alphabet will consist of but seventeen letters.

This order has been changed a few centuries ago, and in the Beith-Luis-Nion, which is at present used, the letters are arranged as in the Latin alphabet. Before the invention of parchment, the Milesians made use of birchen boards, on which they engraved their characters with a style or punch: they were called in the Irish language "Orauin," or "Taibhle Fileadh," that is, philosophical tablets. Their characters were also called by the ancients, "Feadha,"* that is, wood. Other people, as well as the Milesians, had the custom of engraving their letters on wood. It is that to which Horace alluded, in saying "leges incidere ligno;" and the prophet Isaiah,† "scribe super buxum:" from this is derived the word *codex*, which signifies book, from *caudex*, the trunk of a tree.

Besides the characters which were in common use, the Milesians had a mysterious manner of writing, which was called "Oghum-crev," and "Oghum-coll," that is to say, a writing which represented the branches of trees, particularly the hazel. "I have," says Ware, "a book of parchment filled with this kind of characters."‡ Such mysterious writing was permitted to be used only by the druids, and some antiquarians, who made use of it for the purpose of transmitting to posterity certain things which they wished to conceal from the knowledge of the people. This mystery in their writings consisted in the position or situation of certain lines or

* Ogyg. part 3. cap. 30.

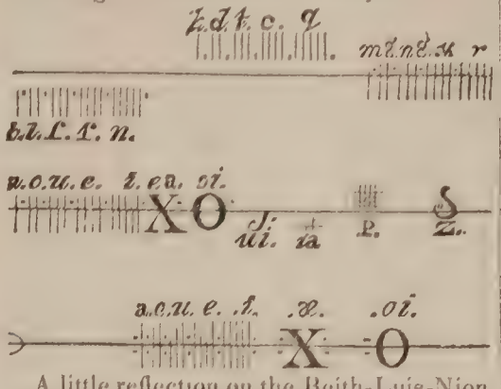
* Kenned. Preface, p. 28.

† Chap. 30. v. 8.

‡ "Besides the common characters which the ancient Irish made use of, there were secret or artificial forms for committing their mysteries to writing, which they called Oghum: I have a little book of parchment filled with them."—*Ware's Antiquities*

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figures in relation to the principal one; the following will serve as an example of it.



A little reflection on the Beith-Luis-Nion, and the Oghum of the Scotic language, which has been explained, will suffice to confound Bollandus. A language, and consequently the elements of it, are either original, or derived from some other which has served as a model to it. Let Bollandus show us this other language from which the Scotic is derived, and upon what model its characters have been formed. We challenge him to do it: let him inform us at what time and by whom, the Beith-Luis-Nion, composed of a number of letters different in their figure and order from those of other alphabets that are known, and the Oghum, which is a mysterious manner of writing, and unknown in the other languages of Europe, were introduced into Ireland? According to his system, it was not before the conversion of Ireland, whereas the Scoto-Milesians (as he avers) had not the use of characters: if introduced since that period, let him tell us by whom that manner of writing was introduced, and for what purpose? And as they had already received from St. Patrick the Roman letters, much more easy, why did they adopt others? Why did they take away from the Roman alphabet five or six letters? That is what he cannot explain, because, as Harris says, no alphabet can be found after the most rigorous research, not even the Runic, whose elements resemble, in figure and order, those of the Beith-Luis-Nion, or the Oghum. The great number of authors whose works were written in the Scotic language before Christianity, is an unanswerable proof against the assertions of Bollandus. Keating on the reign of Laogare II., and Gratianus Lucius, in the 20th chapter of his "Cambrensis Eversus," quote many of them. The first is Amergin, brother of Heber and Heremon, who was poet and supreme judge of the colony,* in the beginning of its establishment in Hibernia. O'Flaherty quotes the following hemistich as a remnant of his poetry:*

"Eagna la heagluis adir; agus fealtha laflaithibh."

Which he thus renders into Latin: "Aris præpositus fit doctior, aptior armis"

Ethrial MacIrial Faidh, that is,† Ethrial son of Irial the prophet, monarch of Ireland, had written, according to Keating, the history of the voyages and migrations of the Milesians up to his time; besides a great number of tracts on various subjects, viz., history, the genealogies of families, medicine, philosophy, the laws, &c. O'Flaherty mentions three celebrated poets under Conchovar, who began to reign in Ulster some years before the birth of our Saviour. These poets, whose names are, Forchern MacDeagh, Neidhe MacAidhna, and Aithirne MacAmhnas, composed many works upon poetry and the laws; they were likewise the authors of precepts, or celestial judgments, which O'Flaherty calls "judicia cœlestia." All these were revised, enlarged, and published by Kenfolae MacOlill, antiquarian, in the seventh century, under the reign of Donald the Second.‡

Jocelyn, in his panegyrics on Dubthach O'Lugair,§ a celebrated poet, who was converted by St. Patrick,‖ says, that "the talents he had used before his conversion, to celebrate the praises of the false gods, were afterwards applied by him to praise the true God and his saints."¶ The characters which he made use of were the Scotic, because he had then known no other. A treatise on the "Education of a Prince," written by Cormac Ulfada, monarch of Ireland in the third century, addressed to his son Cairbre Liffeachair, may be added to the above. This tract was found in a collection of ancient monuments by O'Duvegan. O'Flaherty, in fine, assures us, upon the authority of Dualdus Firbissius, an ancient antiquarian, that in the time of St. Patrick, one hundred and eighty volumes concerning the doctrine and discipline of the druids were condemned and burned.**

The epoch of the use of letters among

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.

* Anno Mundi 2292. † Anno Mundi 3025.
‡ War. de Script. cap. 1.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.
‖ Harris, vol. 2, cap. 3.
¶ "The verses which he had formerly composed in praise of his false gods, now changing to a better purpose his thoughts and language, he composed more renowned poems and sermons in praise of the omnipotent God and of his saints."—*Jocelin in his Life of St. Patrick.*
** Ogyg. part 3, cap 30, p. 219

the Scoto-Milesians may be placed about the time of their passing from Spain into Ireland. All circumstances are favorable to this opinion: the only difficulty is to know from whom they had received them, whether from the Phœnicians, or from the Greeks.

"The druids," says Cæsar, "never committed their mysteries to writing, except in their public acts, in which they made use of Greek characters." This gave rise to a belief, that the ancient Britons and the Milesians had borrowed the characters of the Greeks, through the channel of the druids, which supposes a commerce to have been between the Greeks and the islands of Britain. Saint Jerome, indeed, in accordance with ancient authors, informs us that the Greeks had spread themselves over the whole of Europe, along the coasts and neighboring countries, as far as the British isles. But we must understand that Saint Jerome, and the authors whom he follows, allude to the ancient Greeks. Herodotus tells us that those parts of Europe were not known to the modern Greeks. Polybius, who lived after him, says, that neither the Greeks nor Romans were acquainted with the islands of Britain. Dion of Nice assures us that in the third century it was doubted if they were not a continent. We cannot attribute the commerce alluded to to the modern Greeks, who, being exhausted by long wars, were more like subjects than allies to the Romans, and unable therefore to attempt such enterprises. Thus if we wish to believe that there had been a commerce between the Greeks and the islands of Britain, we must ascend to much earlier periods, viz., to the times of the most ancient Greeks, as Camden calls them, "Græci vetustissimi,"* who frequented, he says, whether in the character of pirates, or as traders, the islands of Britain. It is not certain, however, that the Greeks ever had an established or regular trade with the islands of Britain. It might be, that chance had driven some of their vessels thither, as it did the fleet of the Argonauts, which is supported by the assumed authority of Adrianus Junius; or it might be, that a storm had cast upon the coast of the country some merchant-ships. But if the Greeks were at any time masters of the above island, or traded thither, can it be imagined that they would have been so ignorant of them in the time of Herodotus? Or if they had been established there at a later period, how could they have doubted, as Dion of Nice says, whether they were a continent or not?

As to the druids, it is not proved that they had come from Greece. It may be thought, for sake of argument, that they had received their characters from the Phocians, the first Greek colony that settled at Marseilles, about six hundred years before the Christian era. However, a difficulty still remains; the ceremonies of the druids, and the care they took to conceal their mysteries, would appear to have a greater reference to the ceremonies and hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptian priests, than to those of the Greeks. Thus nothing prevents us to imagine that the first druids came from Egypt into Spain, with the Gadelians, and that they followed the Milesians into Ireland, from whence they spread themselves subsequently into Britain, Gaul, and other countries of Europe.

The opinion of those who think that the Milesians had received their characters immediately from the Phœnicians, appears more like the truth, on account of the trade those people had together, either in Spain or Ireland. The analogy which Cæsar discovers between the characters of the druids and those of the Greeks, does not at all affect this opinion; as, being derived from the same source, they must be extremely alike.

We know that the Phœnicians were masters of almost all the nations of Europe, but particularly of Asia Minor, Greece, and the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. They sailed, said Newton, in the times of David and Solomon,* upon the Mediterranean Sea as far as Spain, and beyond it; they introduced everywhere the sciences, particularly navigation, astronomy, and letters; and the coasts of Ireland, says Ware, after Bochart, were known to them.† The Spanish origin which ancient authors give to the Scoto-Milesians, and the epoch of their passing from Spain into Ireland, being compared with these circumstances, are a strong indication that letters were in very early use among this people, and support firmly the opinion of those who think that they had received them rather from the Phœnicians than from the Greeks. The use, therefore, of letters, added to a taste for history, and the necessity of preserving the genealogies in all their purity, to regulate the succession to the throne, afford a strong presumption that history prevailed among them.

The Scoto-Milesians had, like the Jews, powerful motives to influence them to preserve their history, and the genealogies of their chief families. The means which

* Brit. p. 20

* Chron. p. 12. † Antiq. Hib. cap. 1

they made use of in handing down their traditions, bespeak a nation equally lettered and polished. By a fundamental law of state, it was necessary to be of the house of Milesius to possess the throne, the sovereignty of the provinces, or to fill high military posts, or the magistracy. The interests of the princes and of the people, respectively, required them to take measures to prevent deception; very wise laws were enacted in regard to those rights. Ollam Fodla, who reigned about three centuries after the establishment of the colony in Ireland, founded the triennial assembly at Tara: he created the offices of antiquaries in the different provinces, to watch over and preserve the exploits of their heroes, and the genealogies of families. He ordained that the genealogical and historical records of those antiquarians should be examined in the triennial assembly, by commissioners appointed for that purpose; he decreed heavy penalties against those who might be discovered to prevaricate in the discharge of their duty. Lastly, he enacted that copies of such private registries as were thus examined and made pure, should be inserted in the great book or registry, since called the "Psalter of Tara," which was written in verse, after the manner of the ancient Arabs. This regulation was frequently renewed and confirmed by other princes; and that assembly was continued up to the time of Christianity.

Besides those registries, we have, since the time of paganism, the "Black Book," and that of "Conquests," the whole of which is given in the "Psalter of Cashel," and in other modern works. Cairbre Liffeachair, monarch in the third century, composed the "History of the Kings," his predecessors, a copy of which had been preserved until the last century, in the abbey of Icolm-kill; and Sir George M'Kenzie, in his "Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," speaks of having seen it.

Since the time of Christianity, we have the book called "Na-Gceart," written half in Irish, and half Latin, by Saint Benignus, disciple of Saint Patrick. The psalter called "Na-Rann," those of Cashel, Armagh, Cluan-Mac-Noisk, Cluan-Aigneach, and of Gravala; the books of Fiontan of Leix, Glandaloch, Roscrea, and Kilkenny. The "Martyrology" of Marianus Gorman, written in the eleventh century, besides many ancient Irish manuscripts, of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, translated into English in 1627, by Conall Mac-Geoghegan.*

* Ogyg. Epist. p. 10

The annals of Ulster, named "Ultonienses," by Usher, written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and finished in the sixteenth century, by Roderick Cassidy archdeacon of Clogher,* who had written the last part of it.

The annals of Tigernach, of Cluan-Mac Noisk, written in the Irish language and characters, in the eleventh century.

The annals of Innisfail, written in the thirteenth century, and the Synchronisms of Flannus a Monasterio. The greatest part of these writings are still entire. We discover other extracts scattered in the writings of Lecan, and those of Molaga, Mholing, O'Duvegan, Mac-Egan, Moel Conry, O'Brodeen, O'Dorau, O'Duneen, &c.

All these authors have written one after the other; they have transmitted age after age, and as if from hand to hand, the thread of the history of the Milesians, from the beginning. Scarcely an age passes without some who write the history of every country. The last historians, if general, always renew and relate, besides the present, whatever might be contained in the ancient monuments of a country; so that, should the original ones be lost, or consumed by time, their substance is still preserved in modern works

The reality of the monuments of the Milesians cannot be doubted; they are quoted by authors that are well known and incapable of imposing them by substituting chimeras for the true ones. Keating, Colgan, Gratianus Lucius, Walsh, O'Flaherty, Kennedy, and others, quote them in every page. Usher speaks of the annals of Tigernach, and of those which he calls "Ultonienses."† Ware quotes the psalter named "Narran," written in the eighth century, half Irish and half Latin, by Aongus Kelide, or Colideus.‡ He praises the "Psalter of Cashel, and its author, Cormac-Mac-Cullinan, bishop of Cashel, and king of the province of Munster, in the beginning of the tenth century; he says, that this book is highly esteemed, and that its author was both learned and well versed in the antiquities of his country."§

Sir George MacKenzie, a Scotchman, in the advertisement prefixed to his "Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," printed at Edinburgh in 1685, speaks of some Irish manuscripts in the abbey of Icolm-kill, which

* War. de Script. Hib.

† Primord. 15 et 16, passim.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 17 et 21.

§ "He was a man most learned and skilled in the antiquities of Ireland, and wrote in his native language, a history commonly called the Psalter of Cashel, which is still extant and held in high esteem."—*Antiquities*, c. 2.

he speaks of having seen. The following are his words:

"Since I have commenced this work, a very ancient manuscript of the abbey of Icolm-kill has fallen into my hands; it was written by Cairbre Liffeachair, who lived six generations before St. Patrick, and about the time of our Saviour; an exact account is given in it of Irish kings, from whence I infer, that as the Irish had manuscripts at that period, we must certainly have possessed them likewise." There are, in the same book, many things added by the druids of that time. "I have seen," continues MacKenzie, "an ancient genealogy of the kings of the Scots in Albania, which agrees with what has been said in our history on the crowning of Alexander II., and which is preserved at Icolm-kill as a sacred deposite. I have," he says, "likewise seen another ancient manuscript, which sets forth that the Dalreudini of Albania have been established here (in Scotland) six generations before Eire, whom Usher calls the father of our kings. From the same manuscript it is discovered, that Angus Tuirtheampher had reigned in Ireland five hundred years before our Feargus I., and that after his time, the Albanian Scots had separated from those in Ireland, which accords with our histories, that say the Scots inhabited this country for a long period before Feargus established himself in it. These same Irish manuscripts agree also with the history of Cairbre, whereof mention is made above: these are, in fact, the additions made to his book by our ancient senachies." Such is the formal and positive testimony of MacKenzie in support of ancient Irish manuscripts.

The annals of Ulster, of Tigernach, of Innisfail, which are mentioned in the catalogue of English and Irish manuscripts printed at Oxford,* are found, with many other Irish manuscripts, in the cabinet of the Duke of Chandos, in England, who has had them since the death of the Earl of Clarendon.

The late king of England, James II., had a large manuscript volume in folio, called Leavar Lecan, taken from the library of Trinity College, Dublin; it was afterwards, by order of the prince, who had an act passed before notaries for the purpose, deposited in the archives of the Irish college in Paris, and is carefully preserved. The style of this manuscript is so concise, and the words so abridged, that it is difficult to find any among the learned in that language able to decipher it. The translator of Keating's history into English, printed at Dublin in 1723, and afterwards in London, informs us in his preface, that there is in the library of Trinity College, in the same city, among other monuments, a volume in folio, written upon parchment many centuries ago; that this volume contains extracts from the Psalters of Tara, Cashel, Armagh, and other monuments of antiquity; and in order to obtain the reading of it for six months, that he had been obliged to give security to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling. Would he have dared to publish and to have printed in the same city that account, and give the name of Doctor Raymond, during his lifetime, who had been, he says, his security, if he feared that he could be contradicted? That is not probable.

The monuments to which we have been alluding, besides many others preserved in the cabinets of some lords of the country, are fragments that have escaped the fury of the Danes; they can be compared to inscriptions engraven upon columns injured by time, which are at present useless in a country where the language is in its decline. From such sources, those who have treated of the subject within the two last centuries, have been supplied: when the language was better understood than at present, it was then possible to consult these monuments; but those opportunities will disappear the more as time advances.

The value of history is sustained by the materials of which it is composed; but it is not in the writings of foreigners that these materials should be looked for; they must be taken from the monuments of that nation which is to form the subject of the history The Milesians were very jealous of their antiquities: the regulations made in their assemblies at Tara, for the purpose of preserving their annals, convince us easily of this. Although their monuments be written

* "The annals of Ulster is a book of most ancient character, and has been written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, but in the Irish characters; it commences with the year of our Lord 444, and ends A. D. 1041, in which Rodericus Cassideus, archdeacon of Clogher, died; he wrote the latter part of said annals."—*Vol.* 2.

"The annals of Tigernachus (according to Ware) Clonmacnaisensis, are mutilated in the beginning. The author touches on universal history till the coming of St. Patrick; after this he describes the affairs of Ireland till the year of our Lord 1088, in which he died: the book is in the Irish characters and language."—*Vol.* 3.

† "In the annals of the monastery of Innisfail, the author lightly touches on universal history, from the creation of the world to the year of our Lord 430. After this he describes, with great accuracy, Irish affairs to the year of our Lord 1215, in which he lived."—*Vol.* 26

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in a language which is strange and unknown to the other nations of Europe, that does not take away from the truth of the facts which are contained in them.

I am well aware that there are some among those who take the honorable name of Irishmen, as well as among foreigners, who seek to enfeeble the authority of the monuments of the Irish. Both are influenced by different motives, but their attempts are supported by negative arguments, and conjectures drawn from doubtful and obscure principles.

If evidence and authority are essential to support historical facts,* they are not less requisite, when the question to subvert them is debated: criticism likewise, when two such means are wanting, will fall of itself.

Neither are mathematical nor legal proofs necessary to maintain historical facts: moral ones ought to suffice: reason does not permit us to seek but what are merely proportioned to the nature of the subject. The certainty of history cannot be more than a moral certainty, founded upon the tradition of a people, upon their ancient monuments, upon grounds that are probable, or upon the testimony of men who are worthy of belief. The historians even of our time have never seen, of themselves, the one-thousandth part of what they relate. We must presume as much upon the tradition of an entire people, as upon the testimony of two witnesses in a private cause, the truth of which is founded only upon the presumption that they do not perjure themselves, so that the most solid support of the history of a country is the general opinion of its inhabitants, from whom strangers ought to derive every thing that they wish to know concerning them.

Critics think that they are competent to judge of things which they probably have never seen, and which perhaps they would not be capable of understanding, even though they should see them.

The first class of critics, as above, strive to find the origin of the Milesians among the Gauls, and by dint of calculating and combining the ideas which they have drawn from the writings of Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, they say, that Gaul, so fertile and abounding in fruit, was not less so in men; that it had been, from time to time, obliged to send some colonies into the neighboring countries, and of course into Spain on account of its proximity, and that the descendants of these colonies had perhaps passed subsequently from Spain to Ireland. We see that this mode of reasoning is founded upon conjectures only. Criticism affects, after the manner of Ptolemy, to discriminate and divide into tribes the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, under the names of Cauci, Menapii, Brigantes, Gangani, Luceni, &c., and to discover the origin of these people in the different countries with which they think those names had reference or affinity. The Cauci, it is thought by critics, were from Germany, the Menapii from Belgic Gaul, the Brigantes from Great Britain: the Gangani and Luceni are represented to be from Spain, and according to Camden and Silius Italicus to be of Scythian origin.

But besides Ptolemy's not being able to know the Milesians at a time when commerce was rare between nations that were far apart, he could therefore know them but through the imperfect report of sailors, who had perhaps scarcely seen the coasts of the island. We know that the Greeks and ancient geographers were in the habit of corrupting, or changing altogether the proper names of countries, nations, and even of cities, and of giving new names to them according to their own fancy.*

The several nations named by Ptolemy, are, as O'Flaherty says, strange and as little known to the Milesians, as the most distant parts of America; "so that it is astonishing," continues he, "that men so discerning in other things, could dwell on such absurdities, and make, in foolish conjectures, a display of their ignorance of our history."†

It is certain that the ancient monuments of the Milesians, to which alone we should refer in every matter that concerns them, make no mention of such a mixture of people. They inform us of the Milesians, or of the Scots, as the only possessors of the island, many centuries before Jesus Christ, and that they were of Scythian origin. Is there any thing in that impossible or extraordinary? What could be their motive for imposing upon the world a desire of being descended from a barbarous nation, and so distant as

* "There are two things, viz., reason and authority, which tend to confirm or impugn all matters: but in the study of antiquities, authority and the knowledge of past events are most powerful, and are supported, not on account of reasons adduced, but by the authority of writers."—*Camd. in his epistle on the Ogyg* p. 6.

* Joseph. lib. 1. cont. Appian. Camd. Brit. p. 17.

† "Great surprise seizes me, that men otherwise most sagacious, should make such follies of great moment, when laboring to develop them: they have sacrificed their time, and, during these foolish and prophetic efforts, betrayed their ignorance of our affairs."—*Ogyg.* part 1. p. 16.

that of Scythia, rather than from more neighboring nations? Would it not be equally glorious for them to have had their origin from Gaul, or any other nation on the continent? Certainly it would. But it is more fit that children should follow the traditions and writings that they have received from their fathers, rather than attach themselves to conjectures which are destitute of proofs.

As to those who pretend that the Milesians had the use of characters before St. Patrick, what has been explained concerning the language and characters of that people should satisfy them.

The use of letters among a people presupposes polished manners and cultivated minds: it cannot (say the critics) be imagined, that such qualities could belong to the Milesians, whom Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and other ancient authors represent to have been ferocious, rude, and barbarous before Christianity.

The Romans, who never had been masters of Ireland,* had not therefore the opportunity of being judges of the morals of its inhabitants.

Polybius, more ancient, by two centuries, than Strabo, assures us, that the British isles were scarcely known, and that every thing which could be said of them, was but the effect of the imagination.†

Dion of Nice agrees, that in his time it was still doubted if they were islands or a continent. In the first century also, Agricola was ignorant whether Britain was an island, until he had sailed round the Orkneys with his fleet. By this it appears, that in the time of Strabo, who lived in the first century, Ireland was not known to the Romans,‡ and, as Nicholson in his Irish Library asserts, those authors, not knowing what to say of it, have ventured to give some accounts of that island which they had perhaps received from sailors cast upon its coasts, where the inhabitants might have been what they are at present, among the most polished nations, cruel and ferocious to those who are shipwrecked upon their shores.

The candid avowal of Strabo himself shows it: he agrees that he had no witnesses worthy of belief for all that he had said.§

It appears that there was a custom formerly common to every nation, of affixing to each in their turn the name of barbarians. In the opinion of the Egyptians, the first Greeks were barbarians; the latter designated the Romans by the same title; the Romans reproached the Carthaginians with their bad faith, "fides punica," which became proverbial among those who were themselves wanting in good faith to all the world. In fine, all those (whom we would at present more politely call strangers) were looked upon by the Romans as barbarians, among whom they did not discover either their religion, customs, or a quick submission to the power of their arms. Some moderns have borrowed from the ancients, of whom they are but the echo, the ideas they had formed of the Milesians; they have even outdone them in the portraits which they have drawn to the disadvantage of that people, according as their own interest required it.

Gildas Britannicus, surnamed the wise,* the first British author of whom we have any account, wrote in the sixth century a treatise, "De Excidio Britanniæ;" he seems to doubt if his countrymen, the ancient Britons, left any monuments or manuscripts to transmit to posterity the remembrance of their origin, as he says that he was obliged to follow in his writings the accounts given of his country by foreigners. This doubt of Gildas is further strengthened by the silence observed by Cæsar, who makes no mention of any custom of writing history to have been among the Britons. If these (say the critics) had not in the sixth century any historical monuments, what pretensions could the Scoto-Milesians have to them, whose dates are much higher than the Christian era?

The weakness of the comparison will be felt, by attending a little to the situation of both countries at that time. The Scoto-Milesians, free and independent, lived within themselves, and were separated by their insular situation, from the rest of the world; while the Britons were slaves, trampled upon by a foreign power, and often harassed by the Picts and Scots. The Scoto-Milesians held a superiority over them in every thing. they made war upon them in their own country; they carried away prisoners; and, in fine, were a lettered people, which cannot be said of the Britons. Shall it be then pretended, that, because there were not in

* "But I cannot be induced to think, that this country ever fell into the power of the Romans."—*Camd. Brit.* p. 729.

† "They dream, if they either speak or write concerning them."—*Polyb.* b. 3, p. 88.

‡ Chap. 1. p. 1.

§ "Concerning Ireland I have nothing certain which I can say. The things indeed which we relate are unfounded, from the want of witnesses worthy of belief."

* Camd. Brit. edit. Lond p. 788.

the time of Gildas, any historical monuments among the Britons, the neighboring nations must have been also without any? The inference cannot appear to be a just one.

But they say that the modern critics (English of course) have despised and rejected those chimeras of antiquity to which the Milesians aspire, as well as the authorities they produce to support them. It is evident that those critics should not be believed in respect to the monuments of that people: they were unacquainted with the language in which they were written; it was altogether impossible for them to know it. There are but few even among the natives capable of deciphering their ancient writings: it is by a particular study only, of the abbreviations, punctuations, and of the ancient characters of that language, and the Oghum, that they can attain to it. The old Scotic language, which was spoken two thousand years ago, and which is made use of in their monuments, was entirely different from what is now, and has been spoken, within the last few centuries; and has become a jargon by the adoption of many Latin, English, and French words. Are these not difficulties, which it is impossible for a stranger to surmount, who attempts to write the history of that country? If the primitive Irish language be scarcely known by the bulk of the nation itself, what knowledge can an Englishman have of it after the short sojourn of a few months, during which he mixes but with those who speak his own language? If he be able to collect a few imperfect fragments written in the Scotic language and characters by some ignorant bard, he returns to his country as much pleased as if he possessed the most authentic monuments of that nation, and his native prejudice against the Irish furnishes him with matter to amuse his readers at their expense, with accounts that are both ridiculous and absurd.

Camden himself was not better informed, as appears from the imperfect sketch of the history of Ireland, which he has introduced into his "Britannia." Spelman, Stillingfleet, Nicholson, &c., are of the same stamp: nevertheless, such are the witnesses that are at present questioned upon the antiquities of the Scoto-Milesians, and the critics that are adduced and scrupulously copied after.

The judicious Ware, it is true, begins his antiquities of Ireland with the reign of Laogare, and the apostleship of Saint Patrick. He assigns it as a reason for not taking them from an earlier epoch, that most of what had been written concerning the predecessors of that monarch, was exceedingly mixed with fables and anachronisms, "fabulis et anachronismis mire admixta." Two things in this must be observed: first, that, from the acknowledgment of the author there were some kings the predecessors of Laogare, and monuments which speak of them; second, that these monuments were mixed with fables and anachronisms. I have no doubt but his criticism is just; this is a fault common to all ancient histories. What can be known of antiquity, if all history be rejected which contains any thing that may be false, fabulous, or supposed? Is not Herodotus, the father of history, called also the father of falsehood? Why has he put forth things that are doubtful, nay untrue, according to Manetho, in regard to Egypt and the Egyptians, upon the testimony of Vulcan's priests, whom he had met with at Memphis? Is he correct in the accounts he gives of the manners and customs of the Scythians, Amazons, and other countries, from hearsay? Have the author of the Cyropedia, Titus Livy, Quintus Curtius, and others been free from the lash of criticism? Have the more modern historians, Camden, Buchanan, de Thou, Mezeray, and Père D'Orléans, escaped censure? Is not Voltaire convicted of repeated mistakes in his "Age of Louis XIV.," in his history of Charles XII., and in his history of the empire?

If the historians of our days were obliged to warrant every thing that they advance in their writings, their embarrassment would be very great. How many things, either from a spirit of partiality or ignorance, would be found to be suppressed! How many would appear darkened or disfigured, from a desire of transferring to those whom they admired, the merit of some whom they disesteemed! If the history of the late campaigns in Flanders be written, it will with justice be said, that the French were conquerors at Fontenay, Rocoux, and Lawfeld; it will be admitted that they took the cities of Menin, Ypres, Mons, Namur, and Burgenopzoom; but will the several circumstances and particular facts be correctly detailed? Shall there be mention made of those who gave way before the enemy? Will they who, by not obeying their officers, contributed to the loss of the advantages gained, be likewise introduced? Shall justice be done to such as were instrumental to the gaining of their battles, and to the taking of the cities? Lastly, will both parties agree in their accounts of the various operations of their campaigns? I am of opinion that they will not. Have we not frequently witnessed the

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singing of the "Te Deum" by both parties when the battle was over? The history of it will be written when the facts will be almost forgotten, and no person found to contradict them. The productions of the imagination will then take the place of truth; the historian will flatter some at the expense of others; the coward will be immortalized in his writings, while those will be suffered to lie buried in perpetual oblivion, who had merited the best of their country.

Are not the gazettes themselves, which are published by authority, often filled with falsehood, and the editor obliged to retract what he had already made public in the ordinary course? Let four men from different quarters of Paris be summoned to give testimony of what had happened in the middle of the city, will they agree upon what each will tell of it in his own quarter; and will their accounts, after having passed through many mouths, and returning to the first author, be intelligible? What can be concluded from this, but that there are very few histories which are not mixed with truth and fable?

To return to Ware; can we not with some degree of justice say, that he was not a fit judge in this affair? He did not know the primitive language of Ireland, so as to be competent to explore the first periods of its history. He had no opportunity of consulting the Psalters of Teamor, and other monuments necessary for such an undertaking; he saw but some books of annals, written half in Latin and half in Irish, the dates whereof ran no higher than the Christian era; in a word, every thing antecedent to that period, is accused by him, of containing fables and anachronisms: by these means he exonerates himself from making the researches to which he did not feel himself competent.

It is farther objected, that, because the Romans, and also the Greeks, the most civilized in their time of any people of Europe, had not historians more ancient than Herodotus, who lived about four hundred years before the Christian era, the pretensions of the Milesians, with respect to the epoch of their history, cannot be maintained.

Should we suppose with those critics, which is but a mere conjecture of the truth, that Herodotus was the first historian among the Greeks—for it is possible there were others more ancient, whose works have been lost—the comparison is still weak, and nothing can arise from it but a negative proof.

We know that the Greeks, who excelled in the art of government, philosophy, eloquence, poetry, and other fine arts, were very limited in the knowledge of history.

Josephus, in his book against Appian, asserts, that to have a knowledge of antiquity, we must not seek it among the Greeks, whose writings, he says, are imperfect, new, and doubtful; it appears therefore that history was not the ruling passion of that people, although most polished in other respects.

As to the Romans, they are more modern. The use of letters, says Livy, was rare among the ancient Romans, the memory being their only depository of time, in the first ages of the republic. If their priest in succeeding ages, transmitted some monuments, they were lost in the burning of the city;* and if we attach belief to Vossius on the subject, Fabius Pictor was the first who wrote the history of the republic, in the year of Rome 485.†

Orpheus of Crotona, in his poem of the Argonauts, and Aristotle in his book "Of the world," dedicated to Alexander,‡ make mention of Ireland, under the name of Ierna, from whence Usher takes the opportunity of saying, "that the Romans could produce no testimony so authentic for the antiquity of their name."§ The comparison of Usher is not made in allusion to the soil or land of Rome, nor to that of Ireland, the two countries being in that respect of equal antiquity; the question is with respect to those who inhabited the two countries, of which we have a more authentic testimony for their antiquity than the other: thus, in the opinion of Usher, the Scoto-Milesians had a better title to it than the Romans.

The strength of this reasoning will be felt still more forcibly, if, with Camden, we consider that the name Ierna, and others which strangers give to that island, are derived from Eire, "ab Erin ergo gentis vocabulo originatio pretenda;"‖ a name which has been peculiar to it since the Scoto-Milesians have been in possession of the island, and which is derived from Ire, one of their ancient chiefs. If it be then allowed us to think, with Usher, that the Scoto-Milesians were

* "The writings in these days were few. The memory of exploits was the only guardian of them; and if any things had been committed by their priests to be preserved in monuments, they must have perished in the conflagration of the city."—*Livy*, b. 6.

† De historia Lat. lib. 1, cap. 44, et lib. 2.

‡ Newton, Introduction to Chron. p. 6.

§ "Of such antiquity, that the Romans themselves could not produce an author to bear similar testimony of their name."—*Usher, Church Hist.* p. 724.

‖ Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 726

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est ıblished in Ireland before the Roman nar ıe was known, we may likewise suppose thar, from being a lettered people, the dates of their histories are much higher than those of the Romans.

The obscurity of the monuments of the Milesians is again objected to. It is a matter of astonishment (people say) that among so many learned men whom Ireland has produced, none have undertaken to translate and publish, in some known language, the ancient monuments of that country, while other nations have been careful, since the invention of printing, to collect and submit to the view of the critic all their titles to antiquity which they have been able to discover; the Milesians are apparently diffident themselves of the truth and authenticity of their monuments, as they are afraid to make them appear before the world.

Of that objection I feel the full force, and see the necessity there would be for having their monuments published, in order to afford to the learned the opportunity of judging of them; but I see at the same time the great difficulties that await the undertaking. That nation, being always engaged in wars since the twelfth century to the present time, especially since the invention of printing, has never been in a state to undertake such a project. The various revolutions which have happened since the reign of Elizabeth, both in religion and general government, as well as in the fortunes of individuals, particularly the Milesians, who are alone interested to have their antiquities made known, have produced so great a discouragement among them, that they only thought of the present, and their greatest concern has been to save from shipwreck, and to preserve some portion of the patrimony of their ancestors, without troubling themselves about times that are so long past.

Those who make the objection do not weigh the difficulties which await the attempt To translate from the Irish language into others, the learned in that language should be chosen from among the natives of the country, which would create a diffidence and doubt of the capability and correctness of the translators; and to judge of the affair, the Irish themselves would be both the judges and the party.

The matter would be less difficult were the Irish manuscripts less numerous. In order to render the enterprise useful, more than fifty volumes should be translated and published, each of which, though differing in object, have an essential connection one with the other relative to the history of that nation. It ought to satisfy us that Keating, Colgan, Gratianus Lucius, Bruodine, O'Flahetry, and many others, who have made use of and understood the Irish manuscripts, can warrant them, and say that they bear every mark of the remotest antiquity, and that the extracts which they have given from them are faithful.

The same difficulties are not met with in the antiquities of other nations of Europe; their ancient monuments are not many; there are but few of them that mount so high as the Christian era, and are written in languages and characters which are known to all the learned: whereas, those of the Milesians are unknown, not only to foreigners, but even to most of the Irish themselves.

How many authentic manuscripts are there remaining in the libraries of the Vatican, of the king at Paris, and the Bodleian at Oxford, which were never published! A catalogue of the English and Irish manuscripts which had never been printed, was published a few years ago in his city, (Paris.)

Those who had the history of their country first printed, have taken their materials from manuscripts that were never printed, the dates of which run much higher than the period when printing was invented; still, no lawsuits were instituted against them for not having previously published such writings. The rareness of a manuscript has never been a cause for esteeming it the less, and the printing, which is but a copy, gives to it an authority so far as that it becomes thereby more generally known.

The authors who have in the last three centuries given their attention to the history of Ireland, and that are best known, are Stanihurst, Peter Lombard, Keating, Messingham, O'Sullivan, Ward, Clery, Roth, Usher, Colgan, Ware, Bruodine, Gratianus Lucius, Belling, Walsh, O'Flaherty, O'Reilly, Porter, Molyneux, Kennedy, &c.

Richard Stanihurst, a native of Dublin, but of English descent, having made his studies at Oxford and at London, wrote, in the Latin language, a small volume in quarto, which was printed at Antwerp, in 1584, under the title of "De rebus in Hibernia gestis, libri quatuor," with notes upon some extracts taken from Cambrensis.* This author, being from his youth under the guidance of men badly disposed towards the Irish nation, lent his pen to disparage a people whom he did not know, and whose monuments he was unable to consult, being written in a language whereof he was altogether

* Keating's Præf. page 9.

ignorant; it cannot be, therefore, a matter of surprise that his book is filled with errors, and that his descriptions of the Irish nation, which make the subject of his work, are altogether false.* Stanihurst, seeing his history censured by the world, *and burned by orders of the Inquisition in Portugal*, promised, at a more advanced age, when he had entered into holy orders, to recant his writings by a public avowal, but was prevented by death before he could accomplish his purpose.

Peter Lombard was born in Waterford, and being brought up from his youth at Westminster, under the eyes of the learned Camden, he displayed great proofs of capacity for the sciences: he afterwards came to Louvain—where he completed his studies, and received the doctor's cap. The provostship of the cathedral of Cambray was afterwards conferred on him; lastly, he was appointed archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland. Among his other works, he has left a commentary in Latin on the history of Ireland, which was highly esteemed, and was printed after his death, in quarto, at Louvain, in 1632.†

Geoffry Keating was born in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Being intended for the ecclesiastical state, he left his country in consequence of the persecutions that were carried on against the Catholics, and came to France, where he received the degree of doctor in theology. Returning afterwards to his native country, and being perfect master of the Irish language, he collected every thing that was possible for him from the ancient monuments of Ireland, and formed the design of reducing them into the shape of history; two motives induced him to undertake it, as he himself says in his preface. First, to draw from obscurity a people who were equally ancient as they were generous and noble, by preserving from the ravages of time, a methodical history of their monuments. Secondly, to develop the injustice of some authors, who, without consulting them, propagate against the Irish their false productions, which may be termed satires rather than history. He adds, that every thing which he advances in favor of Ireland arises from his love for truth, and that his testimony should not be suspected, being himself of English origin. This qualification, however, raised suspicions from many quarters against him, particularly in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught, where he was denied access to their monuments which would be essential for his history, and the want of which has rendered it less copious and complete than it would otherwise have been. This history, written in the Irish language, which was principally spoken at that time, has been since translated into English, and become thereby open to criticism. Those who think themselves interested in degrading the Irish people, whose antiquity appears to them insupportable, severely censure the history of Keating,* while others, more moderate and impartial, consider it a valuable collection of antiquities.† It must, however, be acknowledged, that if the English translation of this history be a faithful one, which is not very certain, there are many anachronisms in the work, and accounts which seem to be fabulous, and absurd tales. However, these should be attributed rather to the credulity of the author, who has too closely followed, on some occasions, the fictions of the ancient bards, than to any previous intention of degrading the history of the Irish nation. Among all its defects we discover many good and interesting things, which make that work essentially useful; provided it be read with caution, much information may be derived with respect to the origin of the Milesians, their establishment in the island, their wars, government, and the succession of their kings.

Thomas Messingham, a priest, and native of the province of Leinster, also apostolical prothonotary, and superior of a community of Irish in Paris, published in that city in 1624, a small folio volume in Latin, entitled "Florilegium insulæ Sanctorum." It contains the lives of many of the Irish saints, taken from the best of authors.

Philip O'Sullivan, a gentleman of the noble family of O'Sullivan Barry, in the county of Cork, being compelled by the misfortune of the times, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to fly from his country, withdrew to Spain, where, after having completed his studies at Compostello, he composed several works in Latin; among others, an abridgment of the history of Ireland, which had for its title, "Historicæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium," dedicated to Philip IV. king of Spain, and printed at Lisbon in 1621. The fabulous account of St. Patrick's purgatory, introduced into his history, after the Viscount Lamon de Parellos, a Spanish lord, has been injurious to it. In his description

* Harris, Irish Writers, vol. 2, chap. 13.

† O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath Hiber. compend. tome 1, lib. 4, cap. 1.

* Cox, Talbot, Welsh, Pref.

† Approbation of Doctor Finlay, prefixed to Keating's Hist. London ed.



PETER LOMBARD. ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH
Primate of all Ireland

D. & J. SADLIER. & Co NEW YORK.

of the island, its antiquities, the invasion of the English, the fifteen years' war under Queen Elizabeth, and the persecution under James I., he appears to be correct. He has drawn upon himself the censure of Usher, who treats him as a faithless author, on account of a tract written against him, under the title of "Archicornigeromastix."

Hugh Ward, or Wardeus, a native of the county Donegal in Ulster, was first brought up at Salamanca, where he became one of the order of St. Francis, in 1616; he afterwards completed his studies at Paris, from whence he was called and nominated lecturer in theology, and afterwards warden, at Louvain. As he was very learned and versed in antiquity, he took the resolution to write a universal history of the saints of his own country; for that object he sent Michael O'Cleary, a monk of his order, to collect materials necessary for it. In the mean time he composed several works that were afterwards very useful to John Colgan, who undertook, after his death, to finish his intended history.

Michael O'Cleary, a native of the province of Ulster, and monk of the order of St. Francis, was sent, as has been observed, into Ireland by Ward, to make the researches necessary for the work he had contemplated. This monk performed his commission with all possible attention, without his patron having derived from it any benefit, being prevented by death.

O'Cleary having formed a taste for that kind of employment, troublesome indeed, but very useful to the public, and being joined by other antiquarians of the country, particularly Ferfessius O'Conry, Peregrin O'Cleary, and Peregrin O'Dubgennan, collected a quantity of materials to serve for an ecclesiastical and civil history, and reduced them into order. Some ancient monuments he purged, by comparing them with old manuscripts, of the errors which had crept in by the ignorance of the copyists.

The first of these monuments is an historical abridgment of the Irish kings, their reign and succession, their genealogies and death.

The second is a tract on the genealogies of their saints, called "Sanctilogium genealogicum."

The third treats of the first inhabitants, and different conquests of that island; the succession of her kings, their wars, and other remarkable events, from the deluge until the arrival of the English in the twelfth century. This book is called, "Leabhar Gabhaltas." Our author composed another work in two volumes quarto, called the Annals of Donegal, and sometimes the Annals of the Four Masters. Those two, which are not yet printed, are taken from the annals of Clon-Mac-Noisk, of Innisfail, of Senat, and many other ancient authentic monuments of the country. The first comprises its ancient history from the earliest periods till the twelfth century; and the second, after leaving a chasm of about one hundred and sixty-four years, begins with the fourteenth and ends with the seventeenth centuries. O'Flaherty* taxes these annals with an error in their chronology, but they are followed by Gratianus Lucius,† and Colgan.‡

David Roth, a native of Kilkenny, doctor of theology in the college of Douay, and bishop of Ossory, was, according to Usher, well skilled in the antiquities of his country.§ He was an eloquent orator, a subtile philosopher, a profound theologian, and a learned historian.‖ Various works were published by him in Latin, under borrowed names, and among others his "Hibernia Resurgens," which was printed at Rouen, and at Cologne, in 1621.¶

James Usher, or Usserius, was a native of Dublin and well known in the republic of letters by his erudition and the grea number of his works, which are a proof of it. The writings of this learned man that have any reference to our history, are his "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge," and "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." The first contains fifty letters upon the Irish people, with some notes from the editor. This small volume was printed first in Dublin in 1630, and reprinted at Paris, 1665. The second, which was printed at Dublin in 1639, and at London in 1687, treats of the origin of British churches.

John Colgan, a native of the county Donegal in Ulster, and monk of the order of Saint Francis in the convent of Saint Anthony of Padua, at Louvain, where he was professor in theology, was learned in the language and antiquities of his country; he undertook to write the lives of the Irish saints, and was the more capable of undertaking it, from being aided by the researches which Ward had got made for the same intention. In 1645 a volume in folio was published by him, at Louvain; it contained the lives of the saints for the first three

* Ogyg. prolog. p. 43.
† Cambr. Evers. cap. 8.
‡ Act Sanct. passim.
§ Prim. cap. 16, p. 737.
‖ Syllog. epist. p. 125.
¶ Messingham, Florileg. p. 87.

months of the year, under the title of "Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ." A second volume was published at Louvain in 1647, which had for its title, "Triadis Thaumaturgæ &c.;" it contained the lives of St. Patrick, Saint Columb, and Saint Bridget. We have likewise a treatise from him on the country, life, and writings of John Scot, called the subtile doctor, printed in octavo, at Antwerp, in 1655. There are, in fine, many manuscript volumes at Louvain, of this author, which speak of the apostleship and mission of many Irish saints in foreign countries.

Sir James Ware, or Wareus, a native of Dublin, made many researches useful to the history of Ireland, both in the registries and cloisters of the churches and monasteries of the country, and in the libraries of England. He published first in Dublin in 1639 a treatise in Latin, upon the Irish writers. In 1654, and 1658, he had the antiquities of Ireland published in London, under the title of "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones." In fine, he has furnished a commentary on the Irish prelates, from the conversion of that country down to his time. This work has been printed at Dublin in 1665, under the title of "De Præsulibus Hiberniæ commentarius." All these have been translated into English, and printed in folio at London, in 1705, to which is subjoined a discourse from Sir John Davis, wherein he examines into the cause of the delay of the conquest of Ireland by the English. Ware's researches on the foundation of the churches, the names and succession of their prelates, the establishment of monasteries and religious houses, and the learned writers of that country, are extremely interesting. His works which relate to Ireland, from the invasion of the English, are in general excellent, and worthy a man of his merit; but his treatise on its antiquities is of small moment; he was not sufficiently acquainted with its language, to be able to consult the monuments of that people, so that he has, at a small expense, acquired for himself the title of antiquarian.

Anthony Bruodine, a native of the county Clare in Ireland, was a recollet and professor in theology in the convent of that order at Prague. Among other works he composed a volume in quarto, entitled, "Propugnaculum Catholicæ veritatis, pars prima historica, &c.," printed at Prague in 1668.

John Lynch, priest and archdeacon of Tuam, and native of Galway in Connaught, was learned in the language of his country, and ably conversant in all kinds of literature. The troubles produced to his country by the war of the parliamentarians, and tyranny of Cromwell, obliged him to leave it. In 1652 he came to France, and published among other works, a volume in folio, printed in 1662, under the title of "Cambrensis Eversus," and under the borrowed name of "Gratianus Lucius." Our author with much judgment and solidity refutes the calumnies that Cambrensis had advanced against his country. In the chronology he is not very correct, and though his book be not, properly speaking, a history of Ireland, many interesting facts, taken from the antiquities of that country, are found in it.

Sir Richard Belling, a native of the county Dublin, has left us a volume in duodecimo, printed in Latin, at Paris, in 1650, under the title of "Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ libri duo," and under the borrowed name of "Philopater Irenæus." In the first book of this volume we discover a sufficiently exact account on the affairs of Ireland, from the year 1641 till 1649. The second is a refutation of a work written by a monk named Paul King, on Irish affairs.

Peter Walsh was a native of Moortown in the county Kildare; being admitted into the order of St. Francis, he studied at Louvain, where he became professor of theology. There are many of his works in English, concerning the affairs of his time. The first part of his prospectus of Ireland has been given, and printed in duodecimo, at London in 1682. In this he begins with the history of the country, to end it with the twelfth century; but though the recital of facts contained in it be sufficiently correct, still the want of order and system discoverable, makes the reading of it irksome. The second part, which he promised, has never appeared.

Roderick O'Flaherty, an Irish gentleman, was born at Moycullin in the county Galway; it was the patrimony of his ancestors for many ages, but confiscated in the troubles which had arisen in 1641; he was a man of letters, and profoundly skilled in the history of his own and foreign countries. He has left us a large volume, in Latin, composed from the most authentic monuments, and which he dedicated to the duke of York, who soon afterwards became king of Great Britain, under the name of James II. It was printed in quarto at London, in 1685, under the title of "Ogygia," wherein he treats of the ancient history of Ireland before Christianity. In this book he displays great erudition, and a deep knowledge of chronology, as appears from the testimony of two grea

men, Loftus and Belling, whose approvals are found printed at the head of his work. Stillingfleet also cites him with eulogy.* The second book of his Ogygia is still in manuscript, without being printed.

Hugh O'Reilly, an Irish gentleman and native of the county Cavan, was master in the court of chancery, and register to the council under James II. Having followed the fortunes of that prince into France, he was nominated his chancellor for the kingdom of Ireland. In 1693 O'Reilly published a small volume in English, which has for its title, "Ireland's case briefly stated," that is to say, an abridgment of the state of Ireland, since the reformation, wherein the things which happened in that country, are represented without disguise. He reproaches Charles II. with want of gratitude to his Irish subjects for their services: he shows the injustice and bad policy of that prince, for having confirmed the murderers of the king his father in their possessions and wealth, as rewards for their regicide; the old proprietors were for those objects stripped of their fortunes, whose only crime was their faithful allegiance to their king. He speaks, in fine, like a man who, in pleading his own cause, pleads that of his country. His complaints it appears were well founded, whereas the king his master, to whom he communicated the purport of his writings before they would be printed, was pleased to say, that "they contained but too many truths."

Francis Porter, a native of the county of Meath, and monk of the order of Saint Francis, was for a long time professor of theology in the college of Saint Isidore, at Rome, and president of it for some time. Among other works, he has left us a volume in Latin, and printed in quarto at Rome, in 1690, under the title of "Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticarum Regni Hiberniæ." After his description of the kingdom, and a list of its kings, he speaks of the war of the Danes: the remainder relates to the affairs of the church.

Louis Augustin Allemand, a lawyer in the parliament of Paris, published in that city, in 1690, "L'Histoire Monastique d'Irelande," in the French language, and dedicated it to James II, king of Great Britain and Ireland. The learned author follows with great exactness those who have written on the same subject before him, viz., Usher, Ware, Colgan, and others, and it can be affirmed, that, for a stranger, who had never seen the country of which he writes, his work is very correct.

* Pref. ad Orig. Brit

William Molyneux was born in Dublin, and has published many excellent works. Among others, one upon "The State of Ireland," was dedicated by him to the prince of Orange: he proves in it, that that country was never conquered by Henry II.; that he granted, according to treaty, a parliament and laws to the people of Ireland; that the ecclesiastical state in that country was independent of England, and that the English could not bind the Irish by laws made where the people had not their deputies.

Matthew O'Kennedy, an Irish gentleman and doctor of laws, master in the court of chancery, and judge of the admiralty, in Ireland, has written a small volume in English, printed at Paris, in 1705: it contains an historical and chronological dissertation on the royal family of the Stuarts, who are (he says) of Irish descent, through the colonies that were sent at different periods into Albania. This treatise has not escaped criticism; it has been abused by Father De la Haye, an Anglo-Scotchman, in a letter to the duke of Perth, wherein there are more invectives against Kennedy and his country, than proofs against his dissertation, the object of his attacks, as appears by Kennedy's reply, in the shape of a letter, to what De la Haye had advanced; this was printed at Paris, in French, in 1715, with the letter of that father subjoined to it.

Walter Harris, counsellor, has published two volumes in folio, in English, on the history of Ireland, under the title of "The Works of Sir James Ware on Ireland, revised and augmented." The first volume was printed at Dublin in 1739, and the second in 1745; a third which he promised, has not yet appeared. The Irish people are deeply indebted to this learned man, for the pains he has bestowed, and the interesting researches he has made to complete that work, which he has considerably enlarged and enriched with many tracts that escaped the vigilance of his prototype, and which merit for him the title of author instead of editor, which he has modestly taken.

The dissertations upon the ancient history of Ireland, given in England by an anonymous writer, and published at Dublin, in 1753, through the care of Michael Reilly, display an extensive knowledge in the antiquities of that country. This work is flowery in its style, and the matter handled with peculiar delicacy and neatness. I wish that author had continued his writings upon that subject; the nation will lose much, should he repose beneath the shade of his first laurels.

Such are the principal authors that have

treated on the history of Ireland, within the three last centuries: the greater part of them are of English extraction, and cannot be suspected of being partial to ancient Ireland, no more than those English authors, whom I have made use of. Such are the sources from whence I have taken the materials that compose this history, without adopting the fables of some, or following the exaggerated criticism of others. Antiquity ever deserves respect; "Sua detur antiquitati venia;" nor should the caprice of the envious be a sufficient cause to dispute it.

CHAPTER III

FABULOUS HISTORY OF THE GADELIANS.

It is more than probable that Ireland remained desert and uninhabited from the creation to the deluge. No history, not even that of Moses, offers any thing which can lead us to suppose, that before the universal deluge, men had discovered the secret of passing from one country to another that was separated by water. The ark, which was constructed by order of God himself, and which served to preserve man on the watery element, is the first vessel of which we have any knowledge. Consequently the story of the three Spanish fishermen, who were driven by contrary winds on the coast of Ireland, some time before the deluge, and the account of Keasar, daughter of Bith, according to others niece of Noah, who, by means of a vessel which she had built after the model of the ark,* retired to that island, to save herself from the waters of the deluge, should be rejected as a fiction, and unworthy of being admitted into a serious history.

There are some old collections of charters, with many other monuments in writing, of the church of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, in Latin "Cluanensis," cited by O'Flaherty in the dedicatory epistle of his Ogygia,† which fix the arrival of the first colonies in Ireland, under Partholan, in the year of the world 1969,‡ three hundred and twelve years after the deluge; this colony was followed by the Nemedians, the Fomorians, the Firbolgs, and the Tuatha de Danains.§ Although most historians‖ who speak of the first inhabitants of Ireland after the deluge, mention those colonies; they do not however agree upon the origin of those people. Some consider them to have been originally from Scythia, others from Thrace,* or Migdonia but the opinion of those who suppose that they came from Britain and Gaul, appears more natural, without being subject to the same improbabilities. Those authors following this principle, that all nations had been peopled one from the other successively,† say, that according to order and reason, Asia Minor, being nearest to the cradle of the human race, must have been peopled by the descendants of Japhet before Greece, Greece before Italy, Italy before Gaul, Gaul before Britain, and Britain before Ireland; that therefore those countries must have drawn their first inhabitants one from the other, from Asia to Ireland: by such gradation they pretend that Ireland received her first inhabitants from Britain, or from Gaul. The conjecture is a strong one. The analogy that is between the name of those people and the inhabitants of Belgic Gaul, and other nations, either of Gaul or Britain, added to the proximity of those countries, gives to it an appearance of plausibility. The Fomorians and Firbolgs may have been descended from the Belgæ of Belgic Gaul, and the Tuatha de Danains from the Danmonii, an ancient people of Cornwall in Britain. Whatever truth may be in these conjectures, Partholan having landed with his colony in Ireland,‡ divided the island between his four sons, Er, Orbha, Fearon, and Ferghna; but his posterity, after three hundred years' residence in the country, perished miserably by the plague, at Binneadair, at present Howth, near Dublin; after which time the island continued uninhabited for the space of thirty years, until the arrival of the second colony commanded by Nemedius.

It is said that Neivy, or Nemedius,§ great grand-nephew of Partholan, having learned by some means the disasters and tragical end of his relations in Ireland, and wishing, as heir of Partholan, to succeed him in the possession of that island, embarked with thirty-four transport vessels, carrying each thirty persons, without counting Macha, his wife, and his four sons, Starn, Janbaneal, Annin, and Fergus, who followed his fortune in the expedition. Macha died after twelve years, and was interred in a place since called from her name, Ardmach.

* Ware, cap. 2. † Page 10. ‡ Ware, cap. 2.
§ Ogyg. part 2, p. 65; part 3, p. 2
‖ Ogyg. part 2, p. 73

* Camd. Brit. edit. Franc. p. 12
† Ogyg. part 1, p. 7, part 2.
‡ Walsh, Prospect of Irl. part 1 sec. 1
§ Ogyg part 2, p. 65

Nemedius was not long in peaceful possession of his new kingdom, when he was disturbed by the Fomorians or Fomhoraigs. Nemedius fought some successful battles against them: the first was near the mountain called Slieve Bloemy; the second at Rossfraochin, in Connaught, where Gan and Geanan, the principal commanders of these strangers, were slain; the third at Murbuilg, in the country since called Dalriada, otherwise Route, in which Starn, son of Nemedius, lost his life. But the fourth battle was fatal to him, his whole army having been cut to pieces. His son Arthur, who was born in the country, and Jobean, son of Starn, were found among the slain.* Nemedius, unable to survive so great a misfortune, died of grief some short time afterwards at Oilean-Arda-Neivy, at present Barrymore, in the county of Cork; after which the Fomorians easily made themselves masters of the whole island. Those of the colony of Nemedius who had escaped the last defeat, after some few unavailing efforts, being unable to bear the tyranny of those new masters, resolved to abandon the country. Jobath, grandson of Nemedius, led a part of the colony into the north of Germany, from whence are descended the Tuatha de Danains.† Briotan Maol, grandson of Nemedius by Feargus, established himself with his tribe in Britain,‡ called, according to the Psalter of Cashel, from his name, and his posterity settled there under the name of Britons. This opinion, which is supported by a number of ancient Irish chronologists, agrees as to the time, with Henry of Huntington, who says, that the Britons came into Britain in the third age of the world, "Brittones in tertia mundi ætate venerunt in Brittaniam;" this account merits at least as much credit as the fable of Geoffry of Monmouth about Brutus, which has been opposed and rejected by his own countrymen.

In some time after, the Firbolgs or Belgians, another people of Britain, to the number of five thousand men, commanded by five chiefs, either by the defeat or desertion of the Fomorians, took possession of the island. Those five leaders were, Slaingey, Rughruighe or Rory, Gan, Gannan, and Sengan, all brothers, and children of Dela, of the race of the Nemedians. They divided the island into five parts or provinces, which gave birth to the pentarchy, which lasted with little interruption till the twelfth century. Slaingey, governor of Leinster, was the chief of the pentarchy, and monarch of the whole island. The people were known by three different names, viz., Gallenians Damnonians, and Belgians; but the last was the general name of the whole colony; their dominion lasted about eighty years under nine kings, who were, Slaingey, Rory, Gann, Geanan, Sengan, Fiacha, Rionall, Fiobgin, and Eogha who married Tailta, daughter of a Spanish prince, who gave name to the place of her burial, still called Tailton, in Meath.*

In the reign of Eogha, the colony of the Tuatha de Danains, whose ancestors had been conducted into the north of Germany by Jobath, grandson of Nemedius,† as we have already said, made a descent upon Ireland under the conduct of Nuagha Airgiodlamh, who immediately gave battle to the Firbolgs, commanded by Eogha their king, at Moyturey near Lake Masg, in the territory of Partrigia, otherwise Partry, in the county of Mayo.‡ The latter lost in one day the battle and possession of the island, and were so reduced as to seek an asylum in the islands of the north. Nuagha, having lost one hand in the action, had one made of silver, whence the name of Airgiodlamh is derived, which signifies silver hand.

It is said that the Tuatha de Danains were very skilful in the art of magic, which was the theology of those barbarians. Before they landed in Ireland, they passed through Norway and Denmark, where their diabolical science procured them respect. They brought from that country the famous stone called, "Lia-Fail," in Latin, "saxum fatale." This stone, which gave to Ireland the name of "Innisfail," that is to say, the island of Fail, was used at the coronation of their kings: it is pretended, that during the ceremony an astonishing noise issued from it, like the statue of Memnon in the Thebaid. from which a distinct sound was heard, when struck by the first rays of the rising sun. But the coming of the Messiah, which made all those pagan superstitions vanish, caused this stone also to lose its virtue. There is a prophecy, likewise, which says, that wheresoever the stone should be preserved, a prince of the race of the Scots should reign; which gave rise to the following lines:

Cineadh Scuit saor an fine,
Munab breg an fhaisdine.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 7.
† Keating.
‡ Walsh, Prosp. of Ireland, part 1 sect. 1

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 9.
† Ogyg. part 2, page 81.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 10.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

Mar a bfhuighid an Lia-fail,
Dlighid flait heas do ghabhail.

which are found thus translated into Latin in the History of Scotland, by Hector Boetius :

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century of Christianity, Feargus the Great, son of Earcha, having been elected by the Dalriads of Albania for their chief,* and seeing that he was able to get himself crowned king, sent to ask this stone from Murtough, then monarch of Ireland, in order to render the ceremony of his inauguration more solemn and august, and to perpetuate the diadem in his own family ; the monarch readily granted the request of Feargus, who got himself crowned first king of the Dalriads of Albania, on that stone which was preserved with veneration in the abbey of Scone, till the thirteenth century, when it was forcibly carried off by Edward I., king of England, and placed in the chair which is used at the coronation of the kings of England, in the abbey of Westminster, where it is, they say, still preserved.

The colony of the Tuatha de Danains, thus called from three of their chiefs, brothers and children of Danan, daughter of Dealboith, of the race of Nemedius, was in possession of that island, according to the Psalter of Cashel, for the space of one hundred and ninety-seven years governed by seven kings successively, namely, Nuagha Airgiodlamh, Breas, Lugha-Lamh-Fada, in Latin " Longimanus," Dagha, Delvioth, Fiagha, and the three sons of Kearmada, namely, Eathur, Teahur, and Keahur: who reigned alternately, a year each, for thirty years. Those three brothers were married to three sisters ; they took surnames from the different idols which they worshipped. Eathur, who had married Banba, was called Maccuill, from a certain kind of wood which he adored. Teahur espoused Fodhla, and worshipped the plough ; he was called Mac-Keaght. Keahur, husband of Eire, displayed better taste than his brothers, as he took the sun for his divinity, and was thence named Mac-Greine, that is to say, the son of the sun.

Ireland, which, until the reign of those three brothers, had no other name but that of Inisfail, or Iniselga, changed it with her king, and was called by the name of the reigning queen, alternately, Banba, Fodla, and Eire ;* but the latter was more used, as it was in the year of the reign of Keahur, and consequently when the island was called Eire, that the children of Milesius conquered it.

Those first inhabitants of Ireland, having been destroyed successively, at last gave way to the Scoto-Milesians, and were forced to yield to them the possession of the island.

Some of our modern authors give us, after their ancient Fileas, the following detail of the origin, voyages, and transmigrations of the Scoto-Milesians.

Japhet, one of the sons of Noah,† had seven sons, who were the first of the human race in Europe, and a part of Asia ; viz., Gomer peopled Gaul and Germany ; Magog occupied Scythia, at present Tartary, Madai and Javan established themselves in the several provinces of Greece, Thubal in Spain, Mosoch in Italy, and the countries which extend from the Mediterranean as far as beyond the river Ister ; and Thyras possessed himself of Thrace. " Ab his divisæ sunt insulæ gentium in regionibus suis."‡

According to the " White Book," called in the Scotic language, " lesvar-drom-sneachta," and that of " Conquests and Invasions," both written in the times of paganism, and cited by Keating,§ Magog, son of Japhet, had three sons, viz., Baath, Jobath, and Fathochta. From the first was descended Fenius Farsa, king of Scythia, from whom the Gadelians and Milesians derived their origin ; the second was chief of the Amazons, Bactrians, and Parthians ; the third was ancestor to Partholan, and consequently of the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, and Tuatha de Danains, who were the first inhabitants of Ireland.

Fenius Farsa, king of the Scythians, had two sons, viz., Nenual, the elder, heir to his crown, and Niul, who being very learned in the languages multiplied by the confusion of Babel, made a voyage into Egypt, where he married Scota, daughter of king Pharaoh Cincris, and established himself in the country of Capacirunt on the borders of the Red Sea. Niul had by the princess his spouse, a son whom he named Gaodhal, who, at the time that Moses was making preparations to draw the people of Israel out of captivity, having been bitten by a serpent, was presented by his father to the holy patriarch, who cured him by a touch of his wand ; but there remained always a green spot in the

* War. Antiq. Hiber. cap. 5, Ogyg part 1, p. 45.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap 15.
† Gen. cap. 10.
‡ Ibidem, ver. 5.
§ Page 53, et seq.

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place of the wound, which caused him to be called Gaodhal-Glas, otherwise Gadelas, the word *glas* in the Scotic language signifying *green*. Moses foretold, on curing him, that the land which would be inhabited by his posterity, who were called, and even to this day are called, Clanna-Gaodhal, or Gadelians, that is, the children of Gaodhal, would be free from serpents, and all venomous reptiles, which has been verified in regard to the islands of Crete and Ireland.

The posterity of Niul, in the third generation, became numerous, and were consequently suspected by the Egyptians, who, under the orders of Pharaoh-En-Tuir, their king, formed the resolution of making war against those strangers. Finding themselves unable to oppose the superior forces of the Egyptians, they embarked under the conduct of Sur, son of Easur, son of Gaodhal, and after a few days sailing, landed in the island of Crete, where their chief died, and was succeeded in the command by Eibher, otherwise Heber-Scot, his son. From this flight of the Gadelians out of Egypt, we must understand what Washingham, an English monk and historian in the fifteenth century, says in his book called, "Ypodigma." "The Egyptians," says he, "having been swallowed up in the Red Sea, those who survived that disaster expelled a certain noble Scythian, fearing lest he should usurp a power over them. Being thus driven away, together with his family, he came to Spain, where he lived for many years; his race was multiplied exceedingly, and from thence they came to Ireland."*

Heber-Scot, having the command of the Gadelians, departed from the island of Crete, and sailing through the Ægean and the Euxine seas, he arrived in the river Tanais in Scythia, the country of his ancestors, where his colony settled for some time; they were commanded after his death by his descendants successively from father to son; viz., by Agnamon, Tait, Adnoin, and Lamphion. A persecution however was raised through jealousy of the Scythians against them, and they were compelled to take refuge among the Amazons, having Adnoin for their chief. After sojourning there for some time, they departed, under the conduct of Lamphion, the son of Adnoin, for the country called in their language, "Gæthluighe," which some think to be Gothia, or Gothland; but more probably, according to O'Flaherty,* Getulia, in Africa, conformably to this verse from Propertius in Camden :†

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru

They remained in that country during eight generations, under the command of eight chiefs, the descendants of Lamphion, viz., Heber-Glun-Fion, Eibric, Nenuaill, Nuagatt, Alluid, Earchada, Deaghatha, and Bratha. By the last they were led into Spain, inhabited at that time by the descendants of Tubal, son of Japhet.

These new-comers, under the command of Breogan, son of Bratha, made war with success against the old inhabitants, and became masters of the northern provinces, where Breogan built a city, which he called Brigantia, or Braganza, after his own name.

This captain had ten sons, namely, Cuailgne, Cuala, Blath, Aibhle, Nar, Breagha, Fuad, Muirtheimhne, Ith, and Bille. This last was father of Gallamh, otherwise Mileag-Espaine, in Latin, Milesius, the ancestor of the Milesians or ancient Irish; Ith had a son called Lugadg, or Lugadius. Milesius, after whom the ancient Irish were called Clanna-Mileag or Milesians, became in his turn chief of the colony of the Gadelians, and after having secured and extended by many victories the conquests of his predecessors, he made peace with his enemies, and formed the resolution of visiting the country of his ancestors. He left part of the colony to guard his new kingdom, and embarked with the remainder for Scythia, where he was honorably received by Riffloir, then king; who knew that this prince was, as well as himself, descended from Fenius-Farsa, with this difference, that Riffloir had his origin from Nennual the elder, and successor to the throne of his father; whereas, Milesius was descended from Niul the younger.

Milesius became by his courtly manners so great a favorite with the king, that he appointed him his first minister, and general and chief over his troops; as a greater proof of his confidence, he gave him his daughter Seaug in marriage, by whom he had two sons, Donn and Aireach, surnamed Fabhrua. But the death of his wife, added to some difference he had with the king, caused him to leave Scythia. He embarked with his two children and little troop of faithful Gadelians, for Egypt, where the king, Pharaoh-Nectonebus, gave him the command of

* "The Egyptians being drowned in the Red Sea, those who remained drove from among them a certain noble Scythian who lived in the country, lest he should usurp dominion over them. After being driven out, he with his family came to Spain, where he lived for many years; and from thence came to Ireland."—*Ad. ann.* 1185.

* Ogyg. part 2, cap. 67 † Edit Lond. p. 67

his army in a war in which he was engaged against the Ethiopians.

Milesius acquitted himself of that commission as usual, with honor, and Scota the king's daughter was given him in marriage, as a reward for his services. He had by this princess in Egypt, Heber-Fionn and Amhergin. During his residence in that country, he caused twelve young men of his suite to be instructed in the different arts and sciences then in use, in order that they might, on their return to Spain, instruct their countrymen in the same.

Milesius thinking it time to put an end to his labors, and to join once more his relations and friends in Spain, to enjoy with them the sweets of repose, after a residence of seven years in Egypt,* took leave of the king and all his court, to return with the princess his wife, his children, and attendants. After arriving in an island called Irene, on the frontiers of Thrace, Scota was delivered of a son, whom they called Ir.† During their voyage she had another, to whom they gave the name of Colpa; and at length, after many fatigues and dangers by sea and land, they arrived in Spain, where this great captain, after appeasing some troubles which had arisen during his absence, and having had two more sons, Aranann and Heremon, ended his days in peace.

The family of Breogan, of which that of Milesius king of Gallicia, his grandson, formed the most considerable branch, was become numerous.‡ A drought of several years, followed by a want of grain and all kinds of provisions, having caused a famine, ruined and compelled them to seek a remedy for so pressing an evil. All the chiefs of the tribes assembled at Braganza, to deliberate on what should be done. The result of the conference was, to abandon their settlement in Spain, and seek for one in some other country; particularly as Caicer, the druid, a famous prophet among them, had foretold long before, that their descendants should be possessed of the most westerly island in Europe.§ But as it was of importance to learn where that island lay, before they should bring the whole colony thither, the assembly intrusted the discovery of it to Ihy, otherwise Ithe, (son of Breogan and uncle of Milesius,) a man of prudence and consummate experience. Ith having accepted the commission, equipped a vessel, and taking one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, besides rowers and sailors, he set out with Ludgadh, his son, to make the discovery to which he had been appointed. On his arrival in the north of the island, he offered sacrifices to Neptune, and inquired from the inhabitants what the name of the country was, the people who inhabited it, and likewise the prince who ruled there: they told him that the island was sometimes called Innisfail, sometimes Inis-Ealga, and that it was governed by three princes who were brothers, and children of Kearmada of the nation of the Tuatha de Danains; that they were then at Oileag-Neid, at present Inish-Owen, in the northern part of the province, since called Ulster. Ith, conducted by a guide, and escorted by one hundred of his soldiers, took the road to Oileag-Neid. On his arrival he was presented to the princes, who received him honorably, and seeing him possessed of much wisdom, they appointed him arbiter of their differences, namely, on whom should the right of succeeding Kearmada, their father, devolve. Ith having acquitted himself on this occasion to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, he exhorted them to peace and union among themselves, congratulating them on their happiness in possessing so fertile a country, and situated in so fine a climate; he then set out to join the rest of his men, whom he had left to guard his vessel. The three princes began to reflect on the praises which Ith had bestowed on their country, and conceiving a mistrust towards him, they looked on him as a man of an enterprising turn, and capable of coming with a more numerous force, to conquer a country which he thought so fine. In order to obviate that danger they dispatched a force of one hundred and fifty chosen men, commanded by MacCuille, in pursuit of him; they attacked him at a place since called after his name, Moy-Ith, in the county of Tyrone The combat was bloody, and the resistance on the side of the Gadelians obstinate, till at length seeing their commander Ith dangerously wounded, and unable to withstand the superior force of their enemies, they reached their vessel with difficulty, and embarked for Spain, but had the misfortune, during their voyage, to witness their commander expire of his wounds. During the interval of Ith's expedition, Milesius, after a reign of thirty-six years in Gallicia, died, universally regretted by the whole colony; but the arrival of Lugadius, who presented to them the dead body of Ith, his father, added considerably to their affliction. With eyes bathed in tears, and language the most energetic which the grief of

* Lecan. fol. 13, p. 2, col. 1.
† Keat. p. 80, et seq.
‡ O'Sull. Compendium, vol. i. lib. 3, cap. 1.
§ Keating

a son (who loved his father tenderly) could make use of, he displayed the perfidy of those three princes of the western isle, and forcibly impressed upon them, that, as the death of his father had been the effect of his zeal for the common cause, he trusted, that an attempt whereby the law of nations had been violated, and an insult that might reflect upon the entire colony, should not be left unpunished.*

The Gadelians, affected by the just resentment of Lugadius,† prepared themselves for revenge, resolved to shed in sacrifice to the manes of Ith, the last drop of their blood, and without loss of time had a fleet of sixty sail equipped with every thing necessary for so important an expedition. The little fleet being provided with all things, and ready to sail, the entire colony, that is to say, the descendants of Breogan divided into different tribes, embarked with their wives and children, their vassals, a number of soldiers, artisans, and laborers of every kind, under forty chiefs, of whom the principal were the eight sons of Milesius, namely, Donn, Aireach, Heber-Fionn, Amhergin, Ir, Colpa, Aranann, and Heremon, with their mother Scota. After coasting along part of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, they at length arrived on the southern coast of the western island, which had been promised to them by their druids. While they were preparing to disembark, they were overtaken by a violent storm, which soon changed their hopes into despair. The heavens were darkened; a wind from the southeast swelled the waves; their confusion was great and the danger inevitable, so that in a little time the fleet was scattered, and out of sixty ships of which it was composed, not two of them remained together. The first victim to Neptune's wrath was Donn; he perished with his entire crew, on the western coast of the island, at a place called after his name, Teagh-Duinn. Aranann was driven to sea by a sudden gust. Ir was shipwrecked upon the souther coasts, his body was found upon the strand, and buried in a craggy island, called Skeilg-Mihil, within a few leagues of Dingle in the county of Kerry: it is called, in Mercator's map of Ireland, Midelskyllighs. Heremon, Aireagh, and Colpa, were driven by the storm towards the north. The two last, with the whole of their attendants, perished. Colpa being wrecked at the mouth of the river, afterwards called the Boyne, the place was named Invear-Colpa, that is, the bay of Colpa, below the city of Drogheda. The storm, however, having abated, and being succeeded by a calm, Heremon, more fortunate than his brothers, reached Invear-Colpa, and at the same time Heber-Fionn, Amergin his brother, with all their attendants, disembarked at Invear-Skeiny, at present Bantry, in the county of Cork, or rather the county of Kerry.*

This account, says Keating, is taken from an ancient poem of Eochaid O'Floin, beginning with those words: "Taoisig Na-Luing Sinter lear," related in the Psalter of Cashel.‡

Heber-Fionn had no time to rest after his fatigues; for at the end of three days he was attacked at Sliave-Mish,‡ at present in the barony of Truchanaimy, in the county of Kerry, by a party of the Tuatha de Danains, commanded by the princess Eire, wife of Mac-Greiny, who, after losing a thousand men, was put to flight by the Milesians.

The princess Eire, after collecting the remains of her army, led them to Tailton, where the princes being assembled, she gave them an account of her defeat. The Milesians lost three hundred men in the action, besides Scota, the widow of Milesius, Fais a lady of quality, some druids, and several officers who had fallen. Scota and Fais were buried at the foot of a mountain, in two valleys, which were called after their names, Glean-Scoithin and Glean-Fais.

Heber, after this first advantage, having refreshed his troops, advanced into the country to make further discoveries, in hopes of meeting some of the colony that were scattered by the storm some time before, and, after a long and fatiguing march, arrived at Invear-Colpa, where he found Heremon with his division, by whom he was informed of the disasters that had befallen his brothers Aireagh and Colpa, who had perished on that coast. The brothers now uniting their forces, formed their plans of operation for a campaign. They determined to go in quest of the enemy, who, according to the reports of their scouts, was not far off.§ They began their march, and after a few days came up with the three princes of the Tuatha de Danains, in the plains of Tailton, with a formidable army ready to meet them.‖ The action began, and this battle, which was to decide the fate of both parties, was for a long time doubtful, the troops on both sides making extraordinary efforts; the latter to

* Keating. † Ogyg part 3, cap. 16.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 10.
† Ogyg. part 2, page 82 and 83.
‡ Ogygia, part 2, page 86.
§ Gratianus Lucius, cap. 8, page 58.
‖ Walsh, Prosp. of Ireland, part 1, sec. 1

defend their patrimony against the invaders, who wished to wrest it from them; the former, less to revenge the death of their countryman, than to obtain the possession of an island which had been destined for them, according to the prophecy of the druids. At length the three princes of the Tuatha de Danains, together with their principal officers having fallen, the army was put into disorder, and the rout became so general, that more were killed in the pursuit than on the field of battle. That day, so fatal to the Tuatha de Danains, decided the empire of the island in favor of the Milesians.

Heber-Fionn and Heremon, brothers and children of Milesius, as chiefs of the colony, divided the island between them. Heber possessed Deisiol Eirionn, that is, the southern part, afterwards called the province of Munster, where he built a palace. Heremon enjoyed the sovereignty of Leinster, and had the palace of Rath-Beothaig built at Airgeodross, upon the banks of the river Nore, in the county of Ossory; at the solicitation of his wife Thea, daughter of Lucha, son of Ith, he afterwards built the palace of Teamor, which signifies the residence of Tea. They gave the northern parts of the island, at present the province of Ulster, to Heber-Donn, son of Ir, and to some other chiefs. The descendants of Heber-Donn, called the Clanna-Rorys, built in the county of Armagh the palace of Eamhain-Macha, which lasted for almost seven hundred years, and was possessed by that tribe till the time of the three brothers, called the three Collas, by whom that superb edifice was destroyed. They conferred on their cousin Lugadh, son of Ith, the sovereignty of Corca-Luidh.* The fiefs and lordships throughout the various provinces were, in fine, distributed among the other chiefs, according to their rank and merit; and in consideration of the services which the remaining party of the Firbolgs had rendered them in the conquest of the island, they bestowed on them the province of Connaught, which their descendants retained till the third age of Christianity. I do not find that any portion was given to their brother Amhergin, who was still living, and a druid by profession; he was probably treated like the tribe of Levi, who possessed no share in the land promised to the Israelites.

The two brothers Heber-Fionn and Heremon reigned together during the space of a year; but the ambition of Heber's wife became the cause of her ruin. Not content with the division that was made between the two princes, she influenced her husband to do justice to himself by force of arms. Prince Heber, weak and condescending, yielded to the importunities of his wife, and declared war against his brother Heremon.* War being now commenced, the two armies met upon the plains of Geisiol, the frontier boundaries of the provinces of Leinster and Munster.† The battle was bloody and obstinate, but Heber and his chief officers being slain,‡ Heremon, like a second Romulus, became sole possessor of the island, over which he reigned for thirteen years.§ This is confirmed by the authority of Aongus Celide or Colideus, an author of the eighth century, cited by Ware in the second chapter of his Antiquities of Ireland.‖ The foregoing is a slight sketch of what ancient and modern histories set forth respecting the origin of the Milesians; let us now view the difficulties which would be advanced against the voyages and transmigrations of the Gadelians. The first is, to reconcile a point of chronology on the subject of Gaodhal, who, according to the manuscripts followed by Keating, was the sixth descendant from Japhet, and contemporary of Moses, which made the fourteenth or fifteenth generation after Shem. Keating injudiciously supposes that he has smoothed a difficulty by imagining Niul or some of his ancestors to have lived for many ages, in order to make the sixth descendant on one side fall in with the fourteenth on the other; but if mankind lived then to a great age, the supposition is equally applicable to the ancestors of Moses, as to those of Niul. It is more natural to think that the anachronism has arisen through some copyist of the

* Ogyg. part 1, page 11.

* War. Antiq cap. 2. † Ogyg. part 3, cap. 17.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, page 58.

§ "After several battles and doubtful events of war between the brothers, victory fell at length to Heremon, and in one of these battles Heber, his brother, being slain, Heremon became sole master of the kingdom, and was the first monarch of the Irish people, who inhabit the kingdom to this day." —*Gerald Camb. Topography of Ireland*, c. 7.

‖ "The island Hibernia was divided between the two princes of the army called Milesians, and into two parts. Heber obtained the southern parts, and to Heremon fell the northern, together with the monarchy. Heremon was the first of the Scots who ruled over the whole of Ireland, during 13 years, and had 5 sons elected, 4 of whom governed the kingdom for 3 years, and Jarel, the prophet, during 10. Of the descent of Heremon, 58 kings ruled over Ireland before Patrick had preached the doctrines and sufferings of Christ to the Irish. After the time of Patrick, 50 kings of the above lineage ruled over Ireland."—*Ware's Antiquities, and Ogyg.* p 3, c. 7.

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manuscripts of the Milesians, who might have omitted some generations between Japhet and Niul. As to the histories of those times so far remote, there are many things in them very obscure, and several difficulties therein hard to be resolved. Do we not see the learned differ about the king that reigned in Egypt in the time of Moses, and who was drowned in the Red Sea? Some pretend that it was Amenophis, father of Sesostris, while others say that it was Pheron, son of the latter. The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins disagree concerning the number of years that elapsed from the time of the creation to the coming of the Messiah; their differences, however, do not affect the truth of the events which are recorded to have happened at that time, viz., the creation of the world, the deluge, the genealogy of Abraham, whether in ascending up to Adam, or descending down to Moses. A similar anachronism with respect to Gaodhal and Moses, ought not to destroy the truth of the history of the Gadelians, as to their origin and genealogy.

It will be perhaps again objected, that navigation being unknown at those early periods, it cannot be believed that the Gadelians had been able to make such distant voyages by sea, as from Egypt to Crete, from Crete to Scythia, from Scythia to Africa, from Africa to Spain, and from Spain to Ireland.

This difficulty will vanish if we but consider that the art of sailing had been at all times in use, at least since the deluge. We know that long before Solomon, the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks possessed the art of navigation. The Phœnicians, says Herodotus,* who traded to all countries, with the merchandises of Egypt and Assyria, arrived at Argos, a trading city in Greece, and after disposing of their merchandise, they carried off the wives of the Greeks, together with Io, daughter of king Inachus, who reigned at Argos about the year of the world 3112; after which, some Greeks trading to Tyre, carried away in their turn, Europa, daughter of the king of Tyre, to be revenged for the insult their countrymen sustained by the carrying off of their wives from Argos.

We find that David, after conquering and reducing the kingdom of Edom into a province of his empire, established commerce at Elath and at Asiongaber, two ports on the Red Sea. But Solomon carried it still farther, for in his time they traded from the Red Sea along the coast of Arabia, Persia, the Indies, and as far as the western coast of Africa. History informs us that Nechao, the second of the name, and king of Egypt, having equipped a fleet on the Red Sea, had Phœnician pilots brought to command it. This fleet, after having coasted along the Red Sea, entered the ocean, and crossing the Torrid Zone, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and after sailing round Africa, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar, by the Mediterranean Sea; so it is more than probable, that from the earliest times, and immediately after the deluge, mankind had discovered the art of building ships, from the model of the Ark, which had saved their ancestors from the waters of the deluge.

But it may be asked, why did they not establish themselves in some part of the continent, rather than expose themselves to so many dangers by sea, to seek after an island in the Atlantic Ocean, and separate themselves forever from all intercourse with mankind? The weakness of that question will be perceived, when we consider that a taste for voyages and emigrations prevailed in the early ages of the world. Men had not been sufficiently settled, nor property in the possession of lands established as it has since become. For besides, a colony of Tyrians, who, having coasted along Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Gaul, and the several countries which surround the Mediterranean Sea, without stopping in any, sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar into the ocean, established themselves in the western coast of Spain, and built the city of Cadiz, long before Utica and Carthage. Moreover, there were colonies sent into different countries by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians, who were themselves a colony of Phœnicians. Carthage herself, after having founded three hundred cities on the coast of Africa, and finding herself still overcharged with inhabitants, sent Hanno with a fleet and thirty thousand volunteers, to make discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and to establish some colonies there.*

The Scythians, from whom the Gadelians were descended, and who were masters of the vast regions which extended from the Boristhenes to the country of the Massagetes, and from the Saces to the east of the Caspian Sea, had neither cities nor houses; they were continually roving, and lived in tents, sometimes in one country, sometimes in another.

* Lib. 1

* The learned are divided about the time of the expedition. Strabo supposes it to have been a few years after the Trojan war; but Vossius, who believes Hanno to be more ancient than Homer, asserts that it took place at least a century before the taking of that city.

Whatever truth may be attached to what I have now related with regard to the voyages and transmigrations of the Gadelians in different countries, it appears at all times indisputable, that that people derived their origin from the Scythians; their name Kinea Scuit, or Scota, denotes it.* The accounts of foreign authors and those of their Fileas† confirm it. Newton,‡ with Appina and others, says, that Greece and all Europe had been peopled by the Cimmerians or Scythians from the borders of the Euxine Sea, who, like the Tartars in the north of Asia, led a wandering life. Spain had perhaps her share in peopling a part of Europe, and consequently the ancient Spaniards were descended from the same Scythians. Although the Milesians claim the glory of having come directly from Egypt to Spain, they do not at the same time lose sight of their Scythian origin. They call themselves at all times the descendants of the Iberians or Scythians of the Euxine Sea.§ They pretend that the colony, after having been led into different countries by their princes, established themselves at last in Spain. However, if they pass themselves for the children of Magog, rather than of Gomer, from whose posterity Gaul, Germany, and other countries of the north had been peopled, it is a matter which is of itself but of little importance.

The truth of the Scoto-Milesians having passed from Spain to Ireland is supported by proofs that are equally strong. Foreign authors are in perfect accordance with the monuments of that people on that head; this constitutes a certainty beyond all doubt. Among the number are Nennius of the ninth century, Walsingham, Henry of Huntington,‖ Buchanan,¶ and others. The opinion of these authors, says Camden, accords with the opinion of the Irish, who gladly call themselves the descendants of the Spaniards.**

* War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 1, page 3.
† Bards.
‡ Chron. Dublin edit. page 10.
§ Ogyg. part 2, page 66 et 82.
‖ "The Britons came into Britain during the third age of the world, and the Scoti into Ireland in the fourth age. Whereas those matters are uncertain, it is indubitable, that they came from Spain to Ireland, and emigrating from thence, they added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts."—*Huntingdon*, pp. 88, 729.
¶ "There is a prevailing report, which says, that a great number of Spaniards, who were either driven from the country by the great ones, or from a redundancy of population, went of their own accord, and passed into Ireland."—*Buchanan*, b. 4, c. 5.
** "To this opinion, prevalent among the Irish, may be added, i. e. 'they confess most freely,' that they are descended from the Spaniards."—*Irish Writers*, vol. 2, c. 5.

We can likewise add to this the authority of an ancient Latin manuscript in Gothic characters, of which Harris speaks:* it was discovered a few years ago, in the archives of a monastery in Gallicia, by Sir John Higgins, counsellor of state, and head physician to Philip V. This manuscript is entitled "Concordantia Hispaniæ atque Hiberniæ à Sedulio Scoto genere Hiberniensi et Episcopo Oretensi," and is attributed to Sedulius the younger, who lived in the eighth century. The subject of it is, according to Harris, as follows: Sedulius having acquired a high reputation by his commentaries on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of St. Paul,† Pope Gregory II. sent him into Spain, having nominated him bishop of Oreto, to allay some troubles that had arisen among the clergy of that nation. Sedulius, meeting with some opposition from the Spaniards in consequence of being a stranger, wrote this treatise, wherein he shows, that, as an Irishman, and being descended from the Spaniards, he should consequently enjoy the same privileges as they did. He continued therefore to enjoy his bishopric, until driven from it by the Moors. The pope afterwards nominated him titular bishop of Great Britain, and in that quality he assisted at a council at Rome, against unlawful marriages.‡

The testimony of the Spaniards themselves, particularly of Alderetus, in his Antiquities of Spain, and of Florianus del Campo, joined to a tradition among the people, who look upon the Irish as their children, and as a colony which had left their country, in consequence of which they are treated as inhabitants of the country, particularly in Gallicia, and the northern parts of the kingdom, where they enjoy the same privileges as the natives; these are conclusive proofs on the subject, although Camden pretends that it was ambition made Florianus del Campo say, that the Brigantes had passed from Spain into Ireland, and from thence into Britain.

The great difficulty consists in settling the time of the transmigration of the Scoto-Milesians from Spain to Ireland, on account of the different calculations of the annalists. Following the ancient monuments, Keating fixed it 1300 years before the birth of Jesus Christ. Cambrensis, and the author of the Polychronicon, reckon 1800 years from their arrival in the island,§ till the mission of St.

* Irish Writers, vol. 2, c. 5.
† Usser, Primord. cap. 16, page 780.
‡ Binii Concil. tome 5. Baleus, Cent. 14, n. 28
§ Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, page 393.

Patrick in the fifth century, which agrees pretty near'y with the calculation of Keating. The number of kings who reigned in Ireland from Heremon to the twelfth age of Christianity was 181. The epoch of their commencement in the time of Heremon depends upon the length of their reign; if we allow to each a reign of fourteen years, we must necessarily ascend from the twelfth century upwards to the epoch fixed upon by Keating; but if with Newton,* we give to each a reign of eighteen or twenty years, which, in a warlike nation, is not probable, we must ascend much higher than that era. Camden, as well as Nennius, presumes that we should search for their migrations in more modern times; this, however, is not conclusive. O'Flaherty, who was much more capable than those foreigners of fathoming the antiquities of his country, has in accordance with ancient monuments, defined the time that each Milesian king reigned, from the arrival of the colony in Ireland until the birth of our Saviour, and places it in the time of Solomon, that is, about 1000 years before Jesus Christ.† This account agrees with the period of the conquest of Spain, by Sesac or Sesostris, of which Newton speaks,‡ and which, according to Buchanan, was probably the cause of the flight of that colony, "A potèntioribus domo pulsam."

We might, perhaps, with a greater appearance of truth, place that event a century later, that is, in the time of Melcartus, or Hercules the Tyrian, who was, according to Newton, the second conqueror of Spain, and the founder of Carteia, particularly as that learned man thinks, that they had not aken distant voyages (such as to Britain or Ireland) before the time of that conqueror.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE MILESIANS.

It is not easy to define the religion of the ancient Milesians; it appears, however, by their history, that Tighernmas,§ the seventh king of that race, was the first king who introduced idolatry among them. The same histories inform us,* that that unhappy prince was, together with a great number of his subjects, struck dead by an invisible hand, on the day we call "All Saints," while they were employed in worshipping the idol, called in their language, "Crom-Cruadh," in the plains of Moy-Sleachta, near Fenagh, in the barony of Mohill, territory of Briefny, at present the county of Leitrim: that, till then, their ancestors, the Gadelians, had a knowledge of the true God,† and followed the religion of the patriarchs, having received that divine impression from Moses and the Israelites, with whom they had some connection before the passage of the Red Sea. However this be, no nation was ever more superstitious afterwards than the Milesians: and though they neither worshipped cats, dogs, crocodiles, nor the vegetables which their gardens produced, as the Egyptians did; still they had many gods of various sorts and orders. This inclination to idolatry, common to them with other nations, (not excepting the people chosen and immediately governed by God himself,) was strengthened by the example of the Tuatha de Danains, their immediate predecessors in the possession of the island, who worshipped the sun, the moon, sometimes the plough, and other things made by the hands of men; but as these divinities, resting upon the caprice or inventions of man, could not fix the mind, the objects of this worship were frequently changed.

Great honors were paid to the druids and bards among the Milesians, as well as to those among the Britons and Gauls. The first called Draoi in their language,‡ performed the duties of priest, philosopher, legislator, and judge. Cæsar has given, in his commentaries,§ a well-detailed account of the order, office, jurisdiction, and doctrine of the druids among the Gauls. As priests, they regulated religion and its worship; according to their will the objects of it were determined, and the divinity often changed; to them, likewise, the education of youth was intrusted. Guided by the druids, the Milesians generally adored Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, the sun, moon, and wind: they had also their mountain, forest, and river gods.‖ These divinities were common to them, and to other nations of the world.

* Chron. Dublin edit. chap. 1, p. 55 and 57.

† "The best among the Irish writers are agreed, that it was during the reign of Solomon the Scoti passed from Spain to Ireland."—*Ogyg.* part 2, p. 83.

‡ Chron. Dublin edit. page 17.

§ Keating on the reign of Tighernmas, A. M. 3085

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21, 22.

† Grat. Luc, cap. 8, page 59.

‡ War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5, Ogyg. part 3 cap. 22.

§ Lib. 6.

‖ War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5

It is known that Augustus had a temple raised in Gaul, in honor of the wind Circius.*

According to the Annals of Ulster, cited by Ware, the usual oath of Laogare II., king of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, was by the sun and wind. The Scythians swore by the wind, and sometimes by a cimeter or cutlass, in use among the Persians, upon which was engraven the image of Mars. It is mentioned by Jocelin, an English monk of the order of Citeaux, in his life of St. Patrick,† written in the twelfth century, that the same Laogare, before his conversion, adored an idol named Kean Croithi, which signifies, "Head of all the Gods." In the register of Clogher, there is mention made of a stone ornamented with gold by the pagans, which gave oracles.‡ From this stone the town was called Clogher, which signifies "golden stone." Charles Maguire, prebendary of Armagh, and dean of Clogher in the 15th century, says in his notes on the registry of Clogher, that that stone was still preserved at the right of the entrance into the church. Ware, in the same chapter, speaks of the fatal stone called Liafail, or "saxum fatale," which the Tuatha de Danains brought with them to Ireland, and which groaned when the kings were seated on it at their coronation. That stone, he mentions, was sent into Albania to be used at the coronation of Fergus; that Keneth had it placed in a wooden chair, in which the kings of Scotland sat at the time of their coronation, in the abbey of Scone, whence it was transferred by Edward I., king of England, and placed in Westminster Abbey. The superstition of the druids and the authority of the oracles were in as high veneration among the Milesians as among other people, until the birth of our Saviour, which put an end to all such illusions.

As legislators and judges, the druids were arbiters in all public affairs, and were invested with a power to reward or punish. Every kind of privilege and immunity was conferred on them; they were also exempt from contributing to the necessities of the state. Their doctrine was a kind of theology and philosophy; they professed the magic art, and the knowledge of futurity.§

The druids, says Cæsar, are indebted for their origin and institution to Britain, and those of Gaul went thither to be perfected in their profession; but whether those of Britain owed the origin of their order to the Milesians, or they to the Britons, is a matter of little moment, and upon which I do not pretend to decide; however, there was this difference between the druids of the Gauls, the Britons, and those of the Milesians, that the last communicated by means of the oghum mysteries, which the others never committed to writing.

It is certain that after the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the dispersion of mankind, every family or colony formed for itself a system of religion in the different countries where they settled, and that, for the exercise of it, a society of men intrusted with its duties was necessary to be formed. These ministers were known throughout a great part of Europe, by the name of druids. They were known among the Greeks by the name of Sophoi, or philosophers; among the Persians, Magi; the Indians, Gymnosophists; and Chaldeans, among the Assyrians.*

The different nations among whom religion was administered by the druids, endeavor to discover in their languages, the origin and etymology of the word "Druid." In "dru," which signifies faithful, the Germans think to have found it. The Saxons derive it from "dry," which means magi. In Armorica the word "deruidhon" was in use. The Milesians, who apply the word "dryithy"† to signify druid, take it from "dair," which means oak, with which their island was formerly covered, from which the ancients called it, "Insula nemorosa."‡ The Greek interpretation of the word druid adds probability to the opinion of the Milesian. Δρῦς in Greek, signifies oak, a tree sacred to Jupiter,§ because the druids chose the forests of oak, to celebrate in them their superstitious mysteries, to which Lucan, lib. 1, alludes,

> ....."nemora alta remotis,
> Incolitis lucis,"

or because they made use of the mistletoe of the oak in their religious ceremonies. Ovid makes allusion to it, when he says,

> "Ad viscum druidæ, druidæ clamare solebant."

Pliny is explicit and clear upon this matter: there is nothing, he says, so sacred among the druids, (it is thus the Gauls call their magii,) as the oak and the mistletoe

* Ibidem. † Cap. 56.
‡ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 5.
§ Euseb. præp. Evang. lib. 5, Suidas, Niceph. Calixt, Eccles. Hist. lib. 1, cap. 17.

* Diogen. Laert. prologue
† Droüi.
‡ "The woody island"
§ Claud. lib. 1

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APOSTLE OF IRELAND

New York, D & J. Sadlier

which that tree produces. They chose forests of oak wherein to celebrate their religious ceremonies, whence the name druid is most probably derived from the Greek interpretation. Every thing which that tree produces, is, according to them, a gift of heaven, and a sign of its being chosen by the gods. The priest, (continues Pliny,) dressed in white, climbs the oak, and with a golden knife detaches from it the mistletoe, which was thought to be a sovereign antidote against all distempers. The most ancient and celebrated oracle in Greece, was consulted under the oak, in the forest of Dodona. God himself, in the time of the patriarchs, appeared to men in woods of oak; temples were erected in them to his honor, and covenants made between God and man; sacrifices were also offered in them, and angels announced to man the commands of the Lord. When the Jews had apostatized, and abandoned the worship of the true God, they sacrificed upon high mountains, and beneath the oak they burned incense, "Subtus universam quercum frondosam," so that according to sacred and profane history, the oak was held in great veneration by the ancients.*

The Milesian bards, called Filea or Feardana, were not less esteemed than the druids; they enjoyed high privileges, and sat, with a right of suffrage, in the assemblies of the state. Possessions and property were given them by the monarch, provincial kings, and the private lords. Strabo and Lucan call them poets or prophets.† Pompeius Festus says,‡ that a bard is a man who sings in verse the praises and deeds of great men.§ Diodorus Siculus calls a bard a composer of hymns.‖ David Powell informs us, that the Welsh bards were employed in preserving the genealogies and armorials of their nobles: the Milesians had those of their own country similarly employed. That matter, as Ware observes, is largely treated of in the laws of Hoel-Dha:¶ he says, too, that among the number of the bards was the celebrated poet, Dubtach-Mac-Lughair,** "Poeta egregius Hibernicus," who composed many poems in honor of the false gods; but that after he had been, by the preaching of Saint Patrick, converted to the true faith, he applied his talents to the praises of the Almighty and his saints.††

* Ezech. cap. 6, v. 13.
† Geograph. lib. 4.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 27.
§ Lib. 1. ‖ Lib. 5.
¶ Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5.
** Ibidem
†† Jocelin, cap. 45.

There were two divinities whose worship was universal among the Milesians; the first was Beul, the same perhaps as Bel among the Asiatics. We discover in their histories, that, in the reign of Tuathal Teachtmar,* a portion of land was taken from each province to appropriate it as a demesne for his use. Assemblies were held each year in the dismembered portion of Connaught.† In this general assembly of all the states,‡ called the meeting of Uisneach, in the barony of Rathconra, in Westmeath, animals were sacrificed and offered to Beul, when invoking his protection for the fruits of the earth; and to render the festival more solemn, it was ordained, that in every territory of the island, two fires should be kindled, and that between them a number of beasts of every kind should be made to pass, in order to preserve them against all infectious distempers for the ensuing year. The day fixed upon for the ceremony agrees with our first day of May, which was, and is still called by the Irish, "Lha-Beul-tinne," which signifies the day of Beul's fire, the Irish word *lha* signifying day, and tinne fire.§

The same monarch ordered another meeting to assemble every year at Tlachta, in the portion appropriated for that use, in the province of Munster; it is now called the barony of Clanlish, in the King's County. The sacred fire was lighted there, to apprize the druids and pagan priests that they were to assemble on the eve of the first of November, and consume in it the sacrifices offered to their household gods. It was forbidden, under penalty of a fine, to kindle a fire in any other place on that night, which was not taken from the sacred fire.

The second divinity that was worshipped among the Milesians, which continued till the time of Christianity, was the Golden Calf. Keating gives us, on the reign of Cormac Ulfada, an example of that impious devotion, in the conduct of Maoilogann the druid, towards that prince, who, having resigned the crown, withdrew to a small country-house at Anacoille, near Tara, to devote himself to the worship of the true God, whom he had already known. The minister of Satan came to seek him in his retreat, and proposed to him the worship of the Golden Calf; he reproached him for having withdrawn himself from a religion that had been so long established, and which his predecessors down to him had professed.

* Keating on the reign of Tuathal Teachtmar
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56.
‡ Anno Domini, 130.
§ Ogyg. part 2, p. 62.

The pious prince answered him with a mildness and resolution worthy the first heroes of Christianity, that he adored but the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth; that as to those gods made by the hands of men, he knew them not. This profession of his faith cost him his life, for the night following he died, by an unnatural death, after he had ordered that he should not be buried among the pagan kings, his predecessors, because he wished his ashes not to mingle with idolaters.

It requires but a slender knowledge of history to discover the changes which a long interval of time and place produces. Those who at present inhabit a country live far differently from the ancient inhabitants of the same country; but few ages are sufficient to make that difference perceptible. The French, now-a-days, differ widely in their taste and manner of living from those that have gone before them but a few centuries. In the age we live in, what analogy is there between our customs and those of the surrounding nations? If then we combine these two considerations, it cannot surprise us that men who lived two or three thousand years ago, in countries apart from us, had customs different from ours. We need only ascend 800 years from the present time, and it will be found that every country was then less rich, and the people less polished; and the farther we proceed thus, the poorer the country will appear to have been, and the inhabitants of it more barbarous.

The Milesians have had their origin from the Scythians, and their customs from the Egyptians. These two rival nations were, no doubt, in their time the most polished of any in the world. Scythia was shortly after the deluge erected into a kingdom; it lasted till the tyrannical sway of the kings of Babylon, and was so polished, that other nations borrowed their laws, and the form of their government from it. From these circumstances an emulation arose between them and the Egyptians, and in their struggle for pre-eminence, the Scythians had always the advantage.* Herodotus loads them with praises when speaking of the rash expedition undertaken against them by Darius, to revenge some hostilities committed by them when pursuing the Cimmerians into Asia, and for putting down the empire of the Medes, who were then masters of that part of the world. Justin, an excellent historian in the time of Augustus, says, in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius, when speaking of the heroic actions of the Scythians, that they never underwent a foreign yoke; that they routed with disgrace Darius, king of the Persians; and that Cyrus and his whole army were destroyed by them: that Zopyrus, general of Alexander the Great, together with the whole of his forces, fell beneath their blows; and that they heard of the Roman arms without having ever felt them.*

Egypt has been in like manner always looked upon among the ancients as the most renowned school in matters of government and wisdom, and the cradle of the arts and sciences. So convinced of this was Greece, that most of the great men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, and her two great legislators, Solon and Lycurgus, went into Egypt to perfect themselves, and draw from thence the rarest knowledge in all kinds of erudition. Of the wisdom of the Egyptians, God himself bears a most glorious testimony, in bestowing praise upon Moses for his having been instructed therein.†

Those are the sources from whence the Milesians have taken the first rudiments of their government, manners, and customs; having their origin from the Scythians, and their education from the Egyptians.

The trade which the Phœnicians carried on with that people did not a little contribute to its perfection.‡ Newton observes that the Edomites, when scattered and subdued by David, withdrew, some to Egypt, another part to the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and that others of them came and settled upon the coasts of the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azotus, and took possession of Sidon.

They carried with them to all the countries to which they went the sciences and arts, particularly those relating to astronomy, navigation, and the use of letters, which they were in possession of in Idumea, before the time of Job, who makes mention of it. It was among them that Moses learned to commit the law to writing. They changed the name Erythræa into that of Phœnicia, and called themselves Phœnicians: the country along the coasts of Palestine, from Azotus

* "There was a long dispute between the Egyptians and Scythians, in which controversy the Egyptians were defeated, and the Scythians appeared to be the more ancient."—*Polydorus*, b. 1.

* "The Scythians themselves continued either without being invaded or invincible; they routed Darius, king of the Persians, and forced him to fly from Scythia in disgrace; the Scythians slew Cyrus with his whole army: and Zopyrus, general of Alexander the Great, they overcame and destroyed with the entire of his forces. They heard of the Romans only by name."—*Chron.* page 12.

† Acts vii., 22.

‡ Chron. page 12.

to Sidon, was called Phœnicia. They afterwards spread themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean as far even as Spain, where the Milesians, who were then inhabiting that country, had an opportunity of forming an intercourse with them. The trade between these two people was not confined to Spain alone; it extended itself to Ireland, where they traded with those Milesians who had made themselves masters of the island. Thus, it is probable that the latter may have received their characters from the Phœnicians, and that Fenius Farsa,* from whom, it is said, they are descended, is the same as Phenix or Phœnius, who was among the Phœnicians the first inventor of letters.†

Notwithstanding all these advantages, it is natural to think that the Milesians had been, like other people who were their contemporaries, rude and barbarous in their manners.

Pomponius Mela, and Strabo, represent them as a nation ignorant of every virtue, and who lived upon human flesh. These traits appear to have been mere conjectures without any foundation,‡ as Strabo himself acknowledges, "Horum etiam, quæ commemoramus, dignos fide testes non sane habemus." It is true that their histories have left us one example of the barbarous custom imputed to them by Strabo, in the conduct of a nurse,§ in the times of paganism, who being intrusted with the care of a young princess, fed her with the flesh of children, thinking, from a diabolical superstition, that such food would give her additional charms.‖ But does not this affectation of their historians, by recording so inhuman an act, lead us to discover that the barbarity ascribed to the nurse was the crime of an individual, and not a custom common to an entire nation? Such inhumanity, attributed by Strabo to the Milesians, was not peculiar to them: it prevailed likewise, according to him, among the Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, and other nations.¶

Polybius informs us, that Annibal rejected, with horror, the cruel proposal which the Gauls made to him of eating human flesh.** This custom prevails at present among the Hottentots, and other inhabitants of Africa.* Saint Jerome says that he saw in Gaul, the Scots, a people of Britain, feed on human flesh.†

Dempster, a Scotch writer, and a man very zealous for the glory of his country, makes use of all his talent to turn from his countrymen the disgrace of the above imputation:‡ but as he finds himself confounded by the weight of the authority of Saint Jerome, he seeks to avoid the blow by evasion, and observes, that instead of the word "Scotos," which is generally met with in St. Jerome's text, it should be read "Gothos," and as the words "Gentem Britannicam," are characteristic of the Scots of Albania, and evidently distinguish them from the Scots of Ireland. he pretends, on the authority of Erasmus, that the words are not found in the ancient editions of that father's works: but Usher confutes him on his assumed authority from Erasmus, and moreover adds, that all the editions of St. Jerome, and particularly the Basle edition in the year 1497, contain the words "Gentem Britannicam."§

Has any custom ever been more barbarous than that of sacrificing children, which prevailed so generally among the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, Greeks, and Romans—nations in every other respect very polished? It was a custom with the kings of Tyre, to sacrifice in times of great calamity, their sons, in order to appease the anger of the gods.‖ Individuals, likewise, when they endeavored to rescue themselves from any great misfortune, resorted to the same, and were as superstitious as their princes, so that those who had not children of their own, purchased them from the poor, that they might not want the merit of such a sacrifice. The same custom continued for a long time among the Phœnicians, and the Canaanites. The children who were inhumanly burnt, were cast either into a hot

* Samuel Bochart Cadomensis apud War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 1.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30, p. 219.

‡ Camd. Brit. edit. p. 788.

§ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 2.

‖ Keating.

¶ "It is said to be a custom among the Scythians to feed on human flesh, and that the Gauls, Spaniards, and many others, when pressed by famine during a siege, have practised the same thing."—*Strab.* b. 4.

** Rollin, Hist. Ancienne.

* Pet. Lom. Comment. Hib. cap. 13, p. 131, et seq.

† "What shall I say of other nations, when I myself, while very young, have seen in Gaul a British people who had been Scots, feed upon human flesh."—*Hieron.* b. 2, *against Jovinianus.*

‡ Apparat. ad Hist. Scotic. lib. 1, cap. 4.

§ "Dempster himself was not able to show that these words were inserted in a certain ancient book, much less in all; neither has Erasmus written, at any time, such a thing. All the editions of the works of St. Jerome (particularly that published at Basle in the year 1497) have, in this place, displayed to us the British nation."—*Usher, Church History,* cap. 15, p. 589.

‖ Philo

furnace, or shut up in a statue of Saturn, which was set on fire.* In order to stifle the cries of the unhappy victims during this barbarous ceremony, the air resounded with the noise of drums and trumpets. Mothers made it an honor and a point of religion, to assist at the cruel spectacle, without shedding a tear, or uttering the least lamentation.† They were so callous and inhuman as to caress their children and appease their cries, lest a victim offered with a bad grace, and in the midst of tears, might be displeasing to the gods.

The Carthaginians retained till the destruction of their city, the barbarous custom of offering up human victims in sacrifice :‡ it was, however, suspended for a few years, lest they might bring on themselves the wrath and power of Darius the First, king of Persia, who had forbidden them to offer human victims, and had likewise enjoined them not to eat the flesh of dogs. During the battle which was fought in Italy, between Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, and Hamilcar the Carthaginian general, which lasted from morning till night, the Carthaginian general did not cease to offer up in sacrifice to their gods, living men in great numbers, by having them thrown into a burning furnace ; and seeing, says Herodotus,§ his troops give way, he cast himself into it not to survive his shame.‖ In times of pestilence, children were sacrificed in great numbers to their gods, without pity for an age which would excite compassion in the most cruel enemy, by which a remedy for their evils was sought in crime, and barbarity made use of to appease the gods.

When Agathocles laid siege to Carthage,¶ the unfortunate inhabitants of that city ascribed their misfortune to the just anger of Saturn against them for having sacrificed, instead of children of the first quality, (to which they had been accustomed,) those of strangers and slaves. To make amends for their supposed crime, they offered up in sacrifice to Saturn, two hundred children of the first families in Carthage, besides three hundred citizens, who, thinking themselves guilty of the same crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves likewise.

Solinus says, that the ancient Irish had the custom of drinking the blood of those whom they had slain, and of besmearing their faces with it ;* that the mothers presented, upon the point of a sword, the first food to their male children, praying that they might not die in any other way than in war, or with arms in their hands. It is very probable that Solinus is not better informed on the subject than Strabo, who cannot vouch, by witnesses worthy of belief, for all that he advances. We need but examine, at present, into the habits of other people of antiquity, and they will be discovered to have been rude and barbarous.

The inhabitants of the Balearic islands, accustomed themselves from their earliest youth to the use of the sling. Mothers placed upon the branch of a very tall tree, pieces of bread intended for the breakfast of their children, who were to continue fasting until they could strike them down from the branch. It is therefore an injustice to reproach a nation for barbarous manners, at a time when the evil generally prevailed in other countries.

The ancient Irish, called Milesians, or Clanna Mileag, that is to say, the children of Milesius, were divided into four tribes, namely, those of Heber, Heremon, Ir, and Ith. They preserved their race pure, and made no alliances with the lower orders, nor with their vassals, who had followed them from Spain. They formed four great families, who were descended from the same father. They preserved their genealogies carefully, and knew the whole line of their ancestors, down to the chief of their tribe. This precaution was essential in regard to the succession to the throne, because it was required that those who aspired to it should be descended from one of the tribes. Each tribe possessed, in the beginning, their own portion of the island, and each portion was divided into lands and lordships, possessed by the different branches of the tribe. Each tribe had a number of vassals or farmers to cultivate their lands, and conduct their numerous flocks of cattle, which formed their chief wealth. Every one was called by his name : they did not take the name of castles or villages, like the nobles of the present day, but they usually added to their names that of their fathers, with the adjective Mac, which signifies son, as Laogare Mac-Niall. The custom of the people of the east, says M. Rollin, was to add to the name of the son that of the father ; for instance, Sardanapalis is composed of Sardan and Pal, which means Sardan, son of Pal. This custom was followed by the Greeks and Romans

* Plutarq. de Superstitione, p. 171.
† Tertull. in Apollog. Quint. Curt. lib. 4, cap. 3.
‡ Plut. de Sacra Vindicatione Deorum
§ Lib. 7.
‖ Justin, lib. 17.
¶ Diodor lib. 20

* Lib. 20

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It is observed, even to this day, in Muscovy, where Wits is sometimes added to the names to signify the son of such a one, as Petrowits, the son of Peter; Jeannowits, son of John. The Fitz made use of among the Saxons in England, implies the same thing; for instance, in the names Fitzgerald, Fitzmaurice, Fitzsimon, Fitz signifies son, and is the same as the son of Gerald, the son of Maurice, the son of Simon: we discover also in the same country the Thompsons, the Johnsons, which names signify the sons of Thomas, of John, &c. The tribe which usually bore the name of their chiefs, sometimes changed them, to take that of some one among their chiefs, who was renowned for some great action, as the tribe of Ir, which took the name of Clanna-Rory, which signifies the children of Rory.

There was among the Milesians, great simplicity without refinement, proportioned to the time in which they lived, but not always without that mixture of vice so common among other people. We discover among them neither those pompous titles of nobility invented within the last seven or eight centuries, nor that multitude of expenses, nor luxury, the necessary cause of many new fashions, which tend to the ruin of many families. This great simplicity, joined to a general prejudice that that which is most ancient is always most imperfect, easily convinces us that they were rude in their manners.

The arts and trades were not unknown to the Milesians:* having discovered among them mines of gold, silver, tin, lead, and iron, they had learned to melt and manufacture them.† The forges of Airgiodross,‡ of which their historians speak; the arms which they made use of, such as the sword, the lance, the axe, and other instruments,§ show us that there were among them workmen who knew how to make use of the hidden treasures with which nature had enriched their island. Their churches and houses were generally built of wood, which is a proof that there were carpenters among them. Their churches, says Bede, were not built of stone, but of oak-wood artificially wrought.‖ Saint Bernard, in speaking of an oratory which Saint Malachy caused to be built in Ireland, says that it was made of polished wood solidly put together; to this remark he adds, that it was a very handsome Scotic structure.* Their chariots, whether for war or travelling, and the great number of ships that they made use of, as well for fishing (which was largely carried on among them) as for the frequent expeditions which they made into Britain and other countries, prove that they must have had mechanics to construct them. In ancient times, they made use of little boats built of light wood,† or of osier, which they covered with the skins of horses, oxen, or of some wild beast, and these boats they called curraghs.‡ With those small vessels they easily crossed the Scythian valley, which signifies the sea that separates Ireland from Britain. But according as they became perfect in the arts, they built much larger and more solid vessels, to transport their armies and colonies to Albania.§

The manufacture of cloth, stuffs, and every thing necessary to cover and preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, was in very general use among the ancient Irish.‖ The men, says Cambrensis, wore trousers or "braies," in Latin, "braccæ," whence a part of Gaul was called "Gallia Braccata." The Persians, Scythians,¶ Sarmatii,** the ancient people of the Palatinate, called Vangiones, the Batavians,†† Hebrews,‡‡ and almost every nation had the same customs.

Among the Irish, the tunic, drawers, leggings, and boots, were composed of one

* Keating on the reign of Tighernmas.

† Idem, on the reign of Enna, surnamed Airgheagh.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 59.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21 et 28.

‖ "Not of stone, but of wrought oak."

* "A Scotic work very handsome."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 8, p. 62.

† Grat. Luc. cap 8, p. 62.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 34.

§ "Claudianus clearly proves, that the Irish afterwards were provided with better fleets; when, he says, 'The Scot moved all Ireland, and the sea foamed with the hostile oar.'"

"An army of Scots, on board a number of ships, passed into Britain, and Niellius being monarch of Ireland, six sons of Muredus with a large fleet seized upon the northern parts of Britain. These foul flocks of Scots and Picts came forth from their curraghs in which they crossed the Scythian valley."—*Solinus, Cambrensis, and Gildas, in Grat. Luc.* c. 12, p. 115.

‖ Grat. Luc. cap. 12, p. 112.

¶ "With skins and sown trousers, they drive away pinching cold, and the face alone of the whole person appears."—*Ovid*, b. 3.

** "The whole body is enveloped in trousers, and even the face (except the eyes) is covered."—*Mela*, b. 2.

†† "The Sarmatians, Vangiones, and savage Batavians imitate thee with loosened trousers."—*Lucan. in Grat. Luc.* c. 13, p. 123.

‡‡ "These men were bound, and with trousers and cap, were cast into a burning furnace"—*Daniel*, c. 3, ver. 21.

piece,* and so tight, that the form of the body appeared, by which they differed from those of other people, who wore this dress loose and flowing Besides this the Irish wore a cloak of purple, which they called "falling," like the "pallium" of the Greeks, and the "toga" of the Romans. They considered it as befitting the gravity of man to wear those cloaks. The English called them mantles, from "mantelum" and "mantele," mentioned by Plautus and Pliny. Mantles, mantelets, and mantillas, have undoubtedly derived their etymology from the same source. They wore their hair long, and allowed the beard to grow on the upper lip ;† their head-dress consisted of a cap raised to a point, of the same materials as their clothes ; this cap was called, in their language, "barredh," perhaps from the "biretum," worn by the Gauls ; but more probably from "barr," which signifies top, and from the word "eda," which means clothing. Finally, on their feet they wore sandals, or soles tied with many strings. The Irish women dressed themselves with much modesty. A small mantle of cloth, embroidered or trimmed with fringe, according to the quality of the person, which hung down to the knees,‡ covered their other dress. Their head-dress, called in their language, "fileadh," consisted of a piece of fine linen, with which they enveloped the head in a spiral form, and thus made a kind of veil tied behind. The unmarried women, as a mark of distinction, wore long hair platted, and interwoven with ribands.

The different classes among the Irish were distinguished by the number of colors in their dress § The mechanics and working classes wore but one color, the soldiers two ; officers three ; those who exercised hospitality four ;‖ the nobles five ; the historians and learned six ;¶ which shows the esteem in which men of letters were held : lastly, the kings and princes of the blood wore clothes of seven colors. The plaid, or robes of different colors, which are still worn by the Scotch Highlanders, are probably the remains of this ancient Milesian custom.

In the earlier periods, the Milesians slept under tents, after the manner of the Scythians their ancestors ; however, as soon as they were well-secured in their possessions, they evinced a taste for building houses and towns.* Stones were not used in their buildings, the use of which was not known to the Britons and Gauls.† Their houses were built of wood, their furniture was very plain, and all their vessels made of wrought wood, according to the taste of the times.

The Irish were remarkable for their hospitality.‡ The unfortunate always found refuge among them.§ The Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons, sought an asylum in that country, to secure themselves from the tyranny of the Romans ;‖ princes who were persecuted in their own country, found there a safe retreat. Dagobert II., son of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, having been expelled his kingdom by Grimoald, mayor of the palace, was received with distinction in Ireland, where he remained in exile during twenty-five years.¶ Oswald, king of the Northumbrians,** with his brothers and several lords, found refuge among the Scots, that is to say, the Irish, "apud Scotos exulabant," among whom they remained for sixteen years, till the death of the tyrant whose fury they wished to avoid.

Alfred, king of the Northumbrians, and one of the successors of Oswald, having been driven from the throne of his ancestors, withdrew into Ireland,†† where he made a considerable progress in the study of literature, and in the art of governing. Bede mentions a number of Englishmen, both nobles and others, who went to Ireland in the time of the holy bishops Finan and Colman, to be instructed in divine learning, and to perfect themselves in the practice of a monastic life.‡‡ He adds, also, that the Scots supplied them, gratis, with every thing necessary for their support, even with books for their studies.§§

* Grat. Luc. cap. 13, p. 122 et seq.
† Idem, cap. 13, p. 125.
‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 12, p. 112.
§ Keating on the reign of Tighernmas.
‖ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 59, et cap. 10, p. 105.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 23.

* War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 22.
† Grat. Luc. cap. 10, p. 99.
‡ "They are indeed the most hospitable of mankind. You cannot gratify them more, than either to visit them of your own accord, or invite them to visit you in turn."—*Stan. Irish Hist.* b. 1, p. 33.
§ Petr. Lombard. cap. 12, p. 111.
‖ "Many, no doubt, passed into Ireland, from Spain, Gaul, and Britain, to draw their necks from the iniquitous oppression of the Roman yoke."—*Camd. edit.* p. 682.
¶ Hist. Ecclesiast. de Fleury. Abrégé Chron de Calmet.
** Abrégé Chron. du Pres. Hayn.
†† Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 1 et seq
‡‡ Bede, Malmsburiensis, et Harpsfeldius apud. Grat. Luc. c. 14, p. 128.
§§ "All of whom the *Irish* most freely received, and afforded them daily food without payment : they likewise supplied them with masters and books without remuneration."—*Bede's Church Hist* c 27, b 3.

The love of hospitality was not confined to individuals, it was the general taste of the nation; as there were lands assigned by the government to a certain number of persons, who were appointed to exercise it in the different provinces. They were named "Biatachs," from "Bia," in Latin, Victus, which signifies all kinds of food. The office of Biatach was considered honorable by the Irish.* In order that it might be discharged with dignity, none but nobles were appointed to it: besides the lands assigned by the state, they should be the lords of seven boroughs or villages, feeding seven herds of one hundred and twenty oxen each, without counting the produce in grain, after seven ploughs every year. The Hospitalers took care never to be taken unprepared. Large pots, filled with all kinds of meat, supplied in abundance every thing to satisfy their guests. The fare was plain and frugal: they were unacquainted with sauces and ragouts: their general food was flesh, fish, bread baked in the ashes, milk, butter, honey, and herbs, principally water-cresses, which were much used by them, as well as by the ancient Persians.

Hospitality, when confined to the limits prescribed by prudence, is a virtue belonging to charity; but among the Irish it was a vice which might be called prodigality, and tended to the ruin of families. For besides the hospitable institutions established by public authority, the houses of private lords were like inns, where every one was welcome, particularly the bards, or Fileas, who were equally loved and feared, on account of their satirical genius, as they were lavish of praise or cutting satire, according to the good or bad reception they received.†

Among the Milesians, music formed part of a good education; every one was desirous of knowing how to sing or play on some instrument.‡ The office of music-master to the king, was among the number of those created in the third century, in the reign of Cormac-Ulfada.§ These appointments consisted of a gentleman companion, a druid, a judge, a doctor, a poet, historian, musician, and three stewards. Those who filled these offices always followed the court; the gentleman was companion to the king; the druid superintended the affairs of religion; the judge interpreted the laws, and decided all controversies among the people; the doctor watched over the king's health; the poet celebrated his great deeds; the historian kept his history and genealogy; the musician amused him during his repasts, and in his hours of recreation; lastly, the stewards received the revenues of the crown, and managed the affairs of the household. These officers continued till the eleventh century in the reign of Brian Boroimhe, except that in the time of Christianity, in the place of the druid, a bishop was substituted, and was confessor to the king.

Giraldus Cambrensis bears the following testimony to the Irish music. This nation, says he, particularly excels and surpasses all others in musical instruments, on which they perform with precision and lightness, and draw even from discordance the most melodious harmony.* The harp was their most general instrument,† there was one in every house, either for their own use, or for those strange musicians who passed the way.

The city of Tailton, now a small village, in the county of Meath, was renowned not only for the games and military exercises which were celebrated there,‡ but also for the assembly which was held every year relating to marriages.§ The fathers and mothers who had children of either sex to settle in life, repaired thither from the different parts of the kingdom. The young men and the females lodged in separate quarters, and the parents met and treated together in the public squares, and stipulated for the marriage of their children.

The care of nursing and bringing up children of rank among them was confided to people of independence, or wealthy farmers, whose wives suckled them, or in case of any obstacle, had them suckled by others under their own eye. The honor of nursing a child of rank, joined to the protection which they expected from them, was considered as ample recompense. They took more care of them than of their own children, and procured them every thing that could flatter their good or evil propensities. There were likewise landlords whose title depended on nursing one or more of the children of the lord from whom they held the land.

The descendants of Fiacho Suidhe, brother of the monarch Conn-Keadcahagh, from

* Grat. Luc cap. 14, p. 130.
† Petr. Lomb. cap. 12, p. 111
‡ Keating on the reign of Cormac-Ulfada.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 63

* "I discover that this nation (i. e. Ireland) pays a laudable and industrious regard to their musical pursuits, and excel, in this particular, every other people. Their movements in music are quick and sweet, their melody and concord are in complete harmony." —*Girald. Cambr. Hist.* c. 19.

† "They (i. e. the Irish) are devoted to music and the harp; they strike harmoniously the strings, which are of brass, with their nails."—*Camd.* p. 714

‡ Keating.

§ Ogyg. part 3, p. 46.

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whom the O'Fallans derive their origin, being lords of Deasia, a territory comprising almost the whole county of Waterford, undertook in the beginning of the third century to nurse and educate Eithney-athach, daughter of Eana-Kinsealach, king of Leinster, hoping, as the druids had prognosticated, that the marriage of that princess with Aongus, son of Madfroach, king of Munster, would tend to aggrandize their fortune. The prediction of the druids came to pass accordingly; Aongus gave them an extensive territory to the north of the river Suir, extending from the side of Clonmel and Cashel, called "Deasia Tuasgirt," or northern Deasia.

The attachment of the young people for those who had nursed them, sufficiently marked their gratitude; they loaded them with favors, considered them as deserving implicit confidence, and often preferred them to their near relatives.* The nurses generally shared the love of their children with the mothers. They were received by them with tenderness and respect, and sat at the table, whatever company might be present. If these children had any cause of discontent in the paternal mansion, they sought refuge with their nurses, who received them with open arms; the latter often entered with too much facility into their ambitious views, and encouraged them sometimes to revolt, not only against their brothers, but also against their parents, which was often productive of troubles in families, and civil wars in the state.

The funeral ceremonies of the Milesians savored of the barbarism of the ancient times. When any person of distinction or a chief of their ancient families died, they prepared feasts, and kept open houses for all those who assisted at the funeral.† The wives of their vassals, who were much attached to them, or other women who were professed mourners of the dead,‡ like the "Præficæ," mentioned by Servius, came in crowds, and entering one after the other, with every appearance of despair, the hall where the corpse was exposed, they uttered loud cries and lamentations, reciting the genealogy, and singing in verse, with a plaintive and melancholy voice, the virtues and exploits of the deceased, and those of his earliest ancestors. This kind of elegy, or rhyming funeral oration, being ended, they were brought into another hall, where all kinds of refreshments were prepared; these women, who relieved each other every hour, continued this ceremony as long as the corpse remained exposed. The day being appointed, and every thing ready for the interment, the body was carried to the place of burial, accompanied by the same women, making the air resound with their cries. This custom, however barbarous it may appear, not being in unison with the present taste, was not without a precedent. Among the Jews, those who followed a funeral bewailed with a loud voice, as appears by the burial of Abner:* there were women who made it a profession to cry on those occasions; and hymns were composed to be used as funeral orations to illustrious persons, such as David composed for Saul, and that of the prophet Jeremiah for Joshua.† The ancient Romans also employed professed mourners at funerals, which is proved by its being prohibited in the laws of the twelve tables.‡

The ancients paid particular respect to the remains of their deceased relations and friends. The Greeks burned them, to preserve their ashes in urns. The Hebrews buried the lower orders of the people, and embalmed persons of rank, to place them in sepulchres; they sometimes burned perfumes on the dead bodies. The Egyptians embalmed their dead, surrounding the body with drugs of a drying quality: they were then placed in sepulchres; they sometimes covered them with fine linen and dissolved gum, and preserved them in that state in their houses.§ The Romans, Gauls, Germans, Britons, and people of the north, sometimes burned their dead, and sometimes buried them. Pomponius Mela asserts that it was the custom among the druids, who were the priests and legislators of most of these nations.‖

A number of caves or subterraneous vaults, (called by the Greeks "hypogæ," by the Latins "Conditoria" or "requietoria,") which have been discovered within a few centuries in Ireland, would make it appear that the Milesians anciently burned their dead. These caves were constructed of flat stones, sometimes of marble, some of which, raised perpendicularly, supported the others, which were placed horizontally over them, forming a kind of centre, without plaster or any other cement. The bodies were deposited in those vaults; after which they were covered with earth in the form of Pyramids

* Grat. Luc. c. 11.
† Stanihurst, de Rebus Hib. lib. 14, p. 47.
‡ Grat. Luc. c. 13, p. 122.

* Reg. 3, ver. 31, Jerem. 8, v. 17.
† 2 Reg. 1, v. 17.
‡ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 32.
§ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 32
‖ Geograp. lib. 3

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which were sometimes flattened on the top like a Dutch cheese, and are called "moats" by the people of the country. Ware says, that some of this kind are still to be seen at Naas, in the county of Kildare, and at Clonard, in Meath; so that those vaults, first constructed on the surface of the earth, were in course of time completely covered with it. Virgil and Lucan alluded to those pyramids in speaking of the heaps of earth which were raised over the ashes of kings.*

The caves enclosed in those pyramids differed in size; some were six feet long, others but two. Entire skeletons, and urns filled with ashes, were sometimes found in them. In 1646, a sepulchre of black marble was found buried in a hill in the neighborhood of Dublin; its length was fourteen feet two inches; and its breadth two feet one: this sepulchre contained a quantity of ashes and bones. Molyneux, in his treatise on the "Danish mounts," describes a subterraneous vault which was discovered at New-Grange, in the county of Meath.† This vault, which was of an irregular form, was nineteen or twenty feet high, and ten in diameter. There were three caves or niches formed in the side of the vault, each about ten feet in length, five in breadth, and the same in depth. The great vault contained two skeletons, which were found lying on the ground. The entrance was through a small hole, in a kind of gallery or conduit, eighty feet long, three feet wide, and unequal in height, as far as the opening of the vault, where it was ten feet high. The whole, that is, the vault, cave, and gallery, was built of large stones, covered over with earth in the form of a hill. Many others, of the same description, have been discovered in Ireland within the last century. Caves of different sizes have been found, some six feet in length, others but two. The former were intended as a burial place for those bodies that had not passed through the fire; the latter to contain the ashes of such as had been burned. These monuments were only built for people of rank, as much to perpetuate their names, as to distinguish them from the lower classes, who were buried under heaps of earth and gravel. But these customs were abolished some time before the birth of our Saviour, by Eocha X.,‡ surnamed Airive, who established the use of graves, as more convenient, and more conformable to the respect due to the dead, which custom has been since followed.*

* "There was the tomb of king Dercennus built, beneath a high mountain, with a mound of earth; it was covered by an old laurel and a shading oak."—*Virgil, Æneid*, b. 11.

"And let the ashes of kings repose beneath a raised mound of earth."

† Page 197.

‡ Keating on the reign of Eocha Airive.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MILESIANS.

Heber and Heremon, brothers, and children of Milesius, king of Gallicia, having conquered the Tuatha de Danains, reigned together in Ireland for the space of one year, but some differences having arisen between them, Heber was killed at the battle of Geisiol, in that part of the country at present called the King's county, and left his brother sole master of the island,† who established a monarchical government, which lasted, with scarcely any interruption, till the arrival of the English in the twelfth century, that is, about 2200 years.

The government, however, experienced some change under Eocha IX., surnamed "Felioch," or the "melancholy."‡ This monarch was the first who established the pentarchy, and erected the provinces of Ireland into kingdoms,§ the investiture of which he conferred on the chiefs of the tribes, who were at that time in possession of them, on condition of paying an annual tribute.‖ In his time the Irians, descendants of Ir, were still in possession of Ulster.¶ The Heberians, descendants of Heber, and the Dergtines, of the race of Lugadh, son of Ith, were possessed of the two Munsters, which they governed alternately; but their possession had been disturbed some time before the reign of that monarch, by the establishment of the Deagades of Lough Earn, of the race of Heremon. Leinster was under the dominion of the Heremonians, descendants of Laogare Lore, son of Ugane More; and Connaught belonged to the Firdomnians, of the race of the Firbolgs, who were divided into three branches, the chiefs of which were, at that time, Fidhac, Eocha Allat, and Tinne.** In whatever light this government of the Milesians is considered, it cannot be

* Grat. Luc. page 8, p. 65.
† A. M. 2992.
‡ Keating on the reign of Eocha Felioch.
§ A. M. 3989.
‖ Ogyg. part 3, cap 40
¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.
** Idem.

called a pentarchy, as Cambrensis has it. From the time of Heremon till the reign of Eocha IX., a thousand years, this people were governed sometimes by one king, and sometimes, but seldom, by two together, after the manner of Sparta. From Eocha IX., till the twelfth century, the provincial kings had, to a certain degree, divided the government of the island between them ; but their subordination to, and dependence on the monarch, completely excluded the idea of a pentarchy, which implies, among the princes composing it, an equality and independence of one another, as was the case with the Saxon princes, in the time of the English heptarchy.

This division of the supreme power by Eocha, contrary to all rules of good policy, by increasing the discord which had always reigned among the Milesians, weakened considerably the sovereign power, so necessary to keep the people in subjection. The link of the general welfare being broken, the interests of the chiefs who ruled in the several kingdoms were separated, so that they often took up arms one against the other, and sometimes against their general-in-chief.

Cambrensis, with his usual confidence, asserts, that it was a custom with the kings of Ireland to take possession of the government of the whole island by force of arms, without the solemnity of coronation, or any right, either by inheritance or succession. However, we may judge of the belief which should be attached to this author, and all those who have imitated him, by the character I have drawn of him in the preliminary discourse on this subject. Harris reproaches Ware, whose works he translated, of having given but a very imperfect idea of the ancient government of Ireland, and of having too closely copied the calumnies of Cambrensis, without sufficiently fathoming the truth.*

The crown was neither absolutely hereditary nor purely elective among the Milesians. The son did not always succeed to his father's throne, and the younger often reigned to the prejudice of the elder ; in case of the children being minors, the brother, uncle, or cousin of the deceased king was called to the throne, or the nearest relative capable of governing alone, and commanding the armies.† The same laws which excluded minors, excluded also from the throne all those who were not descended from one of the three sons of Milesius, Heber, Heremon, or Ir. A successor was appointed to the crown during the monarch's lifetime, as the king of the Romans was elected in the empire ; this heir, who was his son, brother, uncle, or his nearest relation capable of governing, was called "Tainiste," from the name of the ring finger ; and, as this finger by its place and length is next to the middle one, so that prince was next to the monarch in rank, dignity, and power. It is from thence Davis and Ware give the name of "Tanistry" to the law concerning the succession of the crown in Ireland.*

The candidate was obliged to prove his origin by the registries of his family, and the Psalter of Tara ; which induced the Milesians to preserve the genealogies of their families with as much care and precision as the Hebrews. The family of Ith, uncle of Milesius, was not absolutely excluded from the crown, as we find the names of three of them in the list of the Irish kings. Besides his birth, the candidate should be a knight of the golden chain, called in their language, "niadh-niask," as we should say, "Eques Torquatus," from a chain of gold which was worn on the neck.† This order was instituted by king Munemon, and was the only title of honor used by the Milesians after that of king.‡ The pompous titles of duke, marquis, earl, and baron, introduced within the last few centuries, to flatter the ambition of men, and often conferred on people whose only merit consisted in being the favorites of princes, were unknown to them, as well as to the Greeks, Romans, and other nations of antiquity.

Notwithstanding the wise precautions adopted by the Milesians in the election of their kings, those candidates who thought themselves unjustly excluded, roused by the ambition of reigning, and supported by the factions of their vassals, (not, however, without any right to the succession, as Cambrensis asserts,) often, at the expense of the public peace, decided by their arms what was, in their opinion, unjust in the choice of the electors.§

We do not discover in the ancient monuments of the Milesians any vestiges of the ceremonies used before Christianity, at the coronation of their monarchs, whether it be that the registries and acts in which these ceremonies should be noted have been lost, or fallen into the hands of those who wish

* Harris, vol. 2, cap. 10.
† Petr. Lomb. Comment. de Hibern. cap. 3, page 45 et 46.

* Ogyg. part 1, page 57 et 58.
† A. M. 3271. ‡ B C. 729.
§ Ogyg. part 1; p. 58

we should be ignorant of them: however, as their historians have preserved some particulars of the inauguration of the provincial kings, it is probable there were still more august ceremonies for the coronation of their monarchs.

It cannot be denied that crowns were used by the Milesians, of which frequent mention is made in their annals: we discover in them that the *Asion*, that is, the crown of the queen of Cahire-More, was stolen at the assembly of Tara;* that Donogh O'Brien, king of Munster, and partly of Ireland,† had taken the crown of his ancestors with him, when he made a voyage to Rome. Ward, a respectable antiquarian, says that the Irish kings appeared in all solemnities, even at battle, with the crown on their heads.‡ This mark of distinction was fatal, according to Marianus Scotus, to the monarch Brian Boroimhe, at the famous battle of Clontarf, where he was recognised and killed by some Danes that were flying.§ According to Hector Boetius, the kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Achaius, who died in 819, wore a crown of plain gold, in the form of a pallisade or rampart, "Militaris valli forma."‖ There can be no doubt of their having borrowed this ensign of royalty from their ancestors the Milesians, as they were descended from them.¶ The following fact leaves no doubt on this subject. In 1692, a crown of gold, in the form of a cap, was found ten feet deep in the earth, by some laborers who were cutting turf in a bog at Barnanely, otherwise "the Devil's Bit," in the county of Tipperary, in Ireland. This crown, which weighs five ounces of gold, is tolerably well wrought; it resembles the crowns of the emperors of the East, composed of a helmet and diadem, according to the description Seldon gives of it.** It has neither cross, nor any other mark of Christianity, which gives rise to a belief that it was made in the time of paganism. This curious piece of antiquity was sold to Joseph Comerford, and by him preserved in the castle of Anglure, in Champaign, which estate he purchased.

It does not appear that the anointing, which now constitutes part of the coronation ceremony of the European princes, had been in use among the Milesians.†† This custom, the first examples of which we discover among the Hebrews, did not exist, according to Onuphrius Panvinius, among the emperors of the East before the time of Justinian or of Justin his son, about the year 565.* It was introduced, according to that author, into the west by Charlemagne, in 800: however, we discover in history, that Pepin, his father, had been consecrated and anointed king of the Franks, by Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, in virtue of the power granted him for this purpose by Pope Stephen II.

In the first ages of this rising monarchy, that is, till the reign of Ollave Fola, the Milesians, like many other people in those ancient times, followed the laws dictated by nature.† Their government was not yet founded on fixed laws, or their laws were too general to embrace private cases that might arise between the king and his subjects, or between the subjects themselves.‡ The Greeks and Romans labored for a considerable time under the same inconveniences, for the Athenians formed a nation long before the time of Draco and Solon, their first legislators, and the Roman people had existed three hundred years, before they received from the Athenians the laws of the Twelve Tables.

During this interval, the Milesians labored with emulation, princes as well as the people, in cutting down the forests with which the island was covered, in cultivating the land, and preparing it for tillage and pasture, in order to derive from it every thing necessary for their subsistence.

Ollave Fola directed his thoughts to objects more elevated and more worthy of a king, convinced that it would in some manner be degrading to mankind, to think only of sustaining life.§ He knew that men born for society had need of laws to regulate their morals, and to exercise distributive justice. He conceived the design of accomplishing it, and after having collected, and reduced to the form of a history, all the monuments of his ancestors, down to his own time, as Eithrial, one of his predecessors, had done before him, he convened a triennial and general assembly of all the states, in form of a parliament, at Tara, in Meath, which afterwards became the usual residence of the monarchs.‖

This assembly was called in their lan-

* Ogyg. p. 46.
† Idem, p. 47.
‡ Vit. Rumoldi, p. 170.
§ In the year 1014.
‖ Lib. 2 et 10.
¶ Keat. preface.
** Tit. Hon. part 1, chap. 8.
†† Ogyg. part 1, page 47.

* De Comitiis Imperatoriis, cap. 2.
† A. M. 3320. B. C. 680.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.
§ Lecan, after Feirchirtne, an antiquarian who lived more than 100 years before Jesus Christ.
‖ Keat. on the reign of Ollave Fola.

guage *Feis-Teamrach*, signifying the assembly of the nobility, druids, historians, and other learned men. It was held in a great hall in the palace of Tara, at the time answering to our months of October and November. The most perfect order was preserved, every one taking his place according to his dignity. It was on this occasion the king ordered coats of arms to the chief of each family, according to his rank, to distinguish them one from the other, and to serve as a rule for the master of the ceremonies, whose office was to mark the rank of each member in the assembly; which he performed by hanging the buckler and coat of arms of each person on the wall opposite to the place intended for him.* It must be observed that, until then, the different families composing the colony of the Milesians, had no arms peculiar to them; they had only a banner bearing as an escutcheon a dead serpent and a wand, in memory of the cure of Gaodhal their ancestor, which served as an ensign to the whole colony.† The Gadelians had borrowed this custom from the Israelites, whose different tribes carried different banners, to avoid confusion in their march in the desert, as our regiments march under their respective colors.

In the first session of the assembly at Tara, it was established as a fundamental law of the state, that every three years the king, nobility, and principal men in the kingdom should, under certain penalties, repair in person, or, in case of sickness or any other obstacle, send deputies to Tara at the time appointed, to deliberate on the necessities of the state, to establish laws, and confirm or change the old ones, as the general welfare might require. The princes and other lords were then confirmed in the possession of those lands and lordships which they had received in the division made by Heber and Heremon, after the conquest of the island over the Tuatha de Danains. It was afterwards decreed by the assembly, that each lord should maintain, at his own expense, a judge and historian, to whom he should assign a portion of land sufficient for the maintenance of their family, so that being free from all domestic embarrassments, they might devote their time exclusively to their employment. It was the duty of the judge, called in Irish "brehon," to watch over the observance of the laws in his lord's possessions and to administer justice; in some cases an appeal against his decisions was referred to the triennial assembly. The historian's office was to preserve in writing, their genealogies, alliances, and noble actions; and to present every three years to the general assembly, the annals and anecdotes of his patron, to undergo the criticism of a committee of nine, viz., three princes, three druids, and three historians. Those acts thus examined and corrected, if necessary, were registered in the great book generally called the Psalter of Teamor or Tara; a formality absolutely necessary to give them validity. To obviate also prevarication, and prevent the errors which might afterwards be introduced into those annals, through bribery or seduction on the part of the lords; through flattery or a hope of reward, on that of the antiquarians, the delinquents were subjected to heavy penalties: so that if one of them were convicted of evasion, either by concealing or adding any fact or circumstance contrary to the truth, he was punished in proportion to his crime; sometimes by the confiscation of his property, the loss of his place, or a shameful expulsion from the assembly, and sometimes by death; so that the fear of those penalties was an effectual curb, which rendered them vigilant and attentive in the discharge of their duties. This custom of examining the annals of private families, and enrolling them in the Psalter of Tara, lasted without interruption till the twelfth century of Christianity, and without any change, except that when the pagan priesthood was abolished by the preaching of the gospel in the fifth century, the three druids were replaced by three bishops to examine these memoirs, with the three princes and three chronologists; so that Saint Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, having assisted as judge, with other bishops, at one of those assemblies, he had all the ancient books of the Milesians brought before him, and having examined them, he approved of the Psalter of Tara, with several other histories, written long before his time, and burned 180 volumes filled with the superstitions of the pagan and idolatrous religion, which the Milesians had till then professed; a proof that they knew the use of letters before the time of that apostle.* This custom of keeping public registries to preserve their history was not confined to the Milesians; it was common to the Chaldeans and Egyptians. There were learned men in those countries, who wrote and preserved in their archives every event. Josephus, in his first book against Appian, assigns it as the cause

* Keat. on the reign of Ollave Fola.
† The annals of Leath-Cuin

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30, page 219.

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of the antiquities of the Chaldeans and Egyptians having been so well preserved, while, from a contrary cause, few vestiges of antiquity remain among the Greeks.

The book or registry of Tara is called, in the Irish language, "Psaltuir Teavair," that is, the Psalter of Teamor or Tara, being written in verse, or a kind of rhyming prose, like the ancient Arabs, who wrote their histories in verse. Measured words are always the most easily retained, which reason induced the Hebrews to compose hymns on all considerable events, such as the hymns of Moses, of Deborah, of the mother of Samuel, and the Psalms of David.* Since the time of Christianity, several copies of them were taken by public authority, and deposited in different cathedral churches in the kingdom, under care of the bishops, both for the convenience of those who might want to consult them, and in case any accidents might arise either from fire or war. Those copies were also called Psalters, after the original, as the Psalter of Ardmagh, and the Psalter of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, of which some copies are still extant.

Besides the public offices, created in the assembly of Tara, every lord had a physician, poet, and musician, to each of whom he assigned a certain portion of land. These lands, as well as those of the judges and historians, were considered sacred and exempt from all taxes and impositions, even in time of war, like those of the pagan priests in Egypt. These offices, and the lands belonging to them, were confined to certain families. We see an example of the same custom in the fourth chapter of Genesis. And none were allowed to study medicine among the Greeks, but those belonging to the family of Esculapius. Nevertheless, to excite emulation, they were conferred on merit, without regard to the degree of relationship, in order that each member of the same family should endeavor to perfect himself in his profession; a convincing proof of the taste of the Milesians for the arts and sciences, even in those barbarous times.† In fine, wise laws were enacted in this assembly, to maintain the public peace, and to preserve to the subjects the secure possession of their properties and liberty. All violence against members of the assembly during the sessions, was prohibited under pain of death; the same sentence was pronounced against those guilty of robbery, murder, rape, and other similar crimes, without the monarch having the power of pardoning the guilty, as he had given up, in favor of justice, this portion of the royal prerogative. Copies of this were then distributed, by order of the assembly, among all the private judges in the kingdom, to serve as rules in the administration of justice.

Such was then the civil and political government, early formed among the Milesians, founded on laws dictated by Ollave Fola, the Solon of his time. Carthage and Rome, two celebrated rival cities, were, at that time, but coming into existence. Sparta and Athens had scarcely seen the splendid days of Lycurgus and of Solon. It was, undoubtedly, this antiquity which made Plutarch give the name of "Ogygia" to Ireland.

Ollave Fola, having arranged by those wise regulations every thing concerning the government of the state, turned his thoughts to the arts and sciences. The Milesians had already some slight knowledge of them, which they had acquired in Egypt, where the Gadelians, their ancestors, had sojourned for some time. During the voyage which Milesius afterwards made into Egypt, where he remained for seven years, he had twelve young men of his suite instructed in all the sciences of the Egyptians, and who afterwards served as masters to such of the colony as he had left in Spain. But these first impressions were soon lost; the Milesians, occupied during the first centuries in cultivating their lands and new inheritance, neglected the arts and sciences. This wise monarch, wishing to remedy that neglect, founded schools of philosophy, astronomy, poetry, medicine, history, &c., at Teamor. Those schools, called in their language Mur-Ollavan, "the houses of the learned," were protected by the monarchs his successors, particularly by Cormac-Ulfada, who had their foundations enlarged.

Tuathal-Teachtmair,* having ascended the throne which his father had lost together with his life, in a revolt of the lower orders,† convoked the assembly of Teamor, as his ancestors were accustomed to do, on their accession to the throne;‡ and having received the faith and homage of his subjects, he convened two other assemblies, one at Eamhain, in Ulster, and the other at Cruachan, in Connaught.§ In these assemblies the decree of Ollave Fola was renewed, for the continuance of the triennial assembly at Tara, with the investigation and registering

* Exod. 15, Deut. 32, Jud. 5, 1 Reg. 2.
† Grat. Luc. cap. 3.

* In the year of our Lord 95.
† Keating on the reign of Tuathal-Teachtmair
‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 68.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56

the annals, which had been interrupted by the usurpation of the lower ranks of the people. A celebrated regulation was instituted for mechanics. They appointed sixty of each trade in every district in the island, to inspect and govern the others.* No one was allowed to work at any trade without having been approved of by these commissioners, who were called, in the language of the country, "Jollanuidh," which signifies, expert in their art or profession. Such was the first plan or origin of the bodies of trades and mechanics in Ireland.

About the time of our Saviour, the learned in the jurisprudence of the country began to make collections of the laws, and to commit them to writing, several of which are mentioned by their historians.† In the time of Conquovar king of Ulster, who began to reign some years before the Christian era, Forchern and Neid-Mac-Aidnha, two celebrated poets, composed a dialogue on the laws.* The same, with Athirne, chief poe of Conquovar, were the authors of the axi oms of the laws, called "judicia Cœlestia," as the axioms of the sages of Greece were called "Dicta Sapientium."† Fearadach, the monarch, and Moran his judge, were celebrated for their justice, and their writings on the laws.‡ Modain-Mac-Tolbain, judge under Constantine, surnamed Keadcaha, made a collection of laws, called "Meillbreatha."§ Fiothall, or Fithic Fiorgothia, one of the legislators at Tara, under Cormac, surnamed Ulfada, has left a treatise upon laws entitled Fiondsuith. King Cormac, and Cairbre his son, made a code of laws, called "Dula," which was divided into three parts, and which contained regulations on various matters.‖

All those works on law, with many others of the same nature, were collected in the eighth century, and formed into one body of laws, by three brothers, Faranan, Boethgal, and Moetul, the first of whom was a bishop, the second a judge, and the third a poet and antiquarian. This collection was called "Brathaneimhadh," signifying sacred judgments. The matter it contained is briefly explained in the following Irish lines:

Eagluis, flatha Agus filidh
Breitheamh Dhios gacbdligh,
Na bruigh fo aidh dar linn,
Na saor agus na gabhan.

which are thus translated into Latin by Gratianus Lucius :¶

"Quid sit jus Cleri, Satrapæ, vatisque, fabrique,
Nec non agricolæ, liber iste docebit abunde."

* Grat. Luc. cap. 12, p. 113.

† "In the reign of Conchovar, king of Ulster, there were two poets of great celebrity: Forchernus, son of Deagas, (from whom the Deagadœ of Munster were descended,) and Nedius, son of Adnaus, and grandson of Uthirius, composed a dialogue on the laws. The same Forchernus committed to writing, at the palace of Emania, in Ulster, rules on poetry and various kinds of verse. This book, called Uriaceacth-na-Negio, which signifies precepts for poets, Kenfoela, the son of Olillius, in the reign of Donald, king of Ireland, revised, after several centuries. The same Forchernus, also Nedius, and likewise Athneus, chief poet of King Conchovar, inserted among authors who have written axioms on the laws which are termed 'Cœlestia Judicia,' as among the Greeks, the 'sayings of wise men.' Morannus, son of Carbreus, king of Ireland, and supreme judge under Feradachus, king also of Ireland, produced likewise 'cœlestia judicia.' Cormac, king of Ireland, (whose studies on the law, and those of the son of Carbreus, in the reign of his successor, are still extant.) Fithelus, judge of King Cormac, and Finnus, son of Coballus, general and son-in-law of the same Cormac. Among other authors of 'celestial axioms,' are numbered Factnaus, son of Senchaus, grandson of Coelclinius; Serchaus, son of Olillius; Nereus, son of Fincollaus; Rognius Rosgadhach, poet, son of Hugonius, king of Ireland; Manius Nilnessius, poet; and Ethna, daughter of Armalgadius.

"Similar 'judicia' also the Christian king, Dubthacus O'Lugair, who had been, on the arrival of St. Patrick, a heathen, practised. Of him Jocelin makes mention, c. 45; and Sanchanus, Torpestius, in the time of Guarius, king of Connaught. Kenfoela, son of Olillius, of whom we made mention above, composed together a work from the writings of the ancients, entitled 'Celestia Judicia.' These were three brothers of O'Burechanus, i. e., Ferananus, bishop; Boethgalus, judge; and Maltulius, poet, when Cathaldus, of Fingunius, was king of Munster.

"A little before Conchovar, when Fergusius, son of Ledeus, was president of Ulster, Seannus, son of Agius, flourished as a writer; he composed 'Fonn Seanchuismhoir.' The 'Celestia Judicia' of Eugenius, son of Darthactus, have been celebrated. Those of Achaus, son of Luctaus, king of Munster; those also of Carithniathus and Nemthenius, were nearly equal to Conchovar. Feradachus, king of Hibernia, under whom Monannus flourished. He was celebrated for his writings; Modanus, son of Sulbanus, in the time of Quintus Centimachus, king of Ireland, composed a book of laws. I shall pass over Conlaus, a celebrated judge of Connaught, who contended with the druids in his writings; also Senchaus, son of Coelclinius, father of Factnaus, whom we mentioned above; and Kinethus O'Commid, and other pagans, whose names and epochs there is not at present an opportunity of introducing."—*Ogyg.* part 3, c. 30, pp. 217 218.

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 30.

† In the year of Christ 70.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 20, p. 175.

§ Anno 148.

‖ Anno 234. Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69

¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 20, page 157.

Gratianus Lucius mentions his having seen several large volumes on Irish laws, written in large characters on parchment. In the space between the lines, there were words written in small characters to explain whatever might be obscure in the text, with commentaries on the margin, like the books of civil and canon laws.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE WARS OF THE MILESIANS.

War was the ruling passion of this people. We see by their histories, that, for the most trifling cause, they declared war and fought the most bloody battles. They were scarcely in possession of their new conquest, when the two brothers, chiefs of the colony, declared war against each other, which ended in the death of one of them; and it may be said, that of the great number of kings who governed them for more than two thousand years, more than two-thirds of them perished on the field of battle. According to the custom of ancient times, the crown of the vanquished was the prize of the victor, which was a proof of their martial and warlike genius, and also of a spirit of discord, which was finally the cause of the destruction of their monarchy, and the loss of their liberty.

The same disorders prevailed in all times and in all countries, particularly where the crown was elective. Not to speak of the empires of Babylon, of the Egyptians, the Medes and the Persians, Rome, that eternal city, was founded in blood; that empire, in other respects so polished, was at one time torn by the factions of the Triumvirs, and at others by those of Cæsar and Pompey, of Octavius and Antony. If, among the Milesians, he who imbrued his hands in the blood of his king succeeded to the throne, the same thing is discoverable among the Assyrians, and the kings of Israel. We see also in Rome, that Otho having killed Galba, succeeded him in the government, and Vitellius succeeded Otho, the former of whom fell by the hands of Vespasian.

In more recent ages, we discover many similar examples in the neighboring countries. In Germany, Rudolphus, Albert, Henry VII., Frederick III., Louis of Bavaria, Charles, nephew of Henry, and Gonther, all perished either by conspiracy or poison.* Italy was long torn by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins. In Spain, Alphonso III. and Alphonso IV. deprived their own brothers of their eye-sight. Peter, the legitimate son of Alphonso XI., was deposed and assassinated by Henry his natural brother; Garzias was massacred by Sanctius, and Sanctius by Vellidus; finally, all Spain, under Roderick, saw herself betrayed and given up to the Moors, by Count Julian, a Spaniard, whom Bodin calls prince of Celtiberia: which treachery, in the space of fourteen months, caused the blood of seven hundred thousand Spaniards to flow. During the heptarchy in England, twenty-eight Saxon kings were murdered, the most of them one by the other, not to mention those who were deposed. In the kingdom of Northumberland alone, four kings were assassinated, and three deposed, within the space of forty-one years; so that this people remained without a king for thirty years, no one daring to assume the title or the reins of government.† What dreadful cruelties and evils were committed in the wars of the barons, under the kings John, Henry III., and Edward II.; the last of whom was deposed, and then assassinated, by order of his own wife and son. The wars between the houses of York and Lancaster were not less fatal. The assassination of Richard II., and of Henry VI., with several thousand men killed on both sides, were the fruits of these unhappy broils. It would be endless to relate all the atrocities and cruelties of which that people afford an example. If, as is but too certain, so many awful excesses have been committed in England, in times so recent, not to add the catastrophes of a similar kind which occurred in other countries, it should not appear astonishing that Ireland underwent certain revolutions, the dreadful effects of which were but partially felt; it would therefore be very unjust to impute to the people of Ireland alone, tragical events, of which so many other nations have afforded such dreadful examples.

From the time of Heremon,‡ the first absolute monarch of the Milesian race, Ireland was governed by kings descended from one of the three sons of Milesius,§ Heber, Here-

* "I myself have seen many thick volumes of Irish laws, written on parchment, and among them the text written in large characters, having the lines moderately separated, for the more easy interpretation of the words compressed in smaller letters. We see more copious comments introduced in the page, having the text the same as in books of laws."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 20.

* Bodin. Meth. Hist. p. 450.
† Math. Westmonas, lib. 1, cap. 3
‡ A. M. 2996.
§ B. C. 1008.

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mon, and Ir, and sometimes from Ith, son of Breogan, uncle of Milesius, for about seven hundred years, till the construction of the palace at Eamhuin, in Latin "Emania," in the province of Ulster, by Kimboth, the monarch, and until the age of Ugane More, who reigned a short time after.*

The most celebrated princes that reigned in Ireland during this interval of time, were, Tighernmas, who, according to the book of Lecan, was the first who introduced idolatry into the island: he also discovered gold and silver mines in this country, and established the difference of rank by the number of colors worn in the clothes.† By this decree, the learned men held a distinguished rank, being next to that of king.

Eocha II. led some troops into Albania, and forced the Picts to renew their alliance, and pay the tribute stipulated for by their ancestors with Heremon.

Aongus or Eneas, surnamed Oll-Muccagh and Oll-Buagagh, on account of the success of his arms against his enemies, undertook an expedition into Albania for the same purpose. He won thirty battles over the Picts and Orcadians, who, notwithstanding the alliance concluded with Heremon, wished to shake off the yoke, and free themselves from the tribute they were obliged to pay to the kings of Ireland; on his return, he defeated his rebellious subjects in four different rencounters, and was at last killed at the battle of Sliave-Cua, in Munster.

Enna I., surnamed "Airgeah," which signifies rich or wealthy, had cuirasses, or bucklers of silver forged at Airgiodross, which he distributed among the great men of the kingdom, and those officers who had distinguished themselves in battle.

Munemon, the monarch, to excite emulation among his subjects, instituted the military order of the Golden Chain. This order was the only title of honor known among the Milesians, after that of king. The knights of this order, like the Roman knights, wore chains of gold on their necks. They were called Niadh-Niask, in Latin "Eques-Torquatus." To be received into this order the candidate was obliged, besides the proofs of his nobility, to give some, also, of his skill. A buckler was tied to a post in the middle of a plain: he was more or less honored, according to the number of lances he broke on the buckler in running, and admitted into the order, or rejected if the number was not sufficient. Froissart mentions the same ceremony to have been observed at the reception of the sons of the king; and as they were sometimes admitted at a very tender age, the size of the lance was in proportion to their strength.* This order became illustrious among them, as none but members of the royal family could aspire to it. Aldergode, son and successor of Munemon, ordered rings of gold to those who excelled in the arts and sciences.

Ollave-Fola, who reigned as monarch about seven centuries before the Christian era, A. M. 3324, B. C. 680, was the father of letters; he convoked a general and triennial assembly of the states at Teamor, or Tara, in Meath. This assembly was celebrated for the wise laws enacted there for the administration of justice, and the general government of the state. This may be termed the epoch and beginning of a polished and steady government, founded on laws, among the Scoto-Milesians. This monarch loved the sciences, and protected the learned; he founded a college at Tara, in which he established antiquarians and professors for the instruction of youth. To this prince was given the name of Ollave Fola, which signifies the doctor of Ireland; "Ollave" meaning learned, and Fola being one of the ancient names of this island; the college was called Mur-Ollavan; "Murus su habitaculum doctorum," the asylum of the learned.

Rotheact II. was the first who invented chariots, to hide the deformity of his legs; as Virgil speaks of Ericthonius,† fourth king of Athens, although the poet does not express the motive.

Seadna II., who was succeeded by Simeon Breac, established the payment of the troops.

Enna II. had money coined at Airgiodross.

The reigns of Conang, surnamed Bog-Aglach, signifying the fearless, and Duach II., surnamed Laighrach, are celebrated in the annals of the Scoto-Milesians, A. M. 3753, B. C. 431. The former was renowned for his bravery, justice, and the moderation of his government, which gained him the love and affection of his people; the latter for his promptitude in the administration of justice, and in punishing the guilty; so that those princes carried the government to great perfection.

The relation which exists between war and those who are the actors in it, requires mention to be made of the militia, and arms

* Ogyg. part 2, page 86.
† Fol. 290, page 2, col. 2.

* Gratianus Lucius, chap. 13, p 124

† "Ericthonius was the first who ventured to join the chariot to the steed, and victoriously display himself on the rapid wheel."—*Virg Geor.* b. 3.

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of the Milesians, before I speak of their wars. Keating attributes to Sedna II., monarch of Ireland more than four hundred years before Jesus Christ, the formation of a corps of militia, which was always ready to defend the country against foreign invasion, and to preserve peace and tranquillity at home. The same prince provided for their subsistence by allowing them pay; he afterwards regulated their discipline.* This militia was composed, in time of peace, of three legions, and each legion of three thousand men; but in time of war the numbers were increased, in proportion as the public welfare required it.† Each legion had a commander, equal nearly in rank to our colonel: each of whom had captains, lieutenants, and other subaltern officers under him, and the three legions were commanded by one general. This cohort was in garrison during the winter, visited the coasts in summer, and maintained the public peace. To be received into it, the candidate should be of an honest family, irreproachable in his morals, and his parents were obliged to be responsible for his conduct; he should be of a certain height, strong, robust, supple in body, and ready to die rather than fly before the enemy. In order to prove his courage, he was placed in a plain, armed with a buckler and cimeter, and at the distance of ten paces were nine men, who all darted their javelins against him at the same time; if he had the skill to ward off the blows with his arms, he was reputed worthy of being received into the corps; but if he had the misfortune to let himself be wounded, he was excluded forever.

This militia was kept up for a long time, and was called, in the first ages of Christianity, Fionna Erionn, from Fionn-Mac-Cumhal, a descendant of Nuagha-Neaght, king of Leinster, who had the command of it. The romances of the ancient bards concerning this militia, have afforded to some late writers an opportunity of giving of it extravagant and absurd accounts, by ascribing to those who composed it a gigantic stature of fifteen cubits, while they were but ordinary men, distinguished indeed from others by their acknowledged bravery, and an inviolable attachment to the service of the state. Romances and fables have been composed at all times and in all countries, to amuse the credulous and the ignorant. An author who introduces them into a serious history, is only casting ridicule upon the nation, the history of which he is writing, and thus diminishes the authority of his most authentic monuments. Ware mentions that there had been, among the Milesians, two kinds of foot-soldiers, differently armed;* the first was called the Galloglasses; they wore helmets, and coats of mail which covered their bodies:† their arms were the pike, sabre, and axe, like the ancient Gauls of whom Marcellin speaks.‡ The others, called Kearns, were light-armed troops, with javelins, lances, or cutlasses, called in Irish, "skeynes," and slings for throwing stones, which they used with astonishing skill. They had also some cavalry; they used no saddles, like the ancient Gauls, Romans, and Numidians, whose cavalry was formerly so much esteemed. Their arms were lances and arrows. They had foot-soldiers in their suite called Daltines, who were armed with darts, and whose duty it was to mind the horses of the cavalry. There was also light cavalry, called by Ware, "Hobellarii," or light-horse.§ They used chariots, not only in travelling, but also in war, of which their history gives many instances.‖ Thadeus, the ally of Cormac-Ulfada, and who assisted to place him on the throne, was seated in a chariot at the battle of Crionn-Chincomar: he received as much land as he could drive over in his chariot in one day as a reward for his services. In the sixth century Diarmod the monarch, wishing to take revenge on the family of Saint Columb, for the threats and freedom of manner in which that saint had spoken to him, assembled a considerable army, composed of chariots, cavalry, and infantry.¶ "Collecto grandi exercitu in curribus, et equitibus, et pedestribus," &c.

The arms of the Milesians were made of brass, like those of the ancient Greeks.** They took particular pride, says Solinus, in the neatness of them: the handles of their swords were made of the teeth of marine animals, which they rendered as white as ivory.†† Their bucklers of osier, their bows and small arrows, showed their connection with the Scythians from whom they had derived their origin. Like them they used

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 33.
† Walsh. Prosp. of Ireland, sect. 2, p. 51.

* Antiq. Hibern. cap. 12.
† Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. page 718.
‡ Stanihurst de Rebus Hib. lib. 1, p. 40 et 41
§ Antiq. Hibern. cap. 7.
‖ Id. cap. 12.
¶ Usser. Primord. Eccl. page 902.
** Grat. Luc c. 13, p. 113 et 114.
†† "Those who study neatness indent the hafts of their swords with the teeth of marine animals, for they approach to the whiteness of ivory; men glory in the use of arms."—*Solinus*, c. 24.

a martial cry, which was, *farah*, *farah*, as we should say, take care. Those kinds of cries were used by the Greeks and Romans; the former, according to Plutarch and Suidas, used the word eleleu: Marcellinus tells us, that "Barritus" was the cry of the Roman soldiers going to battle. The god Pan, it is said, was the author of this military cry, which, having caused the precipitate flight of the enemy in the middle of the night in the expedition of Bacchus into India, gave rise to the saying of *panic terror*.* Instead of drums and cymbals, the Milesians, like the Lacedemonians, made use of the flute and pipe in their armies.†

As the Picts were the first enemies whom the Scoto-Milesians had to encounter, it is necessary first to investigate their origin and establishment in the north of Britain. Keating, O'Flaherty, and most Irish authors, after the Psalter of Cashel, fix the arrival of the Picts in Ireland, and their passage into the north of Britain, in the reign of Heremon.‡ We find the following narrative concerning that people, in the ecclesiastical history of the venerable Bede.

"The Britons, having taken possession of the greater part of that island, (Britain,) the Picts, who came originally, it is said, from Scythia, had embarked in long vessels on the ocean, and having been driven by the winds beyond the coasts of Britain, found themselves on those of Ireland. Having landed in the northern part, they asked permission of the Scots to settle among them; which was refused—the Scots saying it was impracticable, the island being too small to contain both; however, said they, take this salutary advice which we give you; not far hence is an island lying to the east, which we can discover in fine weather; go and settle there; if any one oppose you, you may rely on succor from us. Thereupon the Picts sailed towards Britain, and began to inhabit the northern parts, the Britons being in possession of the south. The Picts having no women, determined to ask some from the Scots, who consented to grant their request on condition, that in case any doubt should arise to which of the descendants, male or female, of the royal family, the crown should belong, he who established a claim by the female line should be preferred. This condition was accepted by the Picts, which custom still prevails among them."§

Usher, in his treatise on the antiquities of the churches in Britain, gives different opinions on the origin of the Picts.* He says that the north of Europe, namely, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and Scandinavia, inhabited by the Danes, Goths, and Vandals and known to the ancients by the name of Germanic Scythia, was called by Procopius of Cæsarea, "Thule," and inhabited by the Picts, according to Claudian in his panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius,† which has made many believe that the Picts of Albania derived their origin from them. But Usher himself seems to doubt if it were Scandinavia or some of the northern isles that was called "Thule,"‡ which doubt appears the better founded, as according to the map of the Atlantic Island drawn by the Sampsons, eminent geographers of the last century, Thule is an island situated in the arctic circle, in the same latitude, but to the west of Scandinavia, now known by the name of Iceland. However, were we to suppose with Procopius, that Scandinavia was called "Thule," and say with Claudian that it was inhabited by Picts, colonies perhaps of the Scandinavians and the Dacians, who painted their bodies by making incisions, and introducing colored substances between the skin and the flesh, with which they formed

* Ogyg. part 3, page 47.

† Aulus Gælius, lib. 1, cap. 11.

‡ Ogyg. part 2, page 86.

§ "It happened that a race of Picts from Scythia, having entered on the ocean with a few long ships, the force of the winds driving them around, arrived in Ireland, after passing every coast of Britain; they landed on the northern coast, and having discovered there a nation of Scots, sought likewise for themselves permission to settle in those parts, but being unable to obtain it, the Scots replied that the island would not contain both; however, we may give you a wholesome counsel which you can pursue; we know another island which is near to ours, it lies to the east; we are accustomed to see it in bright days. If you wish to go thither, you can make it habitable for yourselves, and if you meet with opposition apply to us for aid. The Picts after this began to inhabit Britain in the northern parts, whereas the southern were in possession of the Britons. When the Picts applied to the Scots for wives, because they had no women, they granted them their request, on the following conditions, viz., if any doubt should arise to which descendant, male or female, (being of royal lineage,) the crown should belong, the decision should be made in favor of the latter; such is the custom to this day among the Picts."—*Bede's Church Hist* b. 1, c. 1.

* Cap. 15, p. 578.

† "The Orkneys were moistened with the blood of the routed Saxon, and Thule was heated by that of the Picts."—c. 15, p. 578.

‡ "He implies by obvious and explicit remarks, that pirates of the Saxons possessed the Orkneys, as the Picts did Thule, whether that were Scandinavia, or whether it might have been another of the northern islands, as the Scots were in possession of Ierna."—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 579.

all kinds of figures; it does not follow that a colony of Scythians established in the north of Britain, and called, long after, Picts by the Latins, are descended from those of Scandinavia, particularly as this custom of painting the body was common to different nations.* It must however be acknowledged, that the situation of Scandinavia with respect to the north of Ireland, where it is said that people had landed, is favorable to this opinion, and renders it more probable than that of Keating, who says they came from Asiatic Scythia, by traversing the vast countries which separate it from the western coast of Gaul.

Usher also gives the opinion of several others concerning the time of the arrival of the Picts in Britain; he does not, however, seem to adopt them: he mentions, among others, that of Meevinus, or Melkinus Acallonius, and of Harding, who say that Gadela, and Scota his wife, had come into Albania, with the Picts, in the year of Jesus Christ seventy-five.† But these authors differ from Eumeneus the Rhetorician, who, in his panegyric on Constantius Chlorus, mentions the Picts and Irish as the common enemies of the Britons, before the time of Julius Cæsar: "Pictis et Hibernis assuetos hostibus."‡ Others, not having well understood the opinion of Gildas and Bede, place the first settlement of the Picts in Britain in the fifth century, under Theodosius the younger; as Bede, having spoken of the dreadful ravages committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, adds that the latter had stopped to recruit themselves for the first time in the extremity of the island. "Picti in extrema insulæ parte tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt."§ However, those words, in the natural sense of the author, only represent a cessation of hostilities, and a truce on the part of those barbarians, "cessante vastatione hostili," and by no means their first settlement in the island, as those authors assert.‖ It is also possible, that when the Romans had increased their power in Britain, the Picts might have been forced to confine themselves to the inaccessible parts of Caledonia, and sometimes to withdraw themselves to the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, or of "Thule," to which the expeditions of Agricola, Severus, and others, might have contributed: and that the return to their country might have been confounded with their first settlement, A. M. 3149.

Eocha II. was the first of the kings of Ireland, as I have already remarked, who crossed over to Albania with his troops, and obliged the Picts to renew their alliance with him, and pay the tribute stipulated between their ancestors and Heremon, B. C. 851. But Fiacha I., successor of Eocha, sent over Angus, surnamed Ollbuagach, his son, a warlike prince, who defeated them in several rencounters, and obliged them to acknowledge their dependence on the Irish crown.* Finally, Angus I. completed their defeat having routed them in thirty battles, with their allies the inhabitants of the Orkneys and other islands. This expedition of Angus was followed by a peace that lasted near five hundred years between those two nations which was at length interrupted by the invasions and hostilities committed by Reactha, surnamed Righdearg, in the north of Britain.†

The palace of Eamhuin, so celebrated in the history of Ireland, was built by order of Kimboath the monarch, or his queen Macha, in the barony of Oneland, county of Ardmach, in the year of the world, 3654, to serve as a place of residence for the princes of the race of Ir, who commanded at that time in the province of Ulster.‡ From the wars of the Milesians with the Picts, till the foundation of this palace and the reign of Ugane More, I discover but little worth relating: the monuments of the Irish before that period are both uncertain and doubtful; the plan which I have proposed to myself to follow not allowing me to enter into an exact detail of all their private wars, I leave it to those who have it better in their power than I, to examine the ancient monuments of the country.§ Besides, as objects viewed at too great a distance become almost invisible, it is nearly the same with facts relating to such distant times; their great antiquity renders them at least obscure: objects should be brought near, the better to distinguish them.

* Plin. lib. 22, cap. 1.

† "If we attach belief to the words of John Hardinge, who says that Gadela and his wife Scota, the illegitimate daughter of king Pharo, came with the Picts into Albania, in the year of Christ 75."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 15, p. 180.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 18.

§ Ward. Vita in Sancti Romuldi. p. 369 et 370.

‖ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 18.

* "Herein it must be noticed, that the Picts had settled then, for the first time, in the northern part of the island, and continued afterwards in that country, after the devastations and cruel subjection (as Gildas had already described) had ceased in Britain."—*Usher*, p. 609.

† Walsh. Prosp. d'Irl. part 1, sect. 1.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 37.

§ Tigernachus Cluanensis, autor XI. sæculi apud Ogyg. part 3, cap. 86.

Ugane More, descended from Heremon in the twentieth degree, reigned in Ireland about three hundred years before Jesus Christ, A.M. 3700. On his accession to the throne, he convoked the assembly at Tara,* in which he received hostages and the oath of allegiance from his subjects, who confirmed his election,† and enacted a law by which the crown was declared hereditary in his family, in order to prevent the disorders caused by elections, and too great a number of pretenders to the throne.‡ This monarch was surnamed More, or the Great, from his having conquered a number of islands lying to the west of Europe. He had several children by Keasair, his wife, daughter of a king of Gaul; among others, Laogare Lorc, and Cobtagh, Coel Breag, who reigned successively. These two princes were the ancestors of all the kings of the branch of Heremon, who afterwards reigned, and of all the illustrious families of that race.§ Laogare Lorc having been murdered by his brother Cobtagh,‖ who seized on the crown, Maion, afterwards called Lavra-Loinseach, son of Oilioll Aine, and grandson of Laogare, fled from Corcaduibhne, now Corcaguin, in the county of Kerry,¶ where he had been spending some time with Scoriat, king of that country, and took refuge in Gaul, with the relations of Keasair, his grandmother; he was honorably received there by the king, who gave him the command of his troops. He acquitted himself of this commission with so much bravery, that, as a reward for his services, the king granted him two thousand two hundred men, to enable him to lay claim to the crown of his ancestors; with this succor he embarked, and having arrived in the bay of Loughgarin, now Wexford, he was informed that the usurper was holding his court at Dionriogh, near the river Barrow, in the county of Carlow; he marched thither with all possible diligence, and having surprised and defeated his rival, he ascended the throne.

While the children of Ugane More divided the sovereignty of the island, sometimes between themselves and sometimes with the descendants of Heber, the princes of the race of Ir governed in Ulster without interruption, from the founding of the palace of Eamhuin, to the time of Rory the Great, he chief of that tribe, who, from being prince of Ulster, succeeded to the monarchy A.M. 3913, B.C. 87. It was from him this tribe took the name of Clanna-Rory, that is children of Rory. They were again confirmed in the possession of this province by the monarch Eocha IX., when he created the provinces into kingdoms, and gave to the chief of each tribe who had till then possessed it, the title of king, A.M. 3986. By this new regulation, the first king of Ulster was Fergus, son of Leighe, and grandson of Rory the Great.* He was succeeded by Fergus Boigh, son of Rossa-Ruah, son of Rory, who, having been dispossessed by Conquovar, otherwise Connor, surnamed Nessan, son of Facthna, and grandson of Rory, took refuge in the province of Connaught, then governed by Queen Maude, where he placed himself at the head of the Connaughtmen and those malecontents who had followed his fortune, and waged war against his province, which lasted for seven years.† During his stay in Connaught, he had three sons by Maude, namely, Kiar, Corc, and Cormac, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.‡ The empire of the Clanna Rorys in Ulster was at length shaken by the war which Colla-Huais and his brothers carried on against them in the fourth century.

Munster was governed alternately by the descendants of Heber and Ith, who formed two tribes, called Deirghtine and Dairine, from the settlement of the Milesians in Ireland, to the time of Duach-Dalta-Deagadh, who introduced into this province the Earnochs of the race of Heremon,§ A.M. 3950. B.C. 50. Deaga, and Tigernach-Teadbannach, his brother or cousin, chiefs of the colony of the Earnochs, having usurped the government of the province after Duach, were confirmed in their possessions, with the title of kings, by the monarch Eocha IX., which interrupted the succession of the legitimate princes for some generations, till Modha-Nuagadh, chief of the Heberians, put an end to their usurpation, in the reign of the monarch Con Keadcaha, towards the end of the second century.

Leinster was always governed by princes descended from Laogare-Lorc, son of Ugane More of the race of Heremon. Its first king, by the regulation of Eocha IX., was Rossa-Ruah, son of Feargus-Fairge.

Connaught was in the possession of the Firdomnians, the remains of the ancient

* Keating on the reign of Ugane.
† Grat. Luc. 3, 8, p. 63.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 38.
§ Keating on the reign of Laogare.
‖ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 64.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 39.

* Ogyg. part 2, p. 127, 128
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 45, 46.
‡ Ibid. cap. 46.
§ Ibid. part 2, p. 122.

Firbolgs, to whom the Milesians had given some lands, in gratitude for the services they had received from them in the conquest of the island over the Tuatha de Danains.* O'Flaherty distinguishes three different branches of this race who governed Connaught in the time of Eocha IX., namely: the Fircraibs, who were in possession of the southern part of the province, on the side of Limerick, the chief of whom was Fiodhach, son of Feigh; the Gamanrads, who inhabited Irras in the west, now Galway, as far as the confines of Ulster, governed by Eocha-Allet; the Tuatha-Taidheans, who possessed the rest of the province on the side of Leinster, had Tinne, son of Conrath, for their chief. These three chiefs were called kings by Eocha IX., each in his own territory; the triumvirate lasted but a short time. Tinne having married Mew or Maude, daughter of the monarch, was created sole king of the province. After the death of Tinne, Maude, queen of Connaught, married Oilioll More, son of Rossa Ruah, king of Leinster, by whom she had seven sons, called the seven Maines.† Oilioll was at length killed by Conall Kearnagh, son of Amergin, a prince of the race of Ir, and descended in the fourth degree from Rory the Great. Maude having reigned 98 years in Connaught, sometimes a widow, and sometimes under the power of a husband, died at an advanced age, leaving the crown to Maine Aithreamhuil, one of the seven sons she had by Oilioll More. The latter was succeeded by Sanbus, of the race of the Firdomnians, who long after lost his life in a battle against the monarch Tuathal.‡

After the death of Eocha IX., Eocha-Airive succeeded to the monarchy, and after ten years was replaced by Ederskeol, of the race of Heremon, and of the tribe of the Earnochs, who, from being king of Munster, was raised to the dignity of monarch of the whole island. The book of Lecan fixes the birth of our Saviour in the reign of this monarch: "Ederscolio regnante Christus natus in Bethlehem Juda:"§ but Flannus de Monasterio places it in the reign of Conare the Great. O'Flaherty discovers the means of making them agree, by supposing that the real birth of our Saviour took place in the last year of the reign of Ederskeol, and by commencing the general Christian era with the reign of Conare the Great, his son.‖

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 11, et 43.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 47.
‡ Idem. part 2, p. 139. Idem. part 3, cap. 46.
§ Fol. 295, vorso.
‖ Ogyg. part 2, p. 129.

The birth of Jesus Christ preceded the death of Herod, as the edict of death pronounced by that tyrant against infants, was the cause of the flight of Saint Joseph, with the child Jesus, into Egypt. Herod died in the month of March, before Easter, and his death was preceded, according to the calculations of astronomers, by an eclipse of the moon on the night of Friday to Saturday, that is, from the ninth to the tenth of January, of the Julian year 4713: the year of Rome, according to Varro, 753, and the third of the 194th olympiad.* The epoch of the Christian era was fixed by Dionysius the Lesser on the calends of the succeeding month of January, after the Julian year 4714.† This period is at least two years later than the real birth of our Saviour, which, according to O'Flaherty, is sufficient to reconcile the opinions of the book of Lecan and of Flannus de Monasterio, concerning the king who reigned in Ireland at the time of the nativity.

In the reign of Conare the Great, the provincial kings were: Conquovar-Nessan, son of Feachna-Fatagh, and grandson of Rory the Great, of the race of Ir, in Ulster;‡ Carbre-Nia-Ferr, son of Rossa-Ruah, and grandson of Feargus-Fairge, of the race of Heremon, in Leinster;§ Oilioll-More, brother of Carbre, with Maude his wife, daughter of the monarch Eocha-Felioch, in Connaught; Eocha-Abraruah, in southern Munster, and Cury-Mac-Daire, grandson of Deaga, chief of a branch of the Earnochs in northern Munster. Angus-Ossory, whose patrimony is still called Ossory, from his name, married Kingit, daughter of Cury-Mac-Daire.‖

The reign of Conare was long and happy, peace and abundance were universal; it was the Augustan age of Ireland. He was, in fact, contemporary of Augustus, Tiberius, &c.¶ The only war in which he was engaged during his reign, was against the Leinster people, to revenge the death of Ederskeol, his father, who was killed at Allen, by Naud-Neacht, prince of that province, who succeeded him for six months.** He defeated them at the battle of Cliach, imposed an annual tribute on them, and decreed the separation of Ossory from Lein-

* Joseph. Antiq. Judæor. lib. 17, c. 8, pp. 9 and 10.
† Ogyg. proloq. p. 39, et part 2, p. 131
‡ Ogyg. part 2, 131.
§ Id. part 3, c. 45.
‖ Kennedy, p. 71.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, c. 44.
** Idem. cap. 45.

ster, to be forever annexed to Munster.* This monarch, having reigned thirty years, unfortunately ended his days by fire, in his castle of Bruighean-da-Dhearg, in Meath, which was set on fire by robbers, A. D. 35.† His successor, after an interregnum of five years, was Lugha-Riadearg, grandson of Eocha Feliogh, who killed himself in a fit of despair, by falling on the point of his sword, A.D. 58. He was succeeded by Conquovar-Abraruah, grandson of Rossa-Ruah, king of Leinster; the latter was succeeded by Crimthan-Nianair, son of Lugha-Riadearg, A. D. 39.

The Milesians began already to be known in Britain by the name of Scots.‡ Gildas Britannicus, an author in the sixth century, and after him Bede, mention their incursions into Britain, conjointly with the Picts; "Scotorum á circio, Pictorum ab aquilone."§

Crintham, on his return from an expedition into Britain, from whence he brought immense riches, died of a fall from his horse, A. D. 56, having reigned sixteen years, and left his crown to Fearadach, his son, who afterwards died a natural death at Tara, A.D. 70.

Fearadach was succeeded by Fiatagh Fin, of the race of the Earnochs, from whom the tribe of the Dal-Fiatachs derived their name; the latter was killed in battle by Fiacha V., surnamed Finola, son of Fearadach, of the race of Heremon, who succeeded to the throne, A. D. 73.

The first remarkable civil war broke out among the Milesians at this time; it was caused by the revolt of the plebeians, and had almost proved fatal to the ancient constitution of the state. They were the descendants of the soldiers, mechanics, and laborers of every kind, who had accompanied the children of Milesius from Spain to Ireland, and who had shared their fatigues in the conquest of the island. The remains of the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danains, who had escaped the sword of the Milesians, and who had been permitted to remain by submitting to the conquerors, joined the plebeians. After the island had been subdued, they received no share in the lands, with the exception of a few families of the Firbolgs, who were established in Connaught. They always remained a body of people, and a distinct tribe of inferior rank to the Milesians, and were not allowed to intermarry with them. They were not suffered to emerge from a state of vassalage, nor aspire to any office under the government—children were obliged to follow the profession of their fathers, which was that of the servile and mechanic arts; the liberal arts, such as history, judicature, music, and the profession of arms, medicine, &c., being reserved for the inferior branches of the Milesians. They were excluded from all share in the supreme power, which was confined exclusively to the descendants of Milesius. In fine, the nobility never degraded themselves by low and shameful alliances; and people of the lower order never attained the first dignities of the state, as is but too often the case at present. The plebeians groaned for many ages under the weight of their vassalage; but at length, weary of servitude, they made an effort to free themselves, and shake off the yoke which appeared to them insupportable. As they required a chief, they fixed upon Carbre, surnamed Kin-Cait, which signifies the head of a cat, as it is said he had the ears of one, to head them in the rebellion. This man was a descendant of the Firbolgs, a decided enemy to royalty and nobility, intriguing, and capable of great enterprises. (One Cromwell is able to overthrow the best-established government.) The rebellion broke out in the reign of Fiacha V. The plebeians, not daring to raise openly the standard of revolt, had, by the advice of Carbre, their chief, recourse to treachery, in order to accomplish more securely their perfidious design. For this purpose they prepared a magnificent banquet at Moy-Cru, in the province of Connaught, to which they invited the monarch, princes, and all the nobility in the kingdom.* This banquet, which lasted nine days, terminated tragically for the guests, who were all murdered† in the banqueting-hall, by armed men whom the conspirators had engaged for that barbarous purpose, contrary to public faith, as it occurred some centuries after to the Britons, who were massacred by the perfidious Saxons on the plains of Salisbury. The rebels being delivered of their tyrants, (as they termed the monarch and nobility,) chose for their king the monster who had so well abetted them in their rebellion. Carbre did not long enjoy his regicide—he reigned but five years. Moran, his son, too just a man to continue the usurpation, having abdicated the throne, was succeeded by Elim, who reigned twenty years.

O'Flaherty does not agree with Keating concerning the order and succession of the monarchy from Crimthen-Nianair, to Tua-

* Kennedy, p. 81.
† Ogyg. part 2, cap. 38.
‡ Idem. part 3, cap. 52.
§ Bede, cap. 12

* Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 66.
† Anno. 80.

thal-Teachtmar; but they are in accordance as to the number and names of the monarchs who occupied the throne during that interval.* O'Flaherty seems also to insinuate, on the authority of the annals of Tigernach, that the monarch Fiacha V. was put to death by the provincial kings of Tara. However this be, Tuathal, son and heir of Fiacha, to save himself from the fury of the plebeians, withdrew into Albania, to the king of the Picts, his grandfather, by Eithne his mother, till, like a second Demetrius, he was re-established on the throne of his ancestors.

Agricola was sent about this time to Britain, in the capacity of prefect; he fortified the isthmus formed by the two seas, from Edinburgh in the east to Dunbarton in the west. "Præsidio firmavit," says Tacitus, "summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus." Some time after he sailed round Britain with a fleet, discovered it to be an island, and conquered the inhabitants of the Orkreys.

During this usurpation Ireland was torn by opposite factions. On one side, the plebeians being in possession of the supreme power, practised unheard-of cruelties against the nobility; on the other, a few nobles, at the head of their troops, ravaged the country, destroying all by fire and sword, and in their pursuit of the plebeians gave them no quarter. The most dreadful consequences ensued; mechanics gave up their work to run to arms; laborers abandoned their fields and left them uncultivated: famine was the result. In this confusion, the people began at length to open their eyes to the misfortunes of the state: they considered that the only remedy was to recall the legitimate heir, and place him upon the throne of his fathers. A deputation was sent to Tuathal, who was attended by a number of faithful subjects, the followers of his misfortune. He received the embassy with kindness, and embarked for Ireland, with the generous resolution of delivering his country from tyranny and restoring peace, whereof little remained but a slender remembrance and a deceitful shadow. Having landed at Irras Domnoin, in Connaught,† a considerable body of troops, commanded by Fiacha Caisin, joined him, with whom he marched directly to Tara, where he was received by the nobility, denominated the saviour and liberator of his country, and proclaimed king, with the usual ceremonies, by the name of Tuathal-Teachtmar, in Latin, Tuathalius Bonoventura.* The law, enacted some centuries before, in favor of Ugane-More, one of his ancestors, was renewed to perpetuate the crown in his family.

Nothing less than the total annihilation of the chief could quell the rebellion. Elim kept the field with an army determined to support his claims. Tuathal immediately collected what troops he could, and marched forward to meet the enemy, whom he came up with at Acaill, near Tara. The two armies being in sight of each other, the signal was given and the action began. The rebels were unable to make a long resistance. The presence of the legitimate prince inspired the royal troops with courage, as much as it depressed that of the enemy, who could not withstand the first onset; they abandoned the field to the conquerors, having lost several men, with their chief. Tuathal, elated at this success, pursued the rebels everywhere; and having gained several victories over them, (to the number, it is said, of eighty-five,) crushed a rebellion which had lasted twenty-five years. Being then in peaceable possession of the kingdom, and having no longer any thing to fear from the rebels, he convened the general assembly at Tara, in order to revive the old constitution of the state. He began by restoring the ancient proprietors, particularly those who had been the companions of his misfortunes, to the possession of those lands from which they had been expelled, and with which the tyrants had rewarded the rebels who had supported them in their usurpation. This prince, although a pagan, did not think that the estates of his faithful subjects should become the pay of iniquity or the reward of regicide, as has been the case in the same country within the last century.

The reign of Tuathal was long, and filled with troubles and disorders. He had several children by Bann, his queen, daughter of the king of Finland, and among others two daughters, Dairine and Fithir, the former of whom was married to Eocha Ainchean, king of Leinster. This barbarous prince, either tired of his wife, or the younger sister having more attractions for him, confined the former in a castle, put on mourning, as if she had been dead; and having repaired to the court of his father-in-law, Tuathal, at Tara, appeared inconsolable for the pretended loss of his wife, and acted his part so well with the credulous monarch, that he obtained from him the other sister, to console him for the loss of the deceased. The marriage having

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 55.
† Ogygia, part 3, cap. 55.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56

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been concluded to the satisfaction of all parties, Eocha took leave of his father-in-law and the whole court, and returned to his province with his new queen. However, his joy was soon changed into sorrow. The two sisters were much surprised to see each other rivals; and having discovered the treachery of Eocha, they died a short time after of grief, without the slightest anger towards each other. Tuathal having learned the tragical end of his daughters, resolved to punish the perfidy of Eocha, and published manifestoes throughout the island, to show the justice of the war he was going to undertake against the king of Leinster, to avenge the affront he had received in the person of his daughters. The provincial auxiliary troops having joined him, he entered Leinster, laying waste the country as he passed. Eocha, not finding himself able to defend his country, nor face an army so superior to his own, had recourse to negotiation, which succeeded, after many humiliations on his part. The monarch, naturally disposed to peace, and wishing to spare the people, who suffered so much by war, listened to his proposals and consented to grant him peace, on condition of a tribute, payable every two years to him and his successors on the throne of Ireland. The king and people of Leinster submitted joyfully to the conditions, and peace was restored. This tribute, called in their language "Boroimhe Laighcan," and which consisted of six thousand ounces of silver, with a certain number of oxen, sheep, &c., having caused many wars between the monarchs who required the payment of it, and the people of Leinster, who wished to shake off the burden, was abolished in the seventh century by the monarch Fionnach II., at the request of Saint Moling.*

In the reign of Tuathal, the emperor Adrian had a wall built in Britain, with stakes fixed in the earth and sods of green turf, which extended from Newcastle and the mouth of the river Tyne in the east, to near Carlisle in the west, in order to check the irruptions of the Scots and Picts. This wall, which was eighty-two miles in length, was eighty miles south of the limits fixed by Agricola, by which the empire lost eighty square miles of territory. But as the adherents of the Scoto-Milesians, notwithstanding the intestine wars so frequent in the reign of Tuathal, continued to make irruptions from time to time into Britain, the Romans were obliged to keep troops there to repress them, as well as the Picts and Britons, who had revolted. The emperor Antoninus, having harassed them, removed the wall of Adrian as far back as the Forth which Agricola had fortified some years before, and by this means extended the frontiers of the empire.

After a reign of thirty years Tuathal was killed at the battle of Moyline. in Dalradie, a part of the province of Ulster, by Mal, king of that province, who, by this victory, succeeded him in the monarchy. In the life of Agricola, by Tacitus, we find an account which throws considerable light on the history of Ireland of that time, fixes its period, and deserves to be investigated. "In the fifth year of the campaigns of Agricola," says Tacitus, "one of the kings of Ireland, expelled by an intestine commotion, fell into his hands; the general detained him in his camp under the guise of friendship; but watched him closely, as one who might, on the first opportunity, become a useful instrument in the design he had formed of attempting the conquest of Ireland."* Tacitus adds, "that he saw this prince in Rome, and heard him say, that with one legion and a few auxiliary troops he could reduce the whole country to subjection."†

By some reflection we may discover the relation that exists between the account of Tacitus, and the history of that period. This prince of whom Tacitus speaks, was an unfortunate king exiled by a civil commotion. The history of Ireland of that period only mentions Tuathal to whom this account can relate, and chronology also favors it; the expedition of Agricola into Britain is fixed in the year 82, and the massacre of the monarch and nobility by the plebeians in Ireland, about a year before this period. Agricola, says Tacitus, posted troops along the coast of Britain, next to Ireland. Tuathal was obliged to conceal himself from the plebeians, to take refuge with the king of the Picts, his grandfather. It was undoubtedly in this flight that he was taken by the vanguard of Agricola, and carried off by force in irons by this Roman general. In effect the word *exceperat* means as much that he was taken by surprise, as that he

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56

* "In the fifth year of Agricola's expeditions, he received one of the princes of the country who had been driven out by an insurrection of the people, and retained him under a show of friendship. That part of Britain which lies opposite to Ireland, he furnished with troops more from hope than alarm" —*Tacitus' Life of Agricola*, p. 499.

† "I have often heard him say, that with one legion and a few auxiliaries, the country (i. e. Ireland) might be subdued."—*Tacitus' Life of Agricola*, p. 499.

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went of himself to implore the assistance of Agricola. The massacre of the monarch and nobility of Ireland was committed, according to Gratianus Lucius, in the year 65; and should we suppose, as he does, that Tuathal was not then born, but that the queen Eithne, his mother, who was then with child, had fled to Albania, to the king of the Picts, her father, where she was delivered of that prince, it would nearly agree with our calculation, as the prince would be then 26 years of age, at the time of the expedition of Agricola into Britain. As it was not without some design on Ireland, that Agricola had posted troops along the coast of Britain, opposite to this island, it is probable that he offered to serve the captive prince, by proposing to re-establish him on the throne of his ancestor, and that Tuathal, seeing the unhappy state of his affairs, had listened to him with eagerness; but the project failed. Agricola was recalled in 85, and brought his captive with him to Rome: it was there, according to the testimony of Tacitus, that this prince had said, that with one legion and a few auxiliary troops he could easily reduce Ireland. It may be observed, that at this same time, Agricola sent against the Caledonians three legions, 8000 Britons, and 3000 horsemen, making in all about thirty thousand men; Ireland is larger than Caledonia, better peopled, and more warlike. How then could one legion reduce it to subjection? It is not difficult to explain the paradox, if we suppose that there was an understanding formed to second foreign forces. What understanding could be more powerful than the just obedience which a lawful prince would require from his old subjects, the cries of those always ready to submit to their legitimate sovereign, the striking image of a virtuous prince invoking the rights of justice, compassion, nature, and his throne? And who but the lawful heir to the crown could flatter himself with conquering a powerful kingdom with a single legion? We may readily imagine that a prince dethroned by the intrigues of a usurper, and the cabals of a few rebel subjects, always has a number of faithful people attached to his interests. Those are certainly the circumstances which made the king, expelled from Ireland by a domestic sedition, mentioned by Tacitus, say, that one legion and a few auxiliary troops would suffice to reduce the whole country to submission; and those circumstances naturally indicate Tuathal, who was reinstated a short time after in the kingdom of his ancestors, by his own subjects, without any foreign aid.

The merit of Tuathal conspires also to favor our conjectures. We see that on his return, he displayed not only that courage and valor which characterized his nation but in all his actions, the prudence, discipline, and successful designs that distinguish a man formed in the best schools, which were those of the Romans at that time It was only at Rome that he could have received the happy education which the histories of the country ascribe to him, and acquire that intelligence which made him a consummate general, from his first entrance into the career of arms. Thus every thing leads us to believe, that the king mentioned by Tacitus was Tuathal, and never did conjecture more closely resemble the truth. According to this calculation, he ascended the throne towards the end of the first century. He reigned thirty years, and died in 125, so it is in this year we should fix the beginning of the reign of Mal, his successor.*

Mal was descended from Rory the Great, of the race of Ir; he reigned but four years, and was killed by Feilim, surnamed Reachtmar, son of Tuathal, who thus revenged on him the death of his father. Feilim governed Ireland in peace for the space of nine years and was commended for his great justice He established the law of Talion, of which an example is found in the book of Kings. This penalty, which generally consisted of money, and was proportioned to the crime, was called "Eruic" by the Irish. Feilim died a natural death, leaving several children, who were Fiacha-Suidhe, the ancestor of the Deasies; Conn, surnamed Keadcaha, who afterwards became monarch; Eocha-Fionn, father of the Fotharts; the three Conalls, and Luagne.

About this time the Munster people invaded Leinster, and the king of that province, called Cuchorb, assembled all his forces, of which he gave the command to Lugadh-Laighis, son of Laoighseach-Kean-More, and grandson of Conall Kearnach, who was the most skilful captain of his age †

Lugadh, to prove himself worthy of the confidence of the king of Leinster, began his march, and coming up with the Munster army at Athrodain, now Athy, in the county Kildare, he made a dreadful slaughter of them, and obliged them to repass the Barrow. The enemy having rallied at Cainthine, afterwards called Laoighise, Lugadh attacked them again, with the same success as before; but they were completely defeated at Slighe-

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 57.
† Keating on the reign of Cormac Ulfada

Dhala, now Bealach-More-Ossory, and rendered incapable of continuing the campaign. The king of Leinster, in gratitude for the services of Lugadh, conferred on him the country called after him, Laoighise, Leix, or Leis, of which Maryborough, in the Queen's county, is now the capital.* This territory was in the possession of the O'Mordhais, in English Moore, his descendants, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Cathire More,† of the branch of the Heremonians, who governed Leinster, succeeded Feilim; he had thirty sons, ten of whom, that left posterity, were the ancestors of the kings who reigned in Leinster till the twelfth century, and of many other families of that province.

The will of Cathire More, cited by O'Flaherty, who mentions to have seen it in writing, and to which Rossa Failge, his eldest son, was executor, is the only thing curious in the reign of this monarch. I merely introduce it here to show the singular taste of those ancient times: this will contains the different legacies he had left to his children, and the nobility of Leinster.‡ To Breasal-Eineachglass, his son, he left five ships of burden; fifty embossed bucklers, ornamented with a border of gold and silver; five swords with golden handles, and five chariots drawn by horses. To Fiacha-Baikeada, another son, he left fifty drinking-cups; fifty barrels made of yew-tree: fifty piebald horses, with the bits of the bridles made of brass. He left to Tuathal-Tigech, son of Main, his brother, ten chariots drawn by horses; five play tables; five chess-boards; thirty bucklers, bordered with gold and silver, and fifty polished swords. To Daire-Barrach, another of his sons, he left one hundred and fifty pikes, the wood of which was covered with plates of silver; fifty swords of exquisite workmanship; five rings of pure gold; one hundred and fifty great-coats of fine texture, and seven military colors. To Crimothan he bequeathed fifty billiard-balls of brass, with the pools and cues of the same material; ten tric-tracs of exquisite workmanship; twelve chess-boards with chess men. To Mogcorf, son of Laogare Birnbuadhach, he left a hundred cows spotted with white, with their calves, coupled together with yokes of brass; a hundred bucklers; a hundred red javelins; a hundred brilliant lances; fifty saffron-colored great-coats; a hundred different colored horses; a hundred drinking cups curiously wrought; a hundred barrels made of yew-tree; fifty chariots of exquisite workmanship; fifty chess-boards; fifty tables used by wrestlers; fifty trumpets; fifty large copper boilers, and fifty standards, with the right of being a member of the council of state of the king of Leinster. Lastly, he bequeathed to the king of Leix, a hundred cows; a hundred bucklers; a hundred swords; a hundred pikes, and seven standards. Cathire, having reigned thirty years, was killed at the battle of Moyacha, near Tailton, in Meath.

Conn-Keadcaha, son of Feilim-Reachtmar, and of Ughna, daughter of the king of Denmark, succeeded Cathire-More, in the year 148: he was surnamed Keadcaha, from the hundred victories he had gained over his enemies. Gratianus Lucius calls him, in Latin, Constantius Centimachus;* he is called by O'Flaherty,† Quintus Centimachus, and by others Centibellis. The reign of this monarch presents a scene of blood and carnage. I shall not relate the great number of battles by which he acquired the surname of Keadcaha, but confine myself to the principal war which he waged with Modha-Nuagat, king of the province of Munster, and in which he had least success. To understand the cause of this war, it is necessary to refer to earlier times. The Deagades, a branch of the Earnochs, of the province of Ulster, having been expelled by the Clanna-Rorys, were kindly received by Duach, one of the ancestors of Modha. These new-comers, not content with the lands and possessions which they had received from the liberality of that prince, usurped the sovereignty of the province after his death. Modha Nuagat, a prince of the race of Heber, and true heir to the crown of Munster, seeing with regret three princes of the tribe of the Deagades established in this province, disputed the sovereignty of it with them; and not being of himself able to support his claims, he had recourse to Daire-Barrach, son of Cathire-More, and prince of Leinster, whose friend he was, they having been brought up together. Daire, who knew the justice of his cause, made an alliance with him, and gave him a body of troops to enable him to establish his right. With this succor, Modha returned to his province, and meeting the enemy, commanded by Angus, brother of Luigh-Allatach, at Vibh-Liathain, in the county of Kerry, he gave him battle; the action was very brisk, but at length victory declared in favor of Modha, who cut a

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 51.
† Anno. 144.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 59

* Cap. 8.
† Ogyg part 3, c. 60.

number of the enemy to pieces, and put the rest to flight. In this extremity, Angus implored the assistance of the monarch, who sent him fifteen thousand men. With this reinforcement he endeavored to retrieve his affairs, but his fate was the same as before, being defeated at Crioch-Liathain, in the county of Kerry, by Modha, who after those two victories made himself master of the province, and ordered all the Earnochs who would not submit to his government to leave it.

This war was followed by another still more bloody and more obstinate. The assistance which the monarch had afforded the Earnochs, excited the anger of the king of Munster to such a degree, that he resolved upon taking revenge by force of arms. Hostilities began on both sides; but the king of Munster not feeling himself in a condition to make head against the superior forces of the monarch, wisely withdrew from the contest, and retired to Spain, where he remained for nine years, and married Beara, daughter of Heber-More, king of that country.* This alliance procured him assistance; he returned to his country with foreign troops, and began hostilities anew against the monarch. During the many years which this war lasted, the devastation was dreadful; the consequence of which was, the division of the island between the contending parties; and the monarch, after losing the battles of Broisne and Sampaite, in the King's county; of Greine, in the county of Waterford; Athlone, in the county of Roscommon; Gabhran and Usnigh, in east and west Meath, and some others, was obliged to submit. This division was called by the Irish "Leath-Cuin," and "Leath-Modha," which signifies the half, or portion of Conn, which was the northern part of the island, and the half of Modha, which was the southern.† After this division, Modha raised some fresh cause of contention, which gave rise to another war, and showed that nothing but the government of the whole island could satisfy his ambition. The two armies met in the plains of Moylena, in the country of Ferakeall. Before the engagement began, the king of Munster was murdered, in the morning, in his bed, by Golle, son of Morn, a descendant of Sanbus, king of Connaught. Conn, delivered from so formidable a rival, resumed the title of monarch of the whole island, without respect to the divisions, which never afterwards took place.

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 60.
† Grat. Luc. c. 8.

During the reign of Modha-Nuagat, in Munster, a general famine prevailed throughout Ireland: this king was warned of it some time before by a famous druid belonging to his court. To obviate this disaster he appointed stewards and economists to prevent too great a consumption of grain. His subjects were compelled to limit their expenses; and a certain portion of the productions of each year was, by order of the king, collected into granaries. The time of the calamity having come, Modha availed himself of the opportunity to make the other provinces tributary to him. He sold his grain at an advanced price; and instead of ready money, he required of the purchasers an annual tribute for assisting them in their wants; by which means he increased his power considerably. During the wars of Conn-Keadcaha with the king of Munster, the Deagades or Earnochs still formed a considerable tribe, commanded by Mogalama, whose son, named Connare, married Saraid or Sara, daughter of Conn. The monarch formed this alliance with Mogalama in order to raise friends, and create a kind of diversion in the province of Modha, his enemy. He afterwards gave Sabia, his second daughter, widow of Mac-Niad, of the race of Ith (by whom she had a son called Lughaidh otherwise Mac-Conn,) in marriage to Oilioll-Olum, only son and heir of Modha. By this double alliance he reconciled the Deagades with the Heberians, and smoothed for Conare, his son-in-law, the way to the monarchy, his own son being yet a minor, and consequently, according to the fundamental laws of the state, incapable of reigning. The third daughter of this monarch was Maoin, wife of Inchade, son of Fionn-Chada, grandson of Ogamain, king of Ulster, and mother of the three Ferguses, one of whom, surnamed Dovededagh, was afterwards monarch.

After the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland, the form of government in Munster underwent many changes. It was sometimes governed alternately by the two tribes of Deirghthine, and Dairine: the former of the race of Heber Fionn, the latter of that of Ith. While one commanded as sovereign, the other filled the office of chief justice, or supreme judge. It was sometimes divided into two parts, forming two kingdoms; namely, northern and southern Munster. This government was interrupted by the Deagades for more than two centuries; that is, from the death of Duach-Dalta-Deagha, till the time of Modha-Nuagut,* and the

* Keat. on the reign of Art-Aonhir.

reign of Oilioll-Olum, his son, who was the first absolute king of the whole province, and of the race of Heber.* This king had three sons by Sabia, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha: Eogan-More, Cormac-Cas, and Kiann. The first was killed at the battle of Moy-Muchruime, and left a son called Fiacha-Mulleathan, who was ancestor of the Mac-Cartys, and other collateral branches. Cormac-Cas was chief of the O'Briens, and other branches, which derive their origin from them. From Kiann are descended the O'Carrolls, of Ely, and others. Oilioll-Olum, having secured the crown in his family, made a law whereby the succession was rendered alternate between the descendants of Eogan-More and those of Cormac-Cas, which law was religiously observed for many centuries.† In the reign of Conn, the emperor Severus built a wall in Britain, to check the irruptions of the barbarians.

This monarch, after a long reign, filled with troubles, was betrayed by Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, and Fiacha-Suidhe, his brothers, and assassinated near Tara, by fifty robbers disguised as women, whom Teobraide-Tireach, son of Breasal, and king of Ulster, had employed for this purpose.‡ He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Conare II.

Conare II. was son of Mogalama, of the tribe of the Deagades of Munster,§ descended, in the sixth degree, from Conare the Great, monarch of Ireland at the time of the birth of our Saviour. His mother was Eithne, daughter of Lughaidh, son of Daire, of the tribe of the Coreolugaidhs, of the race of Ith, and paternal aunt of Lugaidhe-Mac-Conn, who succeeded to the monarchy some time after.‖

Conare had by Sara, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha, three sons, called the three Carbres ;¶ namely, Carbre-Musc, whose descendants, as well as the country they had possessed in the county of Tipperary, from Ballaigh-More-an-Ossory, as far as Carrick, on the river Suire, now known by the name of Ormond, took the name of Muscraighe, or Muskerry ;** Carbre Baskin, to whose descendants Corca-Baskin, in the western part of the county of Clare, anciently belonged ; and Carbre-Riogh-Fada, otherwise Riada, who was chief of the tribe of the Dalreudini of Ireland and Scotland, mentioned by the venerable Bede.* His descendants, who had not gone over to Albania, first settled in Kiery-Luachra, and in Orery, near Muskerry,† from whence they afterwards went to Ulster,‡ and formed a new establishment in the county of Antrim, which was called Dalrieda, at present Route.§

In the reign of Conare, Ogaman, of the tribe of the Dalfiatachs, of the race of Heremon, succeeded Teobraide-Tireach in the government of Ulster, which till then had been governed by princes of the race of Ir.

Conare II. having been killed in the seventh year of his reign by Neivy-Mac-Straivetine, his brother-in-law, Art, surnamed Anofhir, son of Conn-Keadcaha, being of age, laid claim to the crown of his ancestors, and was proclaimed king without opposition. His first care was to banish his paternal uncle, Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, and his whole race from Meath, to punish them for the death of Conla and Crinna, his brothers, and for their perfidy to Conn-Keadcaha his father, whom they had betrayed to the assassins employed by the king of Ulster.‖ Eocha, being stripped of his possessions near Tara, took refuge with his family in Leinster, where he was kindly received by the kinsmen of his wife, grand-daughter of Cathire-More ; they gave him estates on both banks of the river Slaney, in the county of Wexford, which were called, from his name, "the Fotharts," and remained for several centuries in possession of his descendants, the O'Nuallans.¶

In the reign of Art, his nephew, Lughaidhe-Mac-Conn, of the tribe of Dairine, race of Ith, and son of Saive (afterwards wife of Oilioll-Olum) by her first husband, being judge of the province of Ulster, was deprived of office, and afterwards driven into exile by Oilioll-Olum, as well for some injustice he committed in the fulfilment of his duty, as for having (notwithstanding his prohibition) espoused the quarrel of Neivy against the three Carbres, who wished to revenge the death of their father. Mac-Conn withdrew into Albania, where he established a colony, the command of which he gave to his son Faha-Canan.** The ambition of reigning, and a desire of taking revenge for the disgrace of being driven into exile, induced him

* Ogyg. part 2, p. 174.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 65.
‡ Idem. cap. 62.
§ Anno. 183.
‖ Ogyg. part 3, c. 63.
¶ Grat. Luc. c. 8. Walsh, Prosp. of Irel. sec. 6.
** Keat. p. 115, Lond. edit.

* Lib. 1, cap. 1
† Kennedy, p. 107, after the book of Lecal fol. 112.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 63.
§ Usser. Primord. cap. 15, p. 611
‖ Anno. 194.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 64.
** Ogyg. part 3, cap. 67.

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to form an alliance with a British prince, who supplied him with troops to execute his design. With this succor he embarked, and after a few days' sailing reached the bay of Galway, where he disembarked his forces, and was there joined by several of his adherents. After resting his troops for seven days, he began his march and came up with the monarch Art, accompanied by the nineteen sons of Oilioll-Olum, and an army ready to meet him, at Moymucroimhe, near Athenry, eight miles from Galway. The action was bloody, and the resistance obstinate on both sides; but the monarch having been killed, with Forgo, king of Connaught, and seven sons of the king of Munster, the royal army was defeated. The king of Connaught was succeeded by Kedgin-Cruachna, his paternal uncle. After this victory, Lugaidhe-Mac-Conn had himself proclaimed monarch of Ireland.*

During the reign of this monarch, Cormac, surnamed Ulfada, son of Art, wishing to secure to himself the crown which Mac-Conn had wrested from his father, endeavored to attach friends to his cause.† With this view he invited Fergus, surnamed Dovededagh, of the tribe of the Earnochs, king of Ulster, to a feast at Breagh, on the river Boyne, in Meath, near the frontiers of Ulster. But Fergus, jealous of the merit of this young prince, or rather of his right to the monarchy, to which he himself aspired, made his servants insult him by setting fire to his beard with a torch.‡ Cormac seeing plainly his life was in danger, sought shelter by flight, and withdrew into Connaught. It is asserted by O'Flaherty,§ after the book of Lecan,‖ and other ancient monuments, which he quotes, that Lugaidh was already deposed and expelled from Tara by Cormac, and had retired to Munster; and that he was afterwards assassinated by a druid, called Comain-Eigis, in a place named Gort-Anoir, near Dearg-Rath, in the plain of Magh-Feimhin. However this be, the result proved the ambition of Fergus. After the retreat of Cormac, he marched with an army towards Tara, and having gained two victories over Kiann and Eocha, both sons of Oilioll-Olum, who opposed his claims, he was declared monarch, but did not long enjoy his elevation. Cormac being still a fugitive, had recourse to Thadee, son of Kiann, to whom he represented the dreadful situation of his affairs, and implored his protection and assistance against the usurper. Thadee was a very powerful prince, lord of the vast domains of Ely, on the frontiers of Leinster and Munster. He received this persecuted prince with all the distinction due to his birth, and the tenderness of a near relation. He furnished him with troops to support his right to the throne, which Fergus possessed so unjustly, and to take revenge, at the same time, for the death of his father. Every thing being prepared, the two princes marched at the head of the army towards the frontiers of Ulster, and came up with the monarch and his two brothers, also called Fergus, who were waiting for them with considerable forces, at Crionn-Chin-Comar, in the territory of Breigia, (Breagh,) in Meath. Both sides fought for some time with equal success, and victory appeared doubtful, till Thadee, with a body of reserve, by one effort decided the fate of the day The loss of the enemy was considerable: Fergus and his two brothers were found among the number of the slain. After this battle, Cormac was universally acknowledged monarch of the whole island; and to requite his kinsman and ally for the services he had rendered him in this war, he granted him large possessions, extending from Damliagh, now Duleek as far as the river Liffey This territory, which remained for a considerable time in the possession of his descendants, called the Keniads, from Kiann his father, was known by the name of Kiennacte.*

Fergus was succeeded in the government of Ulster by Rosse, son of Inchad, of the race of Ir, A. D. 234, who was succeeded the following year by Aongus-Finn, son of Fergus-Dovededagh. Fergus-Fodha, of the race of Ir, succeeded Aongus two years after, who reigned seventy-five years, and was the last king of that race who reigned at Eamhain.†

In the reign of Cormac, the descendants of Fiacha-Suidhe, son of Feilim-Reachtmar, one of the brothers of Conn-Keadcaha, still possessed an extensive territory near Tara, called Deasie-Teamrach, now the barony of Deasie.‡ Those princes, though nearly allied to the monarch, declared war against him on some feigned cause of dissatisfaction The monarch was unfortunate in the first battle, having lost an eye, and Keallach, his son, being killed; but in the second he rebels were cut to pieces, and forced to abandon Deasie.§ They sought refuge in Munster

* Ann. 224.
† Keating on the reign of Fergus.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 68. Grat. Luc. c. 8.
§ Ogyg. part 2. ‖ Ad. an. 254.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 68.
† Ogyg. part 2, p. 152.
‡ Keating on the reign of Cormac.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap 69.

where Oilioll-Olum, king of that province, who was still living, received them favorably, and gave them a territory in the county of Waterford, which they called Deasie, after that which they had lost near Tara by their revolt. This territory was in the possession of the O'Fallons, their descendants, till the twelfth century.

About a century after their first establishment in this country, they extended their dominion, through the liberality of Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, king of Munster, who gave them the plain of Moy-Femen, or Machair-Caissil, on the side of Cashel and Clonmel, which was called North Deasie.

Aidhe, grandson of Conall-Cruachan, who had succeeded Kedgin-Cruachan, on the throne of Connaught, having incurred the resentment of Cormac, was vanquished at the battle of Moy-Ai in the county of Roscommon, and afterwards deprived of his crown by the monarch, who nominated Niamor, son of Lugne, his brother, in his stead; but the latter having been assassinated a short time after by Aidhe, whom he had succeeded, the monarch was so highly incensed, that he nearly annihilated the race of the Firdomnians, and placed Lugadh, brother of Niamor, on the throne of Connaught.*

Cormac had several wars to maintain against the provincial kings. Gratianus Lucius, after the annals of Tighernmach, says† he defeated them in thirty-six battles, conquered the Ulster people twice near Granard; killed a considerable number of them, with their king, Aongus-Finn, son of Fergus Dovededagh, at the battle of Crinn-Fregabhail; banished several to the Isle of Man and the Hebrides; punished the Leinster people for some crimes they were guilty of, and renewed the Boroime, or tribute, which Tuathal had imposed on them some years before. He defeated the Munster people in several engagements, but was repulsed by Fiacha-Mulleahan, successor to Oilioll-Olum, who died in 250, and Cormac-Cas, his paternal uncle. He was also obliged to repair the losses caused by his army in that province. This prince was great and magnificent both in peace and war: "Vir tam marte quam arte, tam bello quam eruditione clarus."‡ During the wars in which he was engaged, he was not forgetful of literature, and enlarged the establishment founded at Tara by Ollave Fola, instituted academies for military discipline, history, and jurisprudence, and renewed the laws concerning the Psalter of Tara, and the registering of the history of individuals. Finally, he sent a considerable fleet to Albania, which ravaged that country during three years.*

Eocha-Gunnait, grandson of Fergus Dovededagh, of the tribe of Dalfiataghs, race of Heremon, succeeded Cormac, A. D. 258; he reigned but one year.

Carbre Liffeachair, son of Cormac-Ulfada, succeeded Eocha, A. D. 264. During the reign of this monarch, Aidhe, son of Garadh, succeeded Lugadh-Niamor, on the throne of Connaught. He was the last of the race of the Firdomnians who reigned in this province.

The Irish militia having revolted against the monarch,† after the death of Fionn-Mac Cumhail, their chief, he took Connaught troops into his service,‡ with whom he defeated his rebel subjects in seven different engagements.§ But at length Modh-Corb, son of Cormac-Cas, and grandson of Fion-Mac-Cumhail, by Samuir, his mother, being then king of Munster and chief of the Dalcaiss, put himself at the head of the rebels, and marched to Tara, where the monarch, and Aidhe, king of Connaught, were ready to receive him. The battle was fought at Gabhra, near Tara, in Meath, in which the monarch, after defeating in single combat Osgar, son of Ossine, and grandson of Fionn, who was then commander of the militia, was killed by Simeon, son of Keirb, of the tribe of the Fotharts. The king of Connaught having survived this engagement, gave battle a second time to the king of Munster at Spaltrach, in Muscry, and by the death of Modh-Corb, revenged that of the monarch.

During the reign of Carbre, Carausius, a native, it is said, of Menapia, in Ireland,‖ assumed the regal dignity in Britain.¶ He was a man of low birth, but warlike, and an experienced mariner.** "Vir rei militaris peritissimus," says Eutropius, whom the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian had appointed to defend the maritime parts of Gaul against the incursions of the Franks and Saxons;†† but his love for wealth having instigated him to act contrary to the public welfare, he was declared an enemy to the state, and condemned to death; whereupon

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.
† Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 70.
‡ Grat Luc. c. 8, p. 70.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.
† Keating on the reign of Carbre.
‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 70.
‖ Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 748.
¶ Usser. p. 584.
** Wareus, c. 10.
†† Ogygia, part 3, cap. 71.

he got himself proclaimed emperor of Britain, and, in spite of the Roman power, supported himself in this rank for seven years, till he was killed by Alectus, who, after acting the same part for the space of three years, was defeated by Constantius Chlorus.

Faha-Airgeach, and Faha-Cairpeach, brothers, and children of Mac-Conn, reigned together for one year after Carbre: the former having murdered the latter, he shared the same fate himself, as he was killed by the militia at the battle of Ollarbha, a river at Moylinne, in the county of Antrim, A.D. 284.

Fiacha-Streabthuine, son of Carbre Liffeachair, succeeded those two unfortunate princes, A. D. 285.* He was surnamed Streabthuine, from Dun-Streabthuine, where he was nursed.† He had one son, Muiradhach-Tireach, and a brother, Eocha-Dubhlein: this brother had three sons by Glean, daughter of the king of the Picts, called Cairioll, Muireadhach, and Aodh; better known by the name of the three Collas, namely, Colla-Vias, Colla-Da-Crioch, and Colla-Meann. In the reign of Fiacha, Conde, of the tribe of the Corcofirtres, succeeded Aidhe, in Connaught, after whose death the sceptre of this province devolved on Muireadhach-Tireach, and remained in his posterity till the twelfth century.

While Muireadhach-Tireach, son of Fiacha, fought with great success against the king of Munster, from whom he carried off both captives and booty, his father had encamped with another army at Dubhchomair, near Tailton, in Meath. The three Collas, jealous of the reputation of Muireadhach-Tireach, their cousin, and fearing lest, if he became monarch, he should resent an injury they had done him, took advantage of his absence to make war against his father, and thus secure the crown for themse ves. With this view, they collected what forces they were able; and having bribed some officers of the monarch's army, they gave him battle, in which he unfortunately perished. Colla-Vais, the eldest of the three brothers, was then proclaimed monarch, A. D. 315. Muireadhach-Tireach being informed of this sudden revolution, marched with a considerable body of troops towards Tara, where he gave the usurper battle, the success of which equalled the justice of his cause. After a reign of four years, Colla-Vais was dethroned; and dreading the punishment which his crime deserved, he left the kingdom with his two brothers, and about three hundred men who followed his fortune, and took refuge in Albania, with the king of the Picts, his kinsman, who received him honorably.

Muireadhach-Tireach, son of Fiacha-Streabthuine, already king of Connaught became, by the flight of Colla-Vais, monarch of the whole island, A. D. 320. His mother was Aife, of the tribe of the Gallgaodhals or Gadelians of the Hebrides. He married Muirion, daughter of Fiacha, king of Kinneal-Eoguin, now Tyrone.

Notwithstanding the kind reception the three Collas had met with from the king of the Picts, they considered their separation from their native country as a most insupportable exile: so that, hearing of a general amnesty, granted by the monarch of Ireland to all those who had been concerned in the late revolution, they embarked for their country, accompanied by but twenty-seven men of the three hundred they had brought to Albania, leaving the rest after them. On their arrival in Ireland, they appeared before the monarch with every mark of sorrow for their crime, and easily moved a prince, who was naturally inclined to clemency, to forgive them. As those princes had no possessions to support their rank or the dignity of their birth, the monarch advised them to make an establishment in some part of the country, either by right of conquest or otherwise. He told them that the insult sustained by Cormac-Ulfada, one of their ancestors, from the people of Ulster, and the murder of Conn-Keadcaha by the orders of Teobraide-Tireach, had never been revenged; that it would be a specious pretext for them to enter this province sword in hand, and establish themselves by right of conquest, and that he would furnish them with troops. The three brothers, filled with gratitude, accepted the proposal, and set out for Ulster at the head of a body of troops furnished them by the monarch. On their arrival they were joined by malecontents to the number of seven thousand men, headed by a few nobles. With this help, which sufficiently proved the disposition of the people, and was a happy omen of their success, they marched to meet the enemy, who were at Carn-Eocha-Leath-Dearg, in the territory of Fearmoy, in Monaghan. The action began, and the resistance was so obstinate on both sides, that they fought for seven successive days. At length the king, Fergus-Fodha, being killed, and his army cut to pieces, the field remained in possession of the conquerors: it cost Colla-Meann, one of the three brothers

* Keating on the reign of Fiocha.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 73, 75, et 76.

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his life. The victorious army then pillaged the palace of Eamhain, the residence of the kings of Ulster.* Thus ended the reign of the Clanna-Rorys in this province. The Collas banished the people of Ulster to the north of lake Neagh, and took possession of a large tract of country, which they called Orgiell, named by the English Uriel, or Oriel; it has since been divided into counties, namely, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and part of the counties of Down and Antrim, peopled by their numerous posterity. Muireadhach-Tireach was killed at the battle of Portriogh, near lake Dabhal, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Caolvach, the last monarch of the race of Ir. The first year of his reign was the last of his life, having been assassinated. He was succeeded by his murderer, A.D. 350.

Eocha XII., surnamed Moy-Veagon, son of Muireadhach-Tireach,† king of Connaught, succeeded to the monarchy.‡ He had four sons by Mung-Fionn, daughter of Fiodhuig, descended in the sixth degree from Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan-More; namely, Brian, Fiachra, Fergus, and Oilioll. The succeeding kings of Connaught were descended from Brian and Fiachra. Eocha had a fifth son, called Niall, well known in history, by Carthan-Cas-Dubh, daughter of a king of Britain.§ This monarch was continually at war with Eana-Kinsealach, king of Leinster, and son of Laurade, great-grandson of Cathire-More. After being defeated in thirteen battles, the monarch died at Tara, and was succeeded by Crimthan, his brother-in-law, son of Fiodhuig, and brother of Mung-Fionn, of the race of Heber, A.D. 360.

The throne of Munster having been vacant in the reign of this monarch, he gave possession of it to Connol-Eachluat, of the branch of Cormac-Cas, contrary to the regulation made by Oilioll-Olum, concerning the succession to the crown of that province,‖ which incensed the princes of the branch of Fiacha-Mulleahan. They represented to Connol, that it was their turn to reign, according to the regulation of Oilioll-Olum, who decided that the two branches of Cormac-Cas, and Fiacha-Mulleahan, should reign alternately, and that, therefore, Corc was real heir to the throne. Connol, as a just and disinterested man, left the affair to arbitrators, who having decided in favor of Corc, Connol abdicated a throne which he might have retained. This generosity increased considerably the esteem in which the monarch held him; and Corc having died some time after, Connol reascended the throne.

After an expedition which Crimthan had made into Albania, Britain, and Gaul, from whence he had brought immense booty, he was poisoned by Mung-Fiona, his sister, at Inis-Dorn-Glasse, an island in the river Muade,* who hoped by that means to place Brian, her son, whom she loved tenderly, on the throne in his stead, but she was disappointed in her expectations; for having tasted of the poisoned cup before she presented it to her brother, she died the first, so that the whole race of Brian was excluded from the monarchy, except Roderick O'Connor, and Terdelach, his father.†

Niall the Great, son of Eocha-Moy-Veagon and Carthan-Cas-Dubh,‡ succeeded Crimthan on the throne of Ireland, A.D. 379 He was surnamed Noygiollach,§ as we should say in Latin, "Noviobses," from the nine hostages which he had forced his enemies to give him. He had one son named Fiacha, by Inne, his first wife, who was descended, in the sixth degree, from Fergus Dovededagh, the monarch: and seven by his second wife, Roigneach; namely, Laogare, Eogan, Eanna, Cairbre, Maine, Conall-Gulban, and Conall-Creamthine.

The monarch was a valiant and experienced warrior, as appears by the number of captives he had taken from the Picts, Britons, and Gauls, and the immense booty he carried away.‖ We must, however, examine the origin of the Scots, or Scotch, before we speak of his expeditions beyond sea; the relation which exists between them and the Irish making this investigation necessary.

The histories of the Milesians mention several colonies which they had sent at different times to Albania, in the first ages of Christianity; from which the Scots of Albania, at present the Scotch, derive their origin. They are descended from the colonies which went from Ireland to Britain, and settled with the Picts in the northern parts of that island, which was at that time called Albania

The first colony of the Scoto-Milesians,

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 75.
† Keating on the reign of Eocha.
‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 79.
‖ Keating on the reign of Crimthan.

* Grat. Luc. cap. 8.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 81.
‡ Keat. on the reign of Niall
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.
‖ "He was a man very valiant, most skilled in war. He overcame in several engagements the Albanians, Picts, and Gauls, and carried off great numbers of prisoners and of cattle."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 8, *on the reign of Nellius.*

which was established in Albania, was commanded, in the beginning of the third century, by Cairbre, otherwise Eocha-Riada, son of Conare II., monarch of Ireland.* The emigration of this colony could not have taken place before the year 211; as the territory inhabited by this colony on its first settlement in Albania, was, at the time of the expedition of Severus into the north of Britain, (which Usher fixes in the year 208,)† in possession of the Dicaledonians, a tribe of the Picts, so called from their proximity to the wall of Adrian, which divided them from the Meaths in the south, as the Grampian or Drum-Albin hills (called by Fordonius "Dorsi-Britannici") divided them from the Vecturians, another tribe of the Picts, occupying the north.‡

In this expedition, in which Severus lost fifty thousand men, he extended his conquests to the northern extremity of the country; however, it is not said he had any other enemies to contend with than the Meaths, Caledonians, and Vecturians. He died three years afterwards at York, as he was preparing for a second expedition against the Meaths and Caledonians, who revolted.§

Eumenes the Rhetorician is the first who, in the panegyric he delivered a century after at Treves, in presence and in honor of Constantine, spoke of the inhabitants of Albania by the name of Picts, whom he divides, with Ammianus Marcellinus, into Caledonians and Vecturians, after comparing the state of affairs in Britain, under Julius Cæsar and Constantius Chlorus;‖ so that in the whole of this history, given by Usher, after Herodian and Dio, no mention is made of a nation of Scots established in Britain. We must therefore fix their arrival in Albania later than the year 211, which agrees with the time of Conare II., father of Riada, whose reign began in Ireland in 212.

Usher and O'Flaherty assert, that the colony of Cairbre-Riada had first settled in the north of Ireland, and it was not till the beginning of the sixth century that they went to Albania with Fergus, three hundred years after the death of Riada; but the former opinion seems more in conformity with Bede, who says that Riada went in person. The following are his own expressions:—"Besides the Britons and Picts, a colony of Scots having left Ireland under the command of Reuda, from whom they were called Dalreudini, settled in Britain with the Picts, either peaceably or by force."* The second opinion is true, if we mean thereby the perfect establishment of the Scots in Albania, forming a people governed by kings.

Riada, with his colony, having taken possession of a territory to the north of the gulf of Dumbarton, which was in the possession of the Dicaledonians in the time of Severus, and ceded to him by the Picts in consideration of his aid against the Britons, gave the command of it to Kinta, his son; after which he returned to Ireland, where he died. This commencement of the Scotch nation in Albania, though weak at first, became afterwards very powerful.

To throw more light on this history, we must trace it back to its source, and examine the origin of Eocha-Riada, mentioned by Bede, under the name of Reuda.

Ængus III., (called Æneas by O'Flaherty,) surnamed Turmeach, monarch of Ireland, had two sons, namely, Ennius, Enna, Eadna or Eanda, surnamed Aighmach; and Flacha, A. M. 3870, B. C. 130.† By the former, who was legitimate, he was ancestor of all the kings of Ireland who succeeded him.‡ By the latter, the fruit of the incest he committed with his own daughter, or sister, in a state of intoxication,§ he was ancestor of the Earnochs,‖ Dalfiatachs, Deagades, Dalriads, and consequently of the Scotch, as we shall hereafter see.¶

Ængus was surnamed Turmeach, signifying shame, for, although a pagan, he was always so much ashamed of the infamous action he had committed, that he endeavored to conceal it from the knowledge of the world, by committing the child, which was the fruit of his crime, in a little boat, to the mercy of the winds and waves, in hopes of its perishing. But like another Moses, the innocent child was preserved by some fishermen, who gave him the surname of Fearmara. Fiacha-Fearmara had a son called Oilioll-Earn, who,

* Kennedy, pp. 105 and 106.
† Index. Chronol. p. 1079.
‡ Usser. appendix, pp. 1021 et 1022.
§ Usserius, Index Chronol. p. 1080.
‖ "I do not allude, among his other numerous exploits, to his conquests over the Caledonians and Picts, besides whom there were others of that name as well as Vecturians"—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 586

* "In the course of time Britain, after the Britons and Picts, admitted a third nation, the Scots, among the Picts, who under the guidance of Reuda, left Ireland, and claimed, from either friendship or by the sword, a settlement among them, which they thus far hold; from that leader they retain to this day the name of Dalreudini."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.
† Ogyg. part 3, c. 40.
‡ Lecan, fol. 294, p. 8, col. 3.
§ Keating on the reign of Ængus.
‖ Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 64.
¶ Kennedy, p. 44.

with the consent of the tribe of Ir, which then possessed Ulster, settled it with his vassals near lake Earn, from whence his descendants, forming a considerable tribe, were called Earnochs. After Oilioll Earn, the tribe was successively governed by Fearadach, his son, and Forgo, his grandson.

Sir George M'Kenzie, in the preface to the reader, which he has affixed to his Defence of the Royal Lineage of Scotland, mentions having seen an ancient manuscript belonging to the monastery of Hy, in which it was said that Ængus-Turteampher (the same undoubtedly as our Ængus-Turmeach) reigned in Ireland five generations before their Fergus I., and that it was under him the separation of the Scots of Ireland from those of Albania took place. This manuscript agrees perfectly with the genealogy of Forgo, who, according to the ancient monuments of the Milesians, is the fifth descendant in a direct line from Ængus III., surnamed Turmeach. Would the conjecture be rash, were we to say that this Forgo, son of Fearadach, is the same as Fergus, son of Ferchard, who, according to Buchanan, was first king of Scotland? The names are very nearly alike; and the only difference arises from the Latin termination which Buchanan gives them, or from this author's ignorance of the ancient language of his country, in which those names were originally written. However, Forgo never left his country, but became, after his father, chief of the tribe of the Earnochs of lake Earn. In this rank he was perhaps called king, through courtesy, as it was general among the Milesians to give that title to princes, and lords of extensive possessions. This conjecture will be much strengthened, if we compare the descendants of Forgo, down to Eocha-Riada inclusively, forming twenty generations, with the genealogy of the kings of Scotland, delivered by a Scotch antiquarian, at the coronation of Alexander II., and quoted by John Major, in his history :* it will be seen that those genealogies correspond exactly, in the names, pronunciation, and manner of writing them, in their order and number; except that the Scotch antiquary, or perhaps the author who published it, adds one more.

These two genealogies are represented in the two following columns: the left gives the genealogy of Forgo, according to the Milesians, and the right that of the kings of Scotland, according to the antiquary above mentioned.

Forgo.	Forgso.
Main.	Man.
Earndail.	Arindil.
	Rowein.
Rothrer.	Redher.
Threr.	Ther.
Rosin.	Rosin.
Sin.	Syn.
Deaga.	Dechach.
Kiar.	Jair
Olill.	Eliala.
Eogan.	Ewan.
Ederskeol, monarch of Ireland.	Edherskeol
Conar-More, monarch of Ireland.	Conere-More.
Carbre-Fin-More.	Carbre-Find-More.
Dare-Dorn-More.	Dara-Deomore.
Corbre-Crom-Chion.	Corbre-Edancrum.
Luigh-Allatach.	Lughtach-Etholac.
Mogalama.	Mogalama.
Conare II., monarch of Ireland.	Conare.
Eocha-Riada.	Ethad-Riad.

It is evident, that in these two columns the names are fundamentally the same, and that if there are a few letters, more or less, or any transposition of letters, it creates no essential difference, and the error should only be attributed to the copyists. The addition of the name Rowein, which is in the catalogue of the Scotch antiquarian, is probably derived from "Rogheim," which signifies "to be born of;" and the antiquary having found it between the names Earndail and Rothrer, to show that Rothrer was son of Earndail, he took it for a proper name, thus adding a generation.

By special privilege, or rather by a license belonging only to poets, Buchanan deviates, in this catalogue of the kings of Scotland, from the genealogy left by this antiquarian. He has obscured and disfigured the names of the kings, so that very few of them agree with it, although the antiquarian lived three hundred years before him, and consulted the ancient monuments, unknown perhaps to Buchanan, for this genealogy; but the latter made up the deficiency by fiction. May we not reproach him as Camden has done in a like case, that he preferred deliberating with the subtlety of his wit, to thinking justly with others? "Maluit cum suo acumine delirare, quàm cum receptâ lectione rectè sentire."*

With regard to the separation of the two people, mentioned in the manuscript of M'Kenzie, and from which this author claims

* De Gest. Scot.

* Brit. page 62.

some advantage in favor of his system, it should be considered less a local than a genealogical separation of the two branches, the chiefs of which were Ennius and Fiacha, without either of them having gone to Albania.

Deaga, the ninth descendant in a direct line from Oilioll-Earn, was chief of the tribe of the Earnochs. The Clanna-Rorys, who had granted them an asylum, some time before, in their kingdom, taking umbrage at their growing power, declared war against them, forced them to quit their establishment at Lake Earn, and seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Deaga led them into the province of Munster, where Duach III., then monarch of the island, surnamed Dalta-Deagaigh, being the adopted son of Deaga, granted them a retreat in the northern part of the province, now called the county of Kerry, A. M. 3950, B. C. 50. This territory was called after their chief Luaghair-Deaghaigh.*

After the death of Duach, Deaga succeeded to the monarch of the whole island; he had three sons, Hiar, Dair, and Conal, to distinguish them from another tribe of the Earnochs, who descended from Eocha, brother of Deaga, and took the name of Dalfiatachs, from Fiatach, monarch in the first century; it was called the tribe of the Deagades, from the name of their chief, which, according as they increased, were subdivided into other branches, as the Clan-Chonaires, Muskrys, Baskins, and Dalriads.

The Deagades became so powerful in Munster, that they frequently disputed the sovereignty of it with the ancient proprietors, the Heberians. They governed sometimes alternately with them, and sometimes alone, till their power was limited by Modha-Nuagaid. Though this king had humbled them in war, their chiefs always preserved the rank and dignity of princes, till the marriage of Conare, son of Mogalama, with Saraid, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha. This marriage, by which Conare became son-in-law to the monarch, and brother-in-law of Oilioll-Olum, heir of Modha-Nuagaid, king of Munster, who had married Sabia, sister of Saraid, revived the expiring glory of the Deagades. Art, son of Conn-Keadcaha, was a minor at the death of his father; and being incapable of reigning, according to the fundamental laws of the state, Conare, his brother-in-law, was raised to the monarchy, by the name of Conare II. He had by Saraid three sons, who became chiefs of three considerable tribes; namely, Carbre-Musc, Carbre-Baskin, and Carbre-Riada. According to the book of Lecan, those three brothers were also known by the name of Angus, Oilioll, and Eocha.*

The tribe of Carbre-Musc were called the Muscrys; and their possessions, in the county of Cork, are still known by the name of Muskerry. Dal-Baskin, that is to say, the tribe of Cabre-Baskin, possessed Corca-Baskin in the county of Clare; and the part of the tribe of Riada who remained in Ireland, settled in Kiery-Luachra and Orrery, in the neighborhood of Muskerry. Some commotions which afterwards arose in Ulster, between the Clanna-Rorys and the three brothers, called the three Collas, the latter having invaded a part of this province, which they erected into a principality or kingdom under the name of Uriel, was a favorable opportunity taken advantage of by this demi-tribe of Riada, then commanded by Fergus-Ulidian their chief, and fifth descendant, in a direct line, of Carbre, to form a new establishment in the north of the island, which, according to Usher,† was called Dalrieda; at present Route, in the county of Antrim.

Eocha-Riada, as we have already seen having established his son at the head of a colony in Albania, called also the Dalriads, there always existed between them and the Dalriads in Ulster a league of friendship, and close connection; although separated by a small portion of the sea, they were always considered as the same tribe, and were long governed by the same chiefs. Encouraged by the success of the Dalriads, several others went to Albania, in the same and succeeding centuries, either to settle there, or to second the Dalriads in the incursions they made from time to time into Britain. The principal chiefs of those first colonies were Mac-Conn, who, having succeeded to the monarchy of Ireland, left the command of the colony to his son, Caha-Fanan, ancestor of the Mac-Allans, Campbells, &c., and Colla-Vais, from whom the Mac-Donnels, and many other illustrious families, both in Ireland and Scotland, derive their origin. Criomthan, son of Fiacha VII., and many others, brought colonies there. Such was the state of affairs of the Dalriads of Albania. They possessed a small portion of the country, which served as an arsenal and a retreat for their friends in Ireland, who came to join them. They did not yet form a kingdom or

* Ogyg. part 3, cap 42

* Fol. 200, p. A. Fol. 112, p. B. col. 1, 2, 3

† Prim. cap. 15, p. 611

state independent of Ireland; their little territory was nearly like Calais, which did not form a state independent of England. When this place was in the power of the English, the inhabitants were looked upon as English, and subjects of England—even the children born there. The Dalriads of Albania received from those of Ulster assistance both in men and money; they enriched themselves with the spoils of the Britons, and began to live independent of the Picts, which excited the jealousy of the latter against them, and made them deliberate on some means of checking their increasing power.*

The Dalriads, justly alarmed at the storm which threatened them, implored the protection and aid of the monarch of Ireland, whom they still considered as their sovereign.†

Niall, being anxious to preserve this portion of his empire in Albania, crossed the sea at the head of his army, and having reduced the Picts to reason, forced them to give up the territories of Cantire and Argyle to the Dalriads, and to live in peace with them.‡ Having appeased the troubles in Albania, he entered Britain with his forces, and ravaged the whole country, A. D. 388. He then embarked for Armorica, from whence he brought considerable booty, with several captives, in the number of whom was Patrick, afterwards apostle of Ireland, who was sixteen years of age, and his two sisters, Lupidia and Darerca.§

The first of the three devastations committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, mentioned by Gildas Britannicus, began in the reign of Niall,‖ who, encouraged by his former success, and by the retreat of Maximus the tyrant,¶ who abandoned this island, by removing not only the Roman troops,** but also all the youth capable of bearing arms,†† whom he had taken with him into Gaul, (of which Gildas himself complains,)‡‡ raised a powerful army and led it into Britain. It was to those preparations, and to this armament of Niall, that Claudion alluded in the subjoined verses, by introducing Britain as speaking for herself.*

Niall, discovering that the Britons lived without apprehension, and placed too much confidence in the defence of the wall and intrenchments which Severus had built to protect them from the insults of the barbarians, ravaged their lands and possessions, in conjunction with the Picts, and continued the devastation for several years.† It was at this time that the Britons sent a deputation to Stilico, a Roman general, who granted them one legion; but this succor proved ineffectual against the barbarians, who harassed the Romans by frequent skirmishing. Even this legion was recalled to Rome,‡ where Alaric, king of the Goths, was waging war in the centre of the empire, having given them battle at Pollens, and afterwards laid siege to their capital.

The fleet of Niall coasted along Britain during the time of this expedition,§ and afterwards sailed with him to Armorica,‖ where he was killed, on the banks of the river Loire,¶ by an arrow discharged by Eocha, son of Eana-Kinseallach, king of Leinster,** who thus took revenge for some affront he had received from the monarch. It was in the reign of Niall, that the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, with a considerable fleet, took possession of the northern part of Britain, where they founded a nation catled Scotia.††

* Petr. Lombard. Comment. de Hibern. cap. 2, p. 31 et 32.

† Keat. on the reign of Niall.

‡ Walsh. Prosp. of Irel. part 1, sect. 1.

§ "At this time, a fleet from Ireland was ravaging the country in which St. Patrick was tarrying, and, according to a custom among the Irish, many were led into captivity, and among them Patrick, who was then in his sixteenth year; also his two sisters, Lupida and Darerca. St. Patrick was carried prisoner into Ireland in the ninth year of Niall's reign, who ruled Ireland during 27 years, and laid waste Britain and Gaul."—*Usher on the Life of St. Patrick*, c. 17, p. 828.

‖ A. D. 393.

¶ Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, p. 595.

** Grat. Luc. c. 8. †† Ogyg. part 3, c. 85.

‡‡ "After this, Britain being stripped of her forces and rulers, (though great,) and a number of her youth, (who, after accompanying the footsteps of the tyrant, never returned,) she was unskilled altogether in the practices of war, and was now trampled upon by two nations from beyond the seas—the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north. In this state of stupor and suffering has she continued for many years."—*Usher on Gildas*, c. 15, page 593.

* "Stylicho, she says, hath fortified me when perishing by neighboring nations: when the Scots put all Ierna into motion, and the sea foamed with the oar of the enemy."—*Usher.*

† "The British people, living unguardedly on account of the security of the wall which was built by Severus Cæsar, were attacked by two nations, viz., the Picts from the north, and Scots from the west, who laid their country waste, and overwhelmed them with misery, for many years."—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 594.

‡ Usser. c. 15, p. 595.

§ Keating on the reign of Niall.

‖ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

¶ Ogyg. part 2, p. 159. ** Ib. part 3, c. 85.

†† "When Niellus the Great was monarch of Ireland, the six sons of King Muredus of Uister, seized, with a powerful fleet, upon the northern

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Dathy, son of Fiachra, brother of Niall, succeeded him, and was the last pagan monarch of Ireland, after being king of Connaught, the throne of which he gave to his brother Amalgad, who gave his name to Ter-Amalgad, otherwise Tyrawly, a territory in the county of Mayo. In the time of this monarch, Nedfraoch, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan More, governed Munster, having succeeded Cork, his father. The king who reigned in Leinster at that ime, was Eocha, son of Eana-Kinseallach, who had killed Niall-Noygiollagh in Armorica; he was succeeded by his son Randubh.

During the reign of Dathy in Ireland, he Roman empire was torn on all sides. In Britain, Gratian had himself acknowledged emperor;* however, his reign lasted but for a short time,† for, at the end of four months he was killed by the militia, and Constantine put in his place. The latter drew with him into Gaul the few troops that the tyrant Maximus had left in Britain, and by this means the island was abandoned to the fury of the barbarians. The Burgundians and Franks made their irruptions into Gaul; Rome was besieged by Alaric; the Vandals, Swedes, and Alani, fell upon Spain; the Goths, with Attalus and Atulphus at their head, entered Gaul, so that the empire became the prey of all these barbarous nations.

The Scots and Picts, always the implacable enemies of the Britons, availed themselves of these disorders to make their usual incursions into Britain. It was at that time that the second dreadful devastation mentioned by Gildas (and which Usher speaks of, to have occurred in 426) took place, and caused the Britons to send deputies to Rome in order to implore relief, that their country, so long a Roman province, might not be totally destroyed and effaced.‡

Valentinian III., now emperor, sent to their relief the legion which Ætius had left at Paris. This cohort of disciplined troops repulsed the barbarians, and killed many of them. The Romans after this announced to the Britons that they could no longer undertake such distant and fatiguing expeditions; that they themselves should learn the use of arms and military discipline, in order to defend themselves against their enemies. The Romans, before their departure, had a wall built of stone, eight feet in thickness and twelve in height, to check, if possible, the incursions of the barbarians. This wall was raised upon the same foundation as that which the emperor Severus had constructed of earth two centuries before. Towers were placed at regular distances, on the south side of Britain, to defend it against the incursions of the Scots, who were generally hovering around the coast with their fleet. The Romans having regulated the affairs of Britain, took their last leave of the island.*

In this interval, Dathy, monarch of Ireland, and a warlike prince, who followed the footsteps of Niall, his predecessor, entered Britain in person, at the head of a large army;† from thence he went to Gaul, and taking advantage of the consternation in which the Romans were,‡ on account of the number of enemies they had to encounter, he extended his conquests to the Alps,§ where he was killed by lightning, after having gained several battles over those who disputed his passage.‖ His body was

parts of Britain, and a people who were descended from them were called Scotch."—*Cambrensis in Topography.*

* Beda, lib. 1, c. 11.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 87.

‡ "From these things we have collected the second devastation, and the second persecution, which Gildas remarks to have happened in Britain about the year 426. Sa ellicus thus briefly describes the history of these events: 'When the Burgundians were ravaging Gaul, Ætius was forced to recall his troops from the island.' He put all his forces into motion against the Burgundii, except one legion, which was left to guard the Parisians and their neighbors to the south of them.' The Scots, after the departure of the legions, rise up, together with the people of Albania, and make their attacks with fire and sword, upon the maritime towns of Britain"—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 603.

"When their former enemies discovered that the Roman forces were withdrawn, they, aided with their fleet, invade the country, and put all to the sword; they mow down and trample upon every thing in their march. The Britons dispatch ambassadors to Rome, supplicating aid with tears and lamentations, saying, not to suffer their unhappy country to be entirely blotted out, nor that which had so long borne the name of a Roman province to be extinguished by wicked nations."—*Bede's History of the Church*, b. 1, c. 12.

* "The Romans then announced to the Britons that they could no longer undertake painful expeditions for their defence: they advised them to run to arms, and attack the enemy with eagerness; besides, they considered (as they were now forced to abandon them as allies) that this would benefit them, viz., to construct a wall from sea to sea, to be built of solid stone, where Severus formerly made a rampart. On the southern parts adjoining the ocean, where their ships were kept to watch the enemy, they built towers at proper intervals, towards the sea, and thus bid adieu to their allies, intending never to return."—*Bede's Church Hist* b. 1, c. 12.

† Keating on the reign of Dathy

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

§ Ogyg. part 2, cap. 160

‖ Ogyg. part 5, cap. 87

brought to Ireland, and interred at Cruachan, the burial-place of the kings of Connaught.

It is not astonishing that foreign authors have not mentioned those rapid expeditions, the only fruit of which was the devastation of the provinces, without leaving any colony who might be interested in preserving to posterity the remembrance of the deeds of their ancestors, like the Burgundians, Franks, and others, who profited by their conquests. There were also but few writers in those ages of trouble and darkness; and the name of Pharamond would perhaps have remained unknown, were it not for the colony which he established in Gaul.

The relation of this expedition of Dathy, mentioned in all the Irish writings,* agrees with the Piedmontese tradition, and a very ancient registry in the archives of the house of Sales, in which it is said that the king of Ireland remained some time in the castle of Sales. I received this account from Daniel O'Mulryan, a captain in the regiment of Mount Cashel, who assured me he was told it by the Marquis de Sales, at the table of Lord Mount Cashel, who had taken him prisoner at the battle of Marsaille. The army of Dathy, which was composed of select troops of tne Scots from Ireland, and Dalriads from Albania, were obliged (when they lost their chief) to disperse, and seek safety in flight and disorder.

The Christian religion was not altogether unknown in Ireland in the reign of Dathy. The first sound of the Christian name spread itself, it is said, in the island in the time of Conquovar Nessan,† king of Ulster, through Conal Kearnach, a celebrated wrestler,‡ who, travelling for many years in foreign countries, arrived at Jerusalem at the time of the passion of our Lord. O'Flaherty relates that this account accords with a tradition frequently mentioned by the antiquarians of that country;§ but he appears to doubt it himself, as well as the prophecy of Bacrach the druid, who foretold, as the sybils had done, the miraculous birth and shameful death of a divine person, who was to be the Saviour of the human race.

Indeed, it is not surprising that the gospel should have been introduced at an early period into this island. The Scoto-Milesians were much inclined to travel; and the apostles had preached the gospel freely to all nations, from India as far as Britain,‖ in the time of the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and till the tenth year of Nero.

The progress of Christianity was so rapid, that there was no nation from east to west, not only on the continent but also in the islands in the middle of the sea, in which the gospel was unknown after thirty or thirty-five years.*

Grave authors assert, that the gospel had been preached in the Britannic isles by some of the apostles; they do not agree, however, respecting the names of these apostolical missionaries. Nicephorus in his ecclesiastical history,† says that "Simon Zelotus had carried the gospel as far as the Western Ocean and the British isles, and that this apostle was crucified in Britain."‡ This opinion is supported by the Greek menologists, but is contradicted by the Roman Breviary and martyrology, and by Bede, Usserius, and Ado, who fix the martyrdom of that apostle in Persia, on the 28th of October.§

Simon, the Metaphrast,‖ after Eusebius, says, that St. Peter undertook that mission, who, according to him, had been a long time in Britain, "where he drew many to the faith of Jesus Christ, founded churches, ordained bishops, priests, and deacons."¶ Others assert that it was St. Paul, and others St. James, son of Zebedee, who, according to Vincent of Beauvais, had preached

* Kennedy, p. 137.
† Keating on the reign of Conquovar.
‡ Usser. Primord. cap. 16, p. 739.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 48.
‖ "Where men from every part of the world, from India to Britain, were; even from the cold regions of the north and the south Atlantic; so great were the multitudes of men from all nations."—*St. Jerome.*

* "Not islands, nor a continent, nor three parts which nature hath assigned to men."—*Usher.*

"The word of God has been preached not only on the continent, but even in those islands lying in the midst of the sea; they are full of Christians, and of the servants of God. The sea does not separate him who has made it. Cannot the words of God approach where ships approach?"—*St. Augustin.*

"So great was the progress in virtue, that the Romans, the Persians, the Medes, the Scythians, the Ethiopians, Sarmatians, Saracens, and every race of men embraced the yoke of truth in a space of 30 years."—*Usher on St. Paul*, p. 1053.

"Being made preacher of the word of God, he gained the reputation of his faith, teaching both in the east and in the west. Coming to the boundaries of the west, and undergoing martyrdom, decreed by princes against him, he thus passed from the world."—*St. Clemens, disciple of Paul, according to Usher.*

† Lib. 2, cap. 40, apud Usser. primord, cap. 1, p. 7.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 48.
§ Tom. 2, Antig. Lect. Henr. apud Usser. ibid.
‖ Metaphrast, Comment. de Petro et Paulo, ad diem 29 Junii.
¶ Baron. Annal. vol. 1, art. 61, Usser. ibid.

the gospel in Ireland :* according to others, it was there that the canonical epistle was written, of which, in the general and more probable opinion, James the younger, who was bishop of Jerusalem, was the author.† All the history of his preaching in Ireland and in Spain will fall of itself, if, as the critics say, he had been put to death by Herod, before the separation of the apostles. Although it be, among so many different opinions, difficult to discover the truth, it is probable that the gospel had been preached at an early period in those islands :‡ Gildas Britannicus bears testimony for his own nation, and the Christians whom Ireland produced in the first ages of Christianity are a proof in favor of this island. But as the divine word had fallen in a barren and ungrateful soil, and that it did not please God to give strength to it, those nations soon returned to their former worship.

Among the number of the first Christians in Ireland, is St. Mansuy, in Latin, Mansuetus, a disciple, it is said, of St. Peter, who having preached the gospel in Lorraine, by order of this apostle, became first bishop of Toul, where he is honored as first patron. According to the present critics, the inhabitants of Toul were not converted till the third or fourth century, in which case this saint could not have been a disciple of St. Peter. However this be, St. Mansuy is always acknowledged first bishop of Toul, and was canonized in the eleventh century by Pope Leo IX., who was before bishop of this see.

Several ancient writers mention the sanctity and country of St. Mansuy,§ extracts from whose works are to be found in the history of the Gallican church, written by Francis Bosquet, pretor of Narbonne, and published in Paris in 1636. The most celebrated of those writers is Adso, abbot of Montiers-en-Derf, who wrote, in the tenth century, the life of this holy saint, by order of Gerrard, who was then bishop of Toul ;‖ but the verses which were placed at the head of his work, in which he sings the praises of the saint, are omitted in the Bosquet edition. Dempster, always eager for the glory of his country, and desirous that it should have the honor of giving birth to this saint, quotes the first line of Adso, in which he is simply called a Scot, " protulerat quemdam generosum Scotia natum, Mansuetum," but suppresses the following stanza,* which plainly indicates his country to have been Ireland, anciently called Scotia, and implies, that, in the time of this saint, his country abounded with true worshippers. Dempster possesses, in an admirable way, the talent of appropriating to himself what does not belong to him,† like the bird in the fable which decks itself with borrowed plumes ; and by means of the analogy of the names Scotia and Scoti, claims, says Usher, every character celebrated for learning or piety mentioned by the ancients under the name of Scots, at a time when the Scoto-Britons were confined to the narrow limits of Dalriada, forming but an inconsiderable canton in Albania.‡

The modern Scotch follow the example of Dempster, and load the Irish with those reproaches which they themselves have reason to expect from this nation. Abercromby, one of their authors, says gravely, " that he is sorry to reproach Ireland with the robbery not only of flocks and cattle, but also of a number of great men. He must be poor indeed," adds he, " who boasts of what does not belong to him."

These are high-sounding words, which prove nothing ; Abercromby should have begun with the source, by laying it down as an indisputable principle, and proving by authentic monuments, that the Scotch monarchy had been founded previous to the year 503 : that this people alone were known by the name of Scots, before and after this period, till the ninth century, and the reduction of the Picts ; and lastly, that modern Scotland had been celebrated in the first ages of Christianity for piety and learning, while ignorance and irreligion prevailed in Ireland ; but, unfortunately for

* In Spec. Hist. lib. 8, c. 7. Usser. p. 5.

† Hug. Archipresbyter Toletanus in Chronic. apud Usser. primord. cap. 16, p. 743.

‡ Britannorum inaccess Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, Tertull. contra Jud. cap. 7.

§ " From the annals of the Tullenses, St. Mansuetus was bishop and a disciple of St. Peter : he was from the nation of Scotia."—*Usher.*

‖ " Of Toul in Gaul, St. Mansuetus, a native of Scotia, was bishop and a disciple of St. Peter."—*Usher*

* Inclyta Manusueti Claris natalibus orti
Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis,
Insula Christicolas gestabet Hibernia gentes.
Unde genus traxit et stratus unde fuit.

† " The origin of Mansuetis descended of illustrious parentage, shines in the world ; the island of Hibernia has borne a Christian people, and hath also borne him."—*Ware.*

‡ " And from thence, as many of the Scoti as he had discovered of celebrity among writers (when the Scoto-Britanni were confined within the narrow boundaries of Dalrieda) to be drawn in crowds : he transfers them to the lesser Scotia, confines them to an angle, and confounds all in a mass."—*Usher,* c. 16, page 738.

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him, the contrary has been frequently proved. The judicious reader may infer what degree of belief the Scotch authors, after Fordun, merit* (who was the first to forge their chimerical antiquity, in the fourteenth century) in comparison with Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, Luddus, Camden, the bishop of St. Asaph, Stillingfleet, Usher, Ware, and so many others, who were foreigners, and not interested in this dispute. The learned Elfinstone, bishop and chancellor of Scotland under James the IV., was so little pleased with the historical chimeras of his countrymen respecting ancient times, that he refers the curious to the ancient monuments of the Irish, to acquire a more ample knowledge of them.† Buchanan himself was so diffident of this, that he confessed it was with difficulty he had determined on writing the history of his country.‡ But what should confound those plagiarists, and prove the vanity of their pretensions respecting the missionaries and learned men mentioned by foreign authors, under the name of Scots, is the obscurity of that people before the ninth century, and their neglect in those early days, as Innes, one of their modern historians, allows. Camden, who describes Scotland and Ireland in his Britannia, says nothing of the religion of the Scotch, while he gives the highest praise to the Irish, both for their piety and learning: he says that Ireland was called the Island of Saints, on account of the rapid progress Christianity had made in it, and that it supplied all Europe with swarms of missionaries.

Usher, Colgan,§ Ware, and others, mention four holy bishops, called by Usher the precursors of St. Patrick, as they had preached the gospel in Ireland‖ some years before Pope Celestine had sent him to convert this island.¶ Those saints were Declan, Ailbeus, Kieran, and Ibar.** Usher gives an abridged history of the life, country, and mission of these holy men. Declan, he says, son of Erc, prince of Nandesi, of the royal race of the kings of Tara, (who was apparently of the race of Fiacha-Suidne, brother of Con-Keadcaha, whose descendants were banished from Meath by the monarch Cormac Ulfada, on account of their revolt,) having been baptized by Colman, a priest distinguished for his sanctity, and afterwards, appointed bishop, was instructed in the Christian religion by Dymma, who had lately returned to the country, of which he was a native. The young proselyte made so rapid a progress in the doctrine, that he drew after him a great number of disciples: among others, Mochelloc, Bean, Colman, Lachnin, Mob, Pindlugue, and Caminan, each of whom built a cell or chapel in the environs of Mag-Scethih, otherwise "Campus-Scuti," in the territory of Nandesi and county of Waterford, which was the place where St. Declan resided.

The desire of becoming perfect induced our saint to go to Rome, with some of his disciples. He wished to take, from the source itself, the spirit and morals becoming his station, and to receive from the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the orders and mission necessary to preach the gospel. On his arrival at Rome, he was received with distinction by the pope, St. Cyricius; and his noble, mild, and affable deportment rendered him the admiration of the Roman people. After remaining some time at Rome, St. Declan was ordained bishop by the pope, and sent back to his own country, with full power to preach the gospel.

We discover in the life of St. Declan that he met St. Ailbeus at Rome.* The latter was a native of the territory of Eliach, otherwise Ely-ô-Carroll, in the province of Munster, but now in Leinster. His father and mother were Olenais and Sandith. In his youth he was instructed and baptized by a Christian priest, sent by the holy see as missionary to Ireland.

After some time St. Ailbeus went to Rome, where he perfected himself in the holy Scriptures, under the guidance of bishop Hilarius, who having witnessed the sanctity of his life, and purity of his doctrine, sent him to receive orders from the hands of the pope. The sovereign pontiff received him with joy, and after keeping him for some time with him, consecrated him bishop for the mission of Ireland, his country, where

* See Chapters VI. and VII. of the first part of this history.

† See the Preface of Stillingfleet, p. 53.

‡ "Therefore I have long withheld myself from becoming one of that body, lest by admiring fables, as others, I should become puerile."—*Buchanan in Camd.*, p. 85.

§ Colg. Triad. Thaum, append. 5, cap. 15.

‖ Ware de Præsul. et Antiq. cap. 29.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.

** "Before St. Patrick, four very holy bishops came to Ireland and preached the doctrine of Christ.—Ailbeus, Declanus, Ibarus, and Kieranus; who drew, in the net of the gospel, many to Christ. In the meanwhile the Christian faith was advanced in Ireland, by the preaching of three other holy bishops, (besides Kiaranus,) before the arrival of St. Patrick: Bishop Ailbeus preached in various places, also St. Ibarus, who was bishop, and that most holy prelate Declanus, in his own district, called Nandesi."—*Usher, Church Hist.*, c. 16, p. 781.

* Usser. Ind. Chronol. ad ann. 397.

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he found an abundant harvest. It is said that he wrote rules for the monks

St. Kieran was born in Ireland, of noble parents, about the year 352, according to the calculation of Usher.* His father was Lugny, descended in the ninth degree from Aongus-Osraige, who had given his name to the territory of Ossory, and was chief of the Fitzpatricks.† Liedan, his mother, derived her origin from Lugaidge-Mac-Ithy,‡ whose descendants were the O'Driscols, lords of Corco-Luidhe, a maritime district in southern Munster, comprising the barony of Carbery, in the county of Cork, with the adjacent isles.

The authors of the life of this saint do not agree concerning the place of his birth: some say he was born in Osraige, and others in the territory of Corco-Luidhe, the country of his mother. However this be, Kieran dedicated the first thirty years of his life to God in Clere island, called, in the Irish language, "Innis-Clere," on the borders of Corco-Luidhe, in practices of abstinence and every moral virtue, without having been as yet baptized. Having thus performed his novitiate, and the name of Christianity having reached him, he left his retreat with the intention of seeking, in the Christian religion, what was wanting to his perfection. For this purpose he went to Rome, where he received baptism and devoted twenty years of his life to the meditation of holy books. He was ordained bishop by Pope Anastasius, and set out on his return to Ireland, accompanied by five ecclesiastics of his own country, who were, Lugaid, Columban, Meldan, Lugace, and Cassan, about the year 402.

Before Kieran left Italy, he met St. Patrick going to Rome, and the saints of God were rejoiced, says the author of his life.§ At that time St. Patrick was not bishop, nor nominated apostle of Ireland. Colgan, according to an old manuscript of Kilkenny, says that St. Patrick had on that occasion spoken to St. Kieran in these words:—"Continue your journey to Ireland; in the middle of that country you will discover a fountain, called Fuaran; you will there cause a monastery to be built, and in thirty years I shall visit you there." After this the two saints blessed each other with the kiss of peace, and then parted.

St. Kieran's first care, after his return to Ireland, was to seek the fountain pointed out to him by St. Patrick, and having discovered it on the confines of Munster and Leinster, in the country of Heli, at present the barony of Ballybrit, he had a small cell built there, and led in it the life of a hermit. This cell became afterwards enlarged, and was surrounded by a town: it was then converted into a monastery, and an episcopal see, of which St. Kieran was first bishop; it was called Sayghir, otherwise Seir-Kieran. This see was probably transferred to Aghavoe, in Upper Ossory; whereas in the annals of Leinster, on the year 1052, a church is mentioned to have been built at Aghavoe, where the shrine of St. Canice was deposited. "Templum Aghavoe constructum est, et Cannici scrinium ibi collocatum." Canice, son of Laidec, a celebrated poet, was the founder and first abbot of the abbey of Aghavoe, where he died the fifth of the ides of October, in the year 599 or 600 The episcopal see was at length removed from Aghavoe to Kilkenny, towards the end of the 12th century, by Felix O'Dullany, then bishop.

The talent which the Lord confided to Kieran produced good profit; he drew many from the darkness of paganism and idolatry, particularly in the country of Ossory. His doctrine was confirmed by a great number of miracles, as related by Colgan.* Ware says, "He was a man greatly celebrated for his sanctity and his learning. I cannot, however, (continues he,) assert for truth that he was the Quirinus to whom, as to other bishops of Albania, Pope Gregory I. addressed his 61st epistle,† which is still in the ninth book of the registry of that pope, although the great celebrity of Kieran, the long life he enjoyed, and the analogy of the name, induce us to believe it.‡

Indeed, the old Irish did not make use of K and Q; the C among them was pronounced like those letters: as Ciaran (it is thus the Irish write this name) was pronounced Kieran or Quiaran, as Cicero was among the Romans, Kikero: in the same manner Ciaranus, Kiaranus, and Quiaranus, bear a strong analogy to Quirinus; this adds strength to the conjecture of Ware. But chronology is opposed to him; for by sup-

* Usser. primord. Eccles. Britan. cap. 16, p. 788.
† War. de Præsul-Hib.
‡ Colgan, Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 458.
§ Usser. primord. cap. 16, p. 791

* In vita Kiarani. † Usser. Vet. Epis. Syl. epis. 2.
‡ "He was a man of great influence, on account of his sanctity and doctrine. I do not, however, venture to affirm that Quirinus was the same as he to whom the 61st letter of Gregory I. was written, as well as to other bishops in Ireland. The letter is still extant in the registry of Gregory; though the name of Kiaranus, his great age, and eminent sanctity, would incline us to it."—*Ware.*

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posing that Saint Kieran died in 549, we should also suppose that St. Gregory had written this epistle in his youth, and long before his elevation to the pontificate, which did not happen till 590.

Saint Kieran ended at length his mortal career, at an advanced age, the 5th of March, 549; so that we do not confound him with Saint Kiernan, abbot of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, who died this same year. The place of his death is uncertain; according to some English martyrologists, it was in the county of Cornwall in England; and Dempster, with his accustomed license, places him in the calendar of the Scottish saints.

The five companions of St. Kieran, who followed him from Rome, were ordained bishops, and labored with great zeal for the conversion of souls, particularly in Leinster, where they founded churches, viz., those of Cill-Airthir, Cluain-Ernain, Cluano-Crema, Ferdrum, and Domnach-Mor in the plain of Magh-Echnach.* Lastly, St. Ibar, called in the Irish language Ibuir, a native of the province of Ulster, preached the gospel with success in different parts of Ireland, particularly in the territory of Geisiol He there founded a celebrated monastery in an island called Beg-Erinn, which means little Ireland, on the borders of Hua-Kinseallagh, at present the county of Wexford, where he ended his days with a high reputation of sanctity. This place was much frequented in succeeding ages by a great concourse of the faithful, who went thither for their devotion.

About this time is recorded the martyrdom of St. Eliph, whose acts are written at full length by Rupert, abbot of the abbey of Duitz, near Cologne, and briefly mentioned by Mersœus Cratepolius, in a small treatise on the saints of Germany.

Saint Eliph, says he, son of the king of Scotia, (Ireland,) having given up vast possessions in his own country, persuaded that it was delightful to serve God in poverty, came to Toul, followed by thirty-three disciples, where he was cast into prison as a traitor to the country; but he was delivered that night by the grace of God, and in a miraculous manner: after this he preached everywhere with zeal the word of God, and converted in a short time more than four hundred persons, whom he baptized; this irritated the emperor Julian the Apostate (an avowed enemy to the Christian name) so powerfully against him, that he had him seized and beheaded.† This event happened, according to the catalogue of the archbishop of Cologne, in the year 393; but as that was the year in which Julian died in Persia, it is better to place the martyrdom of the saint in 360, when that emperor went into Gaul and was declared Augustus by the army, particularly as he suffered, according to Rupert, in conformity with the martyrologies of Bede, of Ado, and the Roman, the 6th of October, in presence of the emperor himself, on the banks of the river Vere, between the cities of Toul on the north, and Grands, an ancient city of southern Lorraine.

The body of the saint was buried upon a mountain at some distance from the place of his martyrdom, called after him, Mount St. Eliph, from whence it was transferred by Bruno I., archbishop of Cologne, and deposited in the church of St. Martin Major which formerly belonged to the nation of the Scots. Rupert also mentions Euchar, bishop and martyr, brother of St. Eliph, and his three sisters, Menna, Libaria, and Susana, who suffered for the faith of Jesus Christ.

According to the Roman martyrology, the festival of St. Gunifort, martyr, is kept at Pavia, the twenty-second of August. The acts of this saint's life are found in Mombritius, tom. 1; in the catalogue of the saints of Italy, by Philip Ferrarius; and in the Sanctuary of Pavia, by Guallas. This saint was descended of noble parents in Scotia, where he was converted to the Christian religion. Although persecution against the Christians was strong in his own country, still, being under the care of powerful parents, he had not the opportunity to indulge the desire he had of martyrdom: it was this that made him undertake to leave his country with his brother Gunibald and his two sisters, and come into Germany, where his sisters gave a glorious testimony of their faith in Jesus Christ, by their sufferings.

It is difficult to determine the time in which these saints lived. The persecution which Ireland underwent in their time would induce us to suppose that it was before St. Patrick, and the complete conversion of the

* Usser. Vet. Epist. Syllog. epist. 2.

† "Saint Eliphius, son of the king of Scotia, having abandoned vast possessions, was delighted to serve Christ the Lord God in poverty. In the city of Toul, together with thirty-three of his faithful companions, being betrayed, he was thrown with them into prison, but, by the goodness of God, was miraculously delivered in the night. After this, he himself preached with constancy and fervor, and made a great harvest in the vineyard of the Lord: he converted in a short time and baptized 400 persons. But the emperor Julian the Apostate, being incensed against him because he boldly proclaimed the glory of Christ, of whom he was envious, caused him to be arrested, and had him beheaded, A. D. 350."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 785.

island. The place of their martyrdom is likewise uncertain.

Dempster, who, in his doubtful acceptation of the name Scot, wishes to make them his countrymen, falls into strange contradictions on these two points. He first says, in book I. of his Ecclesiastical History, that the two sisters of these saints suffered martyrdom a year before their brothers, that is, in 419; but he appears to forget himself when he says, in his fourth book, that St. Dardaluch, one of the sisters, whose festival is observed at Fressing in Bavaria, on the calends of February, and whom he imagines to have been Scotch, had gone with her brothers from Scotland in 420, a time when a Scotch kingdom had not been yet known to be founded in Britain. The contradiction is still more obvious when he says, in the seventh book, that the two brothers had suffered martyrdom in 417, one at Como, and the other at Milan, in the time of the emperor Theodosius, as if the Christians had been persecuted at Milan, or in any part of Italy, in the time of that emperor.*

On the calends of December, the festival of St. Florentinus, priest and confessor, and a native of Ireland, whose life is taken from the ancient monuments of the church in the city of Amboise, according to the martyrology of Usuard, is kept.† That saint after leaving his country, made a voyage to Rome, and was thrown into prison by order of the emperor Claudius. During his imprisonment, he baptized ninety-six persons, both men and women, in the number of whom was Asterius, the jailer; he then sent them to pope Calixtus to be confirmed. Although this event be considered to have occurred in the third century, it is not easy to determine the epoch with precision, on account of the difference of about fifty years, discoverable between the pontificate of Calixtus and the reign of Claudius. A farther difficulty arises by supposing that, according to the subsequen' part of this saint's life, he had been contemporary of Theodebert, and Clothaire, who reigned in Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century.

Laogare, son of Niall-Noygiollach, and cousin-german to Dathy, was his successor in the supreme government of Ireland, A. D. 428.

According to Usher, the third devastation of the Britons happened in the year 431, and consequently in the reign of Laogare The Scots and Picts having learned that the Romans refused assistance to the Britons, assembled all their force, and advanced to the side of the famous wall which the Romans caused to be built, extending from sea to sea, with the towers at proper distances, in which sentinels and armed men were placed for its defence. This barrier, defended by the undisciplined Britons, held out but for a short time. The sentinels were dragged by the barbarians from the walls by means of hooks.* A breach being afterwards made, they entered the country, and committed every species of cruelty, forcing the poor Britons who escaped the sword, to seek for safety in caverns and other hiding-places, to conceal themselves from their fury.† It was on this occasion that the Britons wrote to Ætius, the Roman consul, to represent to him the deplorable state of their affairs, and to seek for some assistance from him. They mentioned among other things, "that the barbarians drove them into the sea, and that the sea drove them back on the barbarians; so that they had only the choice remaining, of being either put to the sword, or drowned."‡ This letter did not produce the effect the Britons expected: the Romans had to defend

* "That these things had been divided into periods without distinction of time, the arrangement of the years, which is incongruous and discordant, proves; but this it confirms, that Cunibaldus was put to death at Canara or Comi, for Christ; but Gunifortus was said to be put to death at Milan by the arrows of unbelievers; as if Theodosius, who ruled as emperor at Milan, rendered the times pagan and not Christian."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 16, p. 795.

† "Florentinus, a glorious confessor of Christ, was born in Ireland, and being brought up under the care and solicitude of his parents, Theophilus and Benigna, became worthy of the grace of God from his earliest youth."—*Usher's Church History*, p. 760.

* "The hooked weapons of the enemy cease not; the undisciplined defenders being miserably dragged from the walls, were dashed against the ground."—*Bede*, b. 1, c. 12.

† "The Romans having withdrawn themselves from Britain, the Scots sally forth from their curraghs, in which they were carried over the Scythian valley, these foul flocks united with the Picts, though differing in custom, were agreed in a similar thirst for blood; in the 8th year of Theodosius, the Roman army being taken out of Britain, and their denial to return having become known to the Scots and Picts, these return and attack the whole country from the north as far as the wall. The guards being either slain or entirely routed, and the wall partly broken down, the cruel robbers triumph in their career."—*Bede and Usher*.

"In the 8th year of the Emperor Theodosius, the Roman army being withdrawn from Britain, the Scots and Picts return and attack the entire country from the north to the wall."—*Chronicles of Usher*.

‡ "The barbarians drive us into the sea, the sea drives us back upon the barbarians, so that between this two-fold destruction, we are either drowned or put to the sword."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1, c. 13

their own frontiers against the Huns, and could not send them the succor which they sought. But they found a remedy for their misfortunes in one noble effort, often the result of despair. Seeing themselves abandoned by their old protectors, the Romans, and on the eve of perishing with famine, or falling into the hands of the barbarians, they formed the bold resolution of leaving their retreats, and to risk their lives in order to deliver themselves from slavery: they attacked the Scots and Picts unawares, and made a dreadful carnage among them. The Scots or Dalriads, alarmed at this resolution of the Britons, and not being supported as hitherto by the Scots of Ireland, abandoned their settlement in Albania, and withdrew to Ireland, having Eocha, surnamed Munraver, for their chief, and the Picts took refuge among the mountains of Albania.* It was on this occasion that Bede, after Gildas, said, that those daring robbers, the Irish, returned home, intending to go back in a short time.† Is not the dissolution of their pretended monarchy, mentioned by the Scotch, contained in the above account? May it not be supposed that Eocha, who commanded the Dalriads in this shameful flight, Erc, his son, who led them back from Ireland to Albania some years afterwards, and Fergus, son of the latter, who became their king, are the same as Ethac or Echodius, who, according to Fordon, withdrew with his son Erth to Ireland, at the time of the edict of Maximus, and Fergus, son of Erth, who re-established the monarchy?

Although these refugees were well received by the Dalriads of Ulster, their kinsmen and allies, they did not relinquish the desire of recovering their patrimony in Albania. They returned after some time, commanded by Erc, son of Eocha, their last chief, whom Usher calls the father of the Scotch kings: "Qui Scotiæ regibus dedit originem."‡ They were soon followed by Maine-Leavna, son of Core, king of Munster, who settled with his colony in a territory, called after his name, Mor-Mor-Leavna, now the duchy of Lenox. The six sons of Muireadh, son of Eogan, and grandson of Niall, namely, the two Lodains, the two Aonguses, and the two Ferguses, with their vassals, followed the example and fortune of their countrymen he more willingly, as Erca, their mother, was of the family of Erc, then chief of the Dalriads, by Loarne, his eldest son, whose grand-daughter she was.* All those tribes, united by the ties of a common origin, afterwards formed a numerous and powerful people. Besides Cantyre and Argyle, the residence of their fathers before their retreat, they possessed the territories of Knapdal, Lorn, Brunalbain, and Lenox, with all the islands on the western coast of Albania;† but still something was wanting to the perfection of this colony. The Dalriads had till that time been divided into tribes, without laws, or any other form of government commanded only by a chief, whose attention was divided between them and the Dalriads of Ulster. To obviate the disadvantages arising from so imperfect an administration, they thought on electing a king: the lot fell on Fergus, son of Erc, descended in the ninth degree from Eocha Riada. Fergus was in Ulster at the time of this election; he departed immediately with a new colony, accompanied by his brothers, to take possession of his kingdom, where he was solemnly crowned on the superstitious stone, which Mortagh-Mac-Earca, his grand nephew, had sent him for this purpose ‡ Kinal-Loarn derived his name from Loarn eldest brother of Fergus, from whom are descended, by Ferguard-Fada, the Mac Lanes, the Mac Kenseys, and several other distinguished families in Scotland.

Usher says that the Scots had returned to Ireland, their country, after the third consulship of Ætius, that is, in 446; that they soon afterwards returned, and settled again in the north of Britain, which was, he says, effected by Fergus, whose reign, according to the Scots of Ireland, agreeably to the arguments of Gildas and Bede, was subsequent to the consulship of Ætius.§ In his chronological table, he fixes the passage of Fergus and his brothers from Ireland to Albania, in the year 503. He afterwards refers to the life of St. Patrick, written in the twelfth century by Jocelin, an English monk, in which it is said that Erc, a prince of the Dalriads in Ulster, dying, had left twelve sons, of whom Fergus was the youngest; that the latter, seeing himself despised by his brothers, and excluded from participating the right to succeed his father, had

* Kennedy, p. 138.

† "These daring robbers, the Irish, return home, purposing to come back after a short time."—*Bede*, b. 1, c. 14. ‡ Primord. cap. 15, p. 689.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 39.

† Usser. Primord. c. 15, p. 612.

‡ Lecan. fol. 119, p. A. col. 2.

§ "After the third consulship of Ætius, in the year 446, the Scots returned into their own country, (Ireland,) and after a short time fixed a settlement in North Britain. This, it is thought, was effected through means of Fergusius: his reign, according to the Scots of Ireland, as Bede has it, was later than the consulship of Ætius."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 15, p. 609.

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recourse to St. Patrick, and entreated him to make them do him justice; that the saint, knowing the justice of his claims, interceded with his brothers, and made them restore to him the portion which belonged to him by right; that having given him his benediction, he foretold that, although he ther appeared humble and despised by his brothers, he would soon be their prince; that his descendants would be powerful kings who would reign not only in Ireland, but also in a distant region.* The prophecy, says Jocelin, was literally fulfilled, Fergus obtaining the sovereignty in Albania, where his posterity have since reigned. Usher again quotes the annals of Tigernach, which fix the reign of Fergus in the beginning of the pontificate of St. Symmachus, about the year 498; according to these annals, Fergus-More-Mac-Erca, which signifies Fergus the Great, son of Erca, with the Dalriads, possessed a part of Britain, where he died.† Speaking afterwards of Ethach or Eocha-Munravar, father of Erc, who, the modern Scotch historians say, was brother of king Ugene, and who was killed according to them by Maximus; he says that Camden, after a more ancient author, affirms him to be descended from Chonarus, and not from a doubtful line of the preceding kings.‡ "Fergus," says Camden, "was the first that reigned in Albania, from Brun-Albain as far as the Irish sea and Inch-Gall, and from that time, the kings of the race of Fergus reigned in Brun-Albain, until the time of Alpine, son of Eochal."§ This kingdom, which did not comprise one-fourth of the present Scotland, remained in this state, governed by kings who were the descendants of Fergus. The Picts, who possessed the rest of Albania, had also their kings until the ninth century, when the Dalriads overthrew their monarchy, made themselves masters of all Albania, and suppressed even the name of Picts; but the country was not yet called Scotland: "as neither Dalriada," says Usher, "which was the seat of the British Scots until 840, nor even all Albania after the defeat of the Picts had taken the name of Scotland, which did not take place until the eleventh century, when those two people, united together, formed but one and the same nation. There cannot be produced (continues Usher) any author who has described* Albania under the name of Scotland, before that period."†

When the English had given the name of Irish (in Latin Iri or Irenses) to the Scots of Ireland, and that of Ireland to their isle, this name was then adopted by the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, the Italians, and the Arabians, (which did not happen at first, for the name, Ireland, was not yet generally used among strangers,‡ as Adam de Breme, who lived in the eleventh century, and Nubigensis, in the twelfth, were the first who mentioned it;)§ the name of Scotland was by degrees appropriated to Albania,‖ which was for some time called Scotia Minor, to distinguish it from Ireland, which was called Scotia Major,¶ the inhabitants of which did not lose, all of a sudden, the name of Scots; they are so called, in the eleventh century, by Hermann, in the first book of his chronicle, and by Marianus Scotus, whom Florentius Wigorniensis mentions in his annals; when speaking of 1028, he says, "in this year was born Marianus, probably a Scot from Ireland, by whose care this excellent chronicle has been compiled from several histories."** We discover the same thing in a chronicle in the Cottonian library.†† Theo-

* "Though you may appear humble and despised now by your brothers, you will be in a short time their prince. From thee the best kings will come forth, who will rule not only in their own, but also in a distant and foreign land."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 15, p. 609.

† "Fergus-More-Mac-Erca, with the people of Dalriada, held a part of Britain, and died in it."—*Usher's Church Hist.* p. 610, c. 15.

‡ Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. c. 15, p. 610.

§ "But a more ancient author, cited by Camden, mentions the descent of Fergus not from that doubtful race of preceding kings, but from another stock. Fergus, he says, the son of Eric, was the first who, from the seed of Chronarus, ruled over Albania, as far as the Irish sea and Inch-Gall, (the Hebrides) and from thence were kings of the seed of Fergus, who ruled over Brun-Albain, till Alpinus son of Eochal."—*Usher*, c. 15, pp. 610, 611.

* "Dalrieda had not been, in the year 840, the seat of the British Scots, neither had it the name of Scotia; nor did Albania itself, after the defeat of the Picts, and until the two people formed but one body, receive the name of Scotia, which happened in the eleventh century after the nativity of Christ."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 734.

† "Thus we think, that no one can be named among those who have written in former years, that ever gave to Albania the name of Scotia"—*Usher*.

‡ Hist. Eccles. cap. 217.

§ Geograp. Arab. part 2, Climatis 7.

‖ Petr. Lombard. Comment. Hib. cap. 2, p. 34, cap. 13, p. 116.

¶ "It appears there were two Scotias, the greater and the lesser. Ireland is designated by the name of 'Scotia Major,' and that part of Britain called by some Albania, and now in common, 'Scotia,' was known by the name of Minor. So that the Albanian Scots flowed as it were from a river, out of Ireland, to the land which they now inhabit."—*Stanihurst*, b. 1, p. 17.

** "In this year was born Marianus, an Irishman; he was probably a Scot; by his labors and study, these excellent chronicles were condensed and formed from different works."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 735

†† "Marianus the chronographer, a Scot, was born

doric, abbot of the monastery of St. Trudon, in the neighborhood of Liege, who wrote, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the life of St. Rumold,* mentions this saint to have been from the island of Scotia, "Scotiæ insulam," separated from Britain by the sea, which can only have reference to Ireland. St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, distinguishes this island from British Scotland, by calling it "Ulterior Scotia;"† and when St. Malachy wished to build an oratory of stone, in the monastery of Benchuin, in Ulster, St. Bernard alludes to some envious person who said to the saint, "Oh, good man, why do you think of introducing novelties amongst us? We are Scots, and not Gauls."‡

According to Bede, the building of stone churches was at that time unknown not only in Ireland but also in Britain.§ Lastly, we have the testimony of Cæsarius d'Heisterbach in the thirteenth century, who makes use of the name "Scotia," to designate Ireland,‖ saying that if any one doubted the existence of purgatory, he need only go to Scotia, where he would find the purgatory of St. Patrick.

The claims of the Milesians respecting the migrations of their colonies, which gave rise to the Scotch nation, are supported by the authority of a number of celebrated authors. Bede says, that besides the Britons and Picts, there was a third nation of Scots in Britain, who having left Ireland under the conduct of Reuda, their chief, took possession, either by force or peaceably, of the habitations which they had till then preserved, and were called from his name, Dalreudini.¶

Giraldus, surnamed Cambrensis,** says, that in the reign of Niall the Great in Ireland, the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, with a considerable fleet, seized on the northern part of Britain, and founded a nation called Scotia.*

"It is certain," says Camden, "that the Scots went from Ireland into Britain; for Isidorus calls that island Scotia, from a nation of Scots who inhabited it." Orosius, Bede, and Eginard, bear indisputable testimony, that Ireland was inhabited by the Scots.† Besides, he calls the Irish the ancestors of the Scotch. "Hiberni Scotorum atavi."‡

The same author again expresses himself in a manner which leaves no doubt on this subject. If all history were lost, and that there remained no possibility to prove by writing, that the Scotch are descended from the Irish, the unity of the two languages common to these people would convince us of it more easily than the authority of the greatest historians.§

However, it is not necessary to have recourse to the English to prove what is allowed by the Scotch themselves. "It is proved by many arguments," says John Major, "that we have derived our origin from the Irish. We are told it by Bede, and our very language proves it; nearly half the Scotch speak Irish, and it is not long since a still greater number spoke it." Immediately after this, when speaking of the Irish: "they have conveyed," says he, "their language from Ireland to Britain, which appears by our annals, and which authors have not omitted to observe, on this head. Thus, I say," continues this author, "that the Scotch derive their origin from the same source as the Irish, though in an indirect line."‖

in Ireland; he composed the chronicle of chronicles."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 735.

* Vit. Rumold. lib. 7.

† "From the further Scotia, he continued till he died."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 376.

‡ "O good man, what hath induced thee to introduce into our country this novelty? We are Scots and not Gauls."—*Usher*, c. 16, pp. 736, 737.

§ Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 25. Hib. 3, cap. 4. Dialog. lib. 12, c. 38.

‖ "He who doubts of purgatory, let him go to Ireland and enter the purgatory of St. Patrick."—*Usher*.

¶ "Britain, after receiving the Britons and Picts, received among the Picts a third nation, the Scots, who, after leaving Ireland, secured for themselves, either by friendship or the sword, those parts which they still possess, and are from their leader Reuda, called Dalreudini."—*Bede's Christ. Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.

** Topog. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 16.

* "Scotia is called the northern part of the British island, because that nation was originally propagated by them, and are known to inhabit that country. The analogy of their dress and arms, as well as of their habits, proves it to this day."—*Giraldus Cam. in Stanihurst, and in Usher*, c. 17, p. 245, c. 16, p. 725.

† "It appears indeed that they passed from Ireland into Britain, for Isidorus calls Hibernia 'Scotia,' from the nation of the Scots. And that the Scots inhabited Hibernia, the testimony of Bede and Eginarius is above all disputation."—*Camd.* p. 36.

‡ Camd. Brit. edit. Franco. p. 59.

§ "Who are indeed allied by a similarity of language, and that they have been of one origin, I think no one will deny. Even if every history had failed, and that no one had committed to writing that the true Scots had been produced from Ireland, their language being one and the same, would prove it more ably than the authority of the most grave historians."—*Camden*.

‖ "From various arguments it is admitted, that we have drawn our origin from the Irish, and this we have learned from Bede, an Englishman. A

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Buchanan is not less decisive on this subject: saying, as Orosius, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were called Scots in the beginning: he adds, "Our annals make frequent mention of the transmigration of the Scots from Ireland to Albania."* Immediately after, he refers to the distinction made between these two people, both called Scots. "Formerly," says he, "when both, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland and the colonies which they had sent to Albania, were called Scots, the former were called the Scots of Ireland, and the latter the Scots of Albania, to distinguish one from the other;"† and in another place, speaking of the Scots of Albania, he says, "at the time that they were called Albini or Albains, their neighbors gave them the name of Scots, a name which denotes that they derived their origin from the Irish."‡

Although the Scotch agree with the Milesians or Scots of Ireland, concerning their origin; they, however, differ widely as to the time of the transmigration of the first colonies from Ireland to Albania.

As a modern origin is not flattering to pride, and as every nation desires to be considered ancient, the Scotch authors of latter times have formed a system of antiquity for hemselves, by fixing their migration, and the beginning of their monarchy, a few centuries too early, and by multiplying the number of their kings.

"Fame has given us to understand," says Buchanan,§ "that a great number of Spaniards, either forced to quit their country, or leaving it of their own accord in order to relieve the state, which was already overburdened with inhabitants, came and settled in Ireland, where they became extremely numerous, under the name of Scots: from hence many spread themselves through the neighboring islands, without a king, or any form of government. In the interval, a fleet of Germans, or Scythians, according to Bede, without either women or children, was cast by a tempest on the coast of Ireland. Those new-comers, after a long voyage, being destitute of every thing except their arms, sent to ask permission of the Scots to settle among them. The answer given them was, that their own numbers were already too great for the island, from which, in consequence of its numerous population, they had been obliged to send colonies to the neighboring isles. However, being struck with compassion for the deplorable state of those strangers, they advised them to go to Albania, where they might easily make a settlement among a people disunited by civil war, and the opposite factions of several petty princes who commanded them. Pleased with the advice, and promises of aid from the Scots in case they met with resistance, they set out for Albania, where, after some battles in which they were victorious, a considerable part of the eastern coast of Albania was surrendered to them, and they were long after called Picts, by the Romans and other neighboring people.

"The Picts, confiding in the happy omen of future friendship from the Scots, obtained wives from them, and thereby contracted so close an alliance, that they seemed to form but one people; so that the passage between the two countries being free, a number of Scots came and settled among the Picts, who received them with joy. The pleasure, however, at first produced by the arrival of these new guests, soon gave way to jealousy; they saw, with pain, that they were becoming powerful; and began to dread their future aggrandizement; so that distrust was soon productive of quarrels, which ended in the separation of the two people that were friends so recently. The Scots withdrew to the mountains, and the Picts remained in possession of the fertile lands on the coast of the German Ocean.

"The Britons, equally hostile to both parties, beheld their separation with pleasure, and being desirous to take advantage of it, did all in their power to increase the discord which had already prevailed among them: they even offered to assist the Picts against their enemies. The Scots seeing the danger which threatened them, and fearing they should be crushed by the united power of the Picts and the Britons, thought of de-

similarity of dialect proves it. A great part of Scotland speak the Irish language, and lately the greater portion of Scotch spoke Irish; from Ireland they carried their dialect into Britain; this is manifest by our annals, in which our writers were not remiss. I say, therefore, that from whomsoever the Irish have taken their origin, the Scotch have received from them their beginning, as a grandson derives his from a grandfather."—*Joannes Major.*

* "Nor is it only once that, as our annals say, the Scots passed from Ireland to Albania."—*Buch.* b. 2, p. 55.

† "But when both in the commencement, i. e. the inhabitants of Ireland and their colonies who had been sent into Albania, might be distinguished by some mark, one from the other, they began to be called Irish Scotch, and the Albanian Scotch."—*Buchanan*, b. 2, p. 55.

‡ "Though they call themselves Albanians, their neighbors the Irish call them Scotch, by which name their descent from the Irish is implied."—*Buchanan*, p. 64, b. 2.

§ Lib. 4, Rev. Scot. page 97, et seq.

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fending themselves; but as their chiefs could not agree about the command, each thinking himself as well qualified as his neighbor, they sent to Ireland for a considerable body of troops, under the command of Fergus, son of Ferchard, an experienced general; and to interest him still more, he was declared king with unanimous consent. Being invested with this dignity, and to justify the high opinion entertained of him, Fergus collected his troops with all possible diligence, to march against the enemy. Both armies being come in view of each other, a rumor was spread in both camps among the Scots and Picts, which prevented them coming to an engagement. It was reported that the Britons were equally opposed to both; that they excited discord among them for the purpose of weakening and subsequently overthrowing them. The Scots and Picts being justly alarmed, hostilities ceased on both sides, and they began to treat of peace, that they might unite against their common enemy. The Britons being thus disappointed, resolved to take immediate revenge. They assembled all the troops that they were able, and invaded the territory of the Scots, spreading terror everywhere they marched; but they were soon checked by the Scots and Picts, who attacked them by surprise during the night, and made a dreadful carnage among them. The greater part of the British troops, with their king, Coilus, perished on this occasion, which prevented the Britons from disturbing the Scots and Picts, after this, in their possessions. After this victory, Fergus again received the homage of his subjects, who confirmed, by oath, the succession of the crown to his descendants. He then returned to Ireland, to allay some troubles which had arisen during his absence; but being desirous of going back to his new kingdom, he unfortunately perished, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, having been shipwrecked on a rock, called, from his name, Carrig-Fergus. The arrival of Fergus in Albania, is fixed in the time that Alexander the Great took Babylon; that is, about three hundred and thirty years before Jesus Christ."*

Such is the account which Buchanan, and nearly all of the historians of his country, give of the origin of the Scotch, and the foundation of their monarchy in Albania, by Fergus, son of Ferchard, which leaves no doubt concerning it; they almost agree on this point with the Milesians. The greatest difficulty respects the time, and the real or affected error of the Scotch concerning Fergus I.

They assert that their monarchy began under Fergus, son of Ferchard, three hundred years before Jesus Christ;* that it lasted under thirty-nine kings, till the year 360; that Eugene, who was at that time king, was killed in a battle by Maximus, a Roman general,† who, at the instigation of his allies, the Picts, pronounced sentence of banishment against all those who had escaped in the battle, and that in obedience to this edict, Etach, brother of the deceased king, with Erth, his son, and many others of the same nation, took refuge in Ireland, and some in Norway, and the neighboring islands.‡

John Major fixes this event in 353,§ Buchanan in 377, Hector Boetius in the second year of the reign of Julian the Apostate,‖ that is, in the year of Christ 362 or 363. After this dispersion, which, according to Fordon,¶ lasted about forty-three years, the Scots regained the patrimony of their ancestors in Albania, in 403, through the valor of Fergus II., son of Erth, and grandson of Etach, brother of Eugene, their last king.

The Milesians, on the other hand, take off a few centuries from this antiquity of the Scotch; they maintain that Fergus, son of Earcha, (who was, we are sure, the same as Fergus, second son of Erth, mentioned by Fordon,) who is only the fortieth in the catalogue of kings, according to Buchanan, was first king and founder of the Scotch monarchy, towards the end of the fifth, or be-

* "In the first place a story incessantly prevails, strengthened by numerous discoveries, that a number of Spaniards, whether driven from the country by their more powerful masters, or from a redundancy of population, went of their own accord, passed over to Ireland, and seized upon the adjoining parts of that island. To Fergusius, who was victorious, and to his posterity, the Scots, on his return, confirmed by an oath his title to that kingdom. After this, having brought matters in Scotia under subjection, he passed over to Ireland, to suppress by his influence, an insurrection, and this being accomplished, after sailing out of the harbor, for the purpose of returning, he was overtaken by a storm, and perished on a rock, which was thence called Fergusium; this happened in the 25th year of his reign. His arrival in Albania is placed in the same year that Alexander, of Macedonia, took Babylon, almost 330 years before the birth of Christ." —*Buchanan*, b. 4, p. 97.

* Walsh, Prosp. of Irel. sect. 6.
† Usser. prim. Eccles. c. 25, p, 592.
‡ Fordon. Scoti. Chronic. lib. 2, p. 45.
§ Buchan. Degest. Scot. lib. 2, c. 1.
‖ Rev. Scotie. lib. 5.
¶ Scot. Hist.

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ginning of the sixth century; that the thirty-nine kings who had preceded Fergus, son of Erth, in the government of Scotland, according to the catalogue of Buchanan, were indeed his ancestors in genealogical order, without having ever been kings of Scotland or elsewhere, with the exception of a few who reigned in Ireland. I could quote many Irish books in support of this statement; but the authority of Camden and Usher, two celebrated authors, who have thoroughly investigated this subject, is sufficient; the former, an Englishman, and incapable of resorting to a falsehood for the purpose of heightening the glory of the Irish nation; the latter, though born in Ireland, was of English origin, and being neither a Milesian nor a Scotchman, quite disinterested in the dispute.

Camden, after refuting these two miserable arguments, (it is thus he describes them,) one drawn from a panegyric, the other supported only by mere conjectures, which Buchanan, an excellent poet, advances in favor of the pretended antiquity of his country in opposition to Humphry Lhuid, a good antiquarian, says, that the name of Scotch is not discoverable in any author before the time of Constantine the Great.* He adds, that the accounts in which it is said the name and kingdom of the Scotch already made a figure in Britain, many centuries before Jesus Christ, are all fabulous.† "Let us then learn," continues he, "the time of their first settlement in Britain, A. D. 379, from Giraldus Cambrensis, who says, that in the reign of Niall the Great, king of the province of Ulster, the six sons of Muredus came to settle in the North of Britain, where they founded a nation under the name of Scotia. These people, who till then led a wandering life, according to Ammianus, 'cum antea per incerta vagantes,' settled in Britain, which happened, says Camden, at the time of the decline of the Roman empire under Honorius."

The number of authors quoted by Usher, in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of his treatise on the antiquities of the British churches, to prove that the name of Scots, and Hibernians or Irish, were synonymous till the eleventh century, and designated but one and the same people, leave no doubt as to the opinion of this learned man on the subject. Although those authors had frequent occasion of mentioning the Scots, respecting their exploits and enterprises against the Romans and Britons, they all describe them as a wandering people, having no settled residence in Britain. No mention is made, in any of their writings, of any people called Scots but those who came from Ireland. They knew no Scotch nation established in Albania before the Dalriads, or Dalreudini, as Bede calls them; which is evident from the distinction made by Gildas Britannicus, an author of the sixth century, (who had an opportunity of knowing his neighbors,) between the two enemies of the Britons. First, at the time of their attack on Britain, he calls them Scots and Picts; then, speaking of the retreat of these barbarians, he says that the daring robbers, the Irish, had returned home to Ireland with the intention of coming back in a short time, and that the Picts had remained in the northern part of Britain.* Usher observes three things in this passage of Gildas:† first, that the Picts had rested, for the first time, in the north of Britain; that is, they had for the first time ceased to ravage Britain; secondly, that the Scots were the inhabitants of Ireland, as observed, says he, by Polidore Virgil;‡ and thirdly, that the return of the Hibernians to Albania from Ireland, and their establishment in that country, were subsequent to the consulship of Ætius, and in the year 446.

It appears that Le Nain de Tillemont was not well acquainted with this history, whereas he, as well as Bollandus, insinuates that all the Scots had passed into the north of England, to establish the kingdom of Scotland, and that they were distinguished from the Hibernians, and raised above them, &c. It was, it seems, reserved for Tillemont to make observations not known to ancient or modern authors who have treated on this subject; those authors speak, not of the

* "He will never remove from writers the name of Scots, before the time of Constantine the Great, which because Lhuidus asserts, he rushes on the man, attacks him, and endeavors to stab him with two miserable arguments, the one a panegyric, the other a conjecture."—*Camden*, p. 61.

† "These are trifles which are written by the Scots, viz., that the name and kingdom of the Scots flourished in Britain many centuries before Christ."—*Camd.* p. 62

* "From two very cruel nations beyond seas—the Scots from the west, and Picts from the north—Britain suffers and sighs during many years. The daring robbers, the Irish, return home, intending to come back in a short time. The Picts then settled, for the first time, in the north of the island."—*Usher*, c. 15, pp. 593–609.

† Usser. Prim. Eccles. c. 15, p. 609.

‡ "This being known, the Scots, influenced either from a hope of booty or an eagerness for a revolution, flew from Ireland, as Gildas relates, with precipitancy against the island."—*Virgil*, b. 3, p. 122.

whole nation, but of some colonies of Scots, who had gone to Albania; they make use indiscriminately of the names Hibernians and Scots, to signify the same people.

A foreigner, writing of a people with whom he is unacquainted, is often liable to mistakes, and easily falls into error, when he follows his own ideas in preference to authority; aiming at being a critic, he has sometimes need of being set to rights himself.

The Scotch writers of our days artfully circulate their doubts about their origin, and affect to render it uncertain. They differ not only from the authority of all foreign writers on this subject, but even from that of their ancestors.*

Abercromby, who published in Edinburgh, in 1711, "The Military Exploits of the Scotch," says, that according to most antiquarians of his country—among others, Fordon, Boëtius, and Buchanan—the Scots, or Scotch, having derived their origin from Greece and Egypt, and having passed through Spain to Ireland, came from thence to Albania. But the conjectures of Sir W. Temple appear to flatter him still more.† He confidently decides, that the Scotch have their origin from the Scythians of Norway, from a pretended conformity of manners, and a similarity which he supposes to have discovered in their customs. This supposition, says Abercromby, is supported by many observations and arguments taken from ancient and modern authors, which make it a problem whether the Scots of Ireland derived their origin from those of Albania, or the latter from the former. However, the testimony of Orosius, Isidorus, Bede, Eginardus, Henry of Huntingdon, Cambrensis, Camden, Usher, and so many others, who assert that the first Scoto-Britons derived their origin from the Irish, ought to outweigh the surmises of a few individuals. Abercromby was so well aware of this difficulty, notwithstanding his inclining to the contrary opinion, he is forced to acknowledge that history and tradition are on one side, and mere conjecture on the other.‡

Our author complains of the antiquarians who reject the history of Fergus I., and the foundation of the Scotch monarchy in the time of Alexander the Great; and who, as well as Luddus, Camden, the bishop of St. Asaph, Usher, Stillingfleet, Du Chêne, le Père Labbé, Thomas Rose, and others, fix this event in the year of Jesus Christ, 503; but his spleen is more strongly excited against Kennedy, who maintains this opinion in his genealogical dissertation, in which he proves that the royal family of the Stuarts are descended from the Scots of Ireland. He gives a brief sketch of some principles, or rather some circumstances quoted by Kennedy, to support the authority of the ancient monuments or manuscripts of his country; but he displays his insincerity, by giving those principles in a mutilated sense, and quite different from what they are in the writings of Kennedy, in order to make them appear ridiculous, and thereby apply to them this verse from Horace:

"Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis amici."

"Sir George M'Kenzie has (says our author) already, in a great measure, proved from Irish manuscripts; and the Right Honorable the Earl of Cromarty promises (and what one of his lordship's high rank, and still more eminent qualities, is pleased to promise, will, no doubt, be performed) to show from records and writers of the same nation, that the Scots were settled in Albania long before the birth of our Saviour."*

But will a system established on such proofs be received? Mouldy and contemptible manuscripts,† (it is thus Abercromby describes those cited by Kennedy,) constitute the basis and proofs which M'Kenzie gives us of the antiquity of his country. Still the proofs are imperfect: and the promise of the earl of Cromarty should be considered as real and unanswerable proofs. Might we not rather apply here the words of Horace?—

"Risum teneatis amici."

In order to judge of the strength of M'Kenzie's testimony, we should examine the link of the tradition and history of the Scotch, according to Abercromby; "there were," he says, "both priests and druids in Britain:‡ they have probably written the history of their own times; and even if they did not, men lived then to so advanced an age, that twelve generations could perpetuate from father to son the tradition of eight

* "When I speak of the Scotch, either here, or in any subsequent part of this history, I do not pretend to attack that nation, rendered respectable by the many rare qualities with which they are endowed; and whose origin is common with that of the people of whom I write; I only complain of the injustice of some of their authors."—*Abbé M'G.*

† Pages 2, 3, and fol.

‡ Abercromby on the life of Fergus I., b. 1, c. 1, p. 28.

* Page 5.

† Aber. Life of Fergus II., lib. 1, c. 2, p 92

‡ Pages 5, 6.

hundred years; namely, from Fergus I., who lived three hundred years before Jesus Christ, till 503 of the Christian era; which, according to the opposite party, was the time the monarchy had been founded. Besides, until Fergus I., the antiquarians were accustomed to deliver the genealogy of kings at their coronation.

"The first monks succeeded the druids. The monastery of Hy, or Icolm-Kill, was founded in 560, and was the burial-place of the kings of Scotland till the reign of Malcolm-Can-More. The monks of this monastery, as well as those of Paislyscoon, Pluscardin, Abercorn, &c., always wrote and preserved the history of Scotland, and the lives and history of her kings. Verimond, a Spanish priest, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, composed, in 1076, his history of Scotland, which he copies from those of the druids and monks. Verimond was copied in the fourteenth century by Fordon, and Fordon by Boëtius, Lesley, Buchanan, &c." Such is the link and order of the Scotch history according to Abercromby. It appears that we have no proof but the authority of Verimond, for all that happened in that country before the eleventh century; it is the spring on which the whole of their history is supported, and the only means whereby M'Kenzie can fathom the antiquities of his country.

But besides that this history is not at present in being, and the existence of the author is doubted by many learned men—a circumstance well known to Abercromby, from his having appealed to Chambers of Ormond, and others, to support, by their testimony, that the author and his works have existed, how could a Spaniard read and understand the manuscripts of a language so difficult and little known, that the natives themselves could scarcely decipher it? How could a stranger be judged more capable of this undertaking than the inhabitants, who had the advantage of possessing the language in which those ancient monuments were written?

Abercromby discovering, as is seen, the insufficiency of the tradition of his country,* has recourse to Gildas, Nennius, and Bede. Gildas, who wrote in 540, "acknowledges," he says, "that he knew nothing concerning the Scots, except what he had borrowed from strangers." He thence infers, that if the Scots had not been established in Britain before the year 503, Gildas would have had some knowledge of them. It seems, however, that the inference would have been more just to say, that if the Scots had formed a nation, governed by kings for the space of eight centuries, till the time of Gildas, as asserted by the modern Scotch, that author would have known them, and not have been obliged, in order to acquire a knowledge of their history, to have recourse to the Scots of Ireland, or to the Romans, who are probably those strangers to whom he alludes. But it is not surprising that this inconsiderable kingdom, which was only beginning to emerge from obscurity in the time of Gildas, and the extent of which was confined to three or four small territories in the western part of Albania, had been unknown to Gildas, at a time when there was so little trade and intercourse between the different nations.

Abercromby derives but little advantage from Nennius in favor of his system. "This author," says he, "who lived in the beginning of the eighth century, had composed his history partly from that of the Scots. The Scots, therefore, had historians at that time." Who doubts it? Before he proclaims victory, he should remove all ambiguity, and prove, that in the ages which preceded the time of Nennius, his ancestors alone were called Scots, even exclusive of the inhabitants of Ireland, known by the ancients as the true Scots. He then says, that Nennius affirms that the nation of the Scots is as ancient in Britain as the supposed king Brutus. Such far-fetched proofs, however, avail but little, whereas, according to Baker,* this Brutus lived a thousand years before Julius Cæsar, that is, about seven hundred years before the period in which the Scotch fix the foundation of their monarchy by Fergus I.: it also appears that this passage in Nennius is obscure, as Usher thinks Brutus to have been the first Roman consul.†

After Gildas and Nennius, he calls the venerable Bede to his aid, and uses all his subtlety to serve his interest. He confounds the facts related by this respectable author, and inverts the chronology and order of his history. "Bede," says he, "reckons the Scots among the most ancient inhabitants of Britain:" he says, "that the Britons having at first possessed the southern parts of the island, the Picts afterwards settled in the northern, and that after the latter, the Scots, under Reuda, their chief, founded a third nation with the Britons and Picts." He then introduced the Romans as a fourth colony, notwithstanding that Britain was not known to them till the time of Julius Cæsar

* Page 7

* Chron. p. 1.
† Primord. cap. 15, p. 612.

"The Scots therefore were settled in Britain," says Abercromby, "before the invasion of the island by that conqueror."

But, with his permission, the order of events does not always follow the order of the chapters in which they are related; an historian is sometimes obliged, according to the matter he treats of in a chapter, to derange facts, and extend his narrative beyond what is contained in the chapter which follows. It is thus that Bede, speaking of the colonies which had settled in Britain, mentions the Scots after the Picts, and before the Romans, although Usher and others fix their establishment in the island in the beginning of the third century. He indeed introduces the Scots after the Picts, not immediately, as Abercromby insinuates, but long after, and in succession of time, "procedente autem tempore." His naming them immediately after the Britons and Picts, arises from his having considered them as a colony, which had, like them, made Britain their country, and whose posterity still existed in his time, and formed a body of people. It is not so with the Romans, whom he considers less as a colony than as conquerors. It was not customary with this people to settle colonies in conquered provinces, nor to dispossess the old proprietors, but were satisfied with their submission, and a tribute which they levied to defray the expenses of a prefect or legate, and of the troops which they maintained in them to keep the people in obedience, and defend them against the incursions of their enemies. Abercromby has an admirable turn for bringing facts together, when his interest is concerned; and applies to the second century what belongs to the fifth. "Severus," says he, still quoting Bede, "caused a wall to be built, to serve as a rampart against the unsubdued nations, namely, the Scots and Picts, two foreign nations, thus called, not that they were established out of Britain, but because they were separated, by two arms of the sea, from that part which was subject to the Romans."

It is true that Bede says all this, but at different times, and under different circumstances. He says, in the fifth chapter, that Severus, who lived in the second century, constructed, not a wall, as Abercromby affirms, but a ditch, with pallisades, to check the unsubdued nations,* which he does not name; but we may suppose that they were the Scots and Picts, the former of whom were a wandering people, having no settled residence in Britain,* or, perhaps, some cantons of the Britons, who, dissatisfied with the yoke of the Romans, sometimes revolted against them. But when Bede, after Gildas, speaks, in the twelfth chapter, of the transmarine or foreign nations, and adds the following reflection, which is not in Gildas, namely, that those nations were not so called on account of having been established out of Britain, but only because they were separated from it by two arms of the sea; he speaks only with respect to the situation of the affairs of the Britons with the Scots and Picts in the fifth century, when the Roman power began to decline in Britain, and in other parts, under Honorius, as he says in the preceding chapter: "Ex quo tempore Romani in Britanniâ regnare cessârunt." Then Bede's remark on the epithet, "transmarine," which Gildas gives to the Scots and Picts, is applicable to the former, who began, in the third century, to form settlements in Britain, without, however, constituting a kingdom or making a state distinct from that of Ireland. Gildas and Bede speak of those foreign nations when mentioning the dreadful ravages committed by those barbarians in Britain, in the beginning of the fifth century. They first call them Scots and Picts, and particularize the countries from which they came. They say, "the Picts came from the north, and the Scots from the west"—"Scotorum a circio," or, according to Fabius Ethelwerdus, "Scoti ab occidentali plagâ," that is, from the west; which can only refer to Ireland, and by no means to Scotland, which is immediately in the north of Britain, or, to speak more plainly, constitutes the northern part of the island. Those Scots who came from the west, are called by the same authors, at the time of their retreat, Irish, "revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum."

This account agrees with the comment affixed to the manuscript of Gildas, in the library of Cambridge, in which it is said that the passage in Gildas, "a duabus gentibus transmarinis,"† should be rather applied to the Scots, whose love of pillage made them come every year from Ireland to Britain, than to those already established by

* "Where after many severe battles, the part of the island which he had recovered, he thought should be distinguished from the other unconquered parts, not by a wall but by a rampart."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1, c. 5.

* "As it may appear, that these times were in the reign of Honorius Augustus: whereas then, according to Ammianus, they had no settled abode, that they had long harassed Britain and the parts designated by limits, but they appear to have settled in Britain."—*Camd.* p. 63.

† Petr. Lombard. Comment. cap. 15, pp. 27, 28

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Reuda, according to Bede, in Albania, "quia Scoti tunc temporis in Hiberniâ habitabant, et Picti in Scotiâ, id est, ab aquilone."*

It would still be repeating the same things were we to follow and repeat the proofs which Abercromby advances in favor of his system All that he can say on this subject has been as often refuted as proposed. His arguments are generally founded on sophisms and false principles. He always supposes that the ancients who spoke of Scotia, or the Scots, plainly indicated his country, though most of those authors express themselves differently on that head. He often contends with phantoms, by supposing that they dispute with him the existence of the Scots in Albania before the foundation of their monarchy in 503, though Bede, Cambrensis, Camden, and Usher, together with historians of Ireland, repeatedly mention that the Dalreudini, and many other colonies from the same country, had settled in Albania in the third and fourth centuries. It is also known that their adherents and vassals, allured either through their alliance with the Picts, or by the hopes of plunder, crossed the sea to attack the Britons in their own country, even before the time of the Romans, as appears by the panegyric delivered by Eumonius on the emperor Constantius,† in which he says, that when the Britons were conquered by Julius Cæsar, they were rude and ignorant in the art of war, having till that time contended only with the Picts and Irish. Hegesippus,‡ in his treatise on the destruction of Jerusalem, says that Joseph Ben-Gorion, wishing to divert the Jews from going to war with the Romans,§ the conquerors of the world, tells them that even Scotia trembles at the approach of their arms: "Tremit hos Scotia quæ terris nihil debet." But, says Abercromby, this passage cannot, as Camden asserts, relate to Ireland, which was never invaded by the Romans; as if a conqueror, who had already entered the neighboring country, was not to be feared: "When a neighbor's house is on fire, we become alarmed for our own safety." Besides, these words,‖ "quæ terris nihil debet," naturally indicate an island separated from the rest of the world.¶ The Scots of Ireland dreaded the fate of the Britons, Gauls, and so many other nations conquered by the Romans Their fear, according to Peter Lombard, was one of the motives which induced them to make war against the Britons and Romans, plundering the former, whom they regarded as enemies to the Picts, their allies; and forcing the latter to stop in Britain, in order to divert them from the idea of wishing to reduce Ireland into a Roman province, as they intended.* Accordingly, they ceased hostilities against the Britons, as soon as they had nothing to fear from the Romans; "Cessavit vastatio hostilis."†

The great reputation of Bede, Luddus, Camden, Usher, and others, whom Abercromby would have here to contend with, intimidate, and prevent him from undertaking to refute them. He attaches the blame solely to Kennedy, who is not, however more criminal than they are; invectives are the strongest arguments which he uses against him and his nation—arguments which generally supply the place of reasoning with ignorant and hasty men.‡ He reproaches them with the obscurity of their origin, of which, notwithstanding, they have no reason to be ashamed, says he, no more than their neighbors; their savage customs, until the reign of James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; the instability of their government; the multiplicity of their kings, always at war with each other; their want of commerce with foreign nations; their ill success against the superior forces of the Danes; their submission to the English; their idleness, and the poverty which is inseparable from it; in fine, the negligence in the cultivation of their lands, and in building with stone and cement. Such are the calumnies which Abercromby has published against the Irish nation, (not sparing even a number of ancient English families, who have constituted part of it for more than five centuries:) these aspersions deserve rather to be despised than refuted; he attacks a whole nation for the supposed error of an individual. Kennedy proves, by the most authentic monuments, that the Scotch are the descendants of colonies which went at different periods from Ireland to Albania; that their monarchy was not founded till the

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, p. 593.
† Page 258. ‡ Camb. Brit. edit. Lon. p. 89.
§ Usser. Prim. c. 16, p. 726.
‖ Petr. Lombard, c. 2, p. 19.
¶ "By the name Scotia, he obviously means Ireland, which he makes an island, neither joined nor connected with any other land, which Camden himself admits" *Usher*, c. 16, p. 726.

* "That they might restrain the Romans, and keep them from passing over to Ireland."—*Peter Lombard*, c. 2, p. 22.
"They had a hope, and if opportunity presented itself, to conquer it."—*Tacitus in his Life of Agricola.*
† Bede, lib. 1, cap. 14.
‡ Abercromby, vol. 1, c. 1, p. 14.

sixth century, as had already been affirmed by Bede, Camden, Usher, and others. He mentions that the Stuarts derive their origin from Ireland, by those same colonies; is there any thing in that dishonorable or extraordinary for the Scotch nation, of which this author otherwise speaks with respect? It appears that the assertions of Kennedy should not have drawn on his nation those bitter invectives with which Abercromby assails it, and which were only heightened by a foolish apology on his part. He says "that he is sorry to be obliged to expose a people whom he esteems on account of their acknowledged bravery, particularly in foreign countries, their inviolable attachment to justice, and so many other good qualities, which are too numerous to mention here." Would it not appear that he makes allusion, in this tirade, to the fidelity of the Irish to their legitimate princes and their religion, in which he does them more justice than he intended? In fine, since the union of the ancient and modern Irish, and their submission to the kings of England, until the accession of James I. to the throne, (a fatal period for them,) so far from betraying their lawful prince, they sacrificed all they possessed to preserve his crown. The loss of their property and liberty is a decided proof of their loyalty, and the number of those who retained the Catholic faith, after a persecution of two centuries, pleads strongly in favor of their attachment to religion. Abercromby appeals to the testimony of Ware for all he advances against the Irish;* and after flattering this author highly, he quarrels with him, and says he dishonored himself, to the great astonishment of the learned, (of Scotland apparently,) by affirming that the most celebrated writers, missionaries, and saints, that Scotland had produced from the fifth to the sixteenth century, were Irish, solely on account of their being called Scoti, or Scots. But why have all authors, even the ancients, who have treated upon this subject—except the Scots of latter times, whose evidence should not be admitted in their own cause—fallen into the same error as Ware, and deserved the same censure from Abercromby? It would seem that this author wished to anticipate the reproaches he deserves himself. Usher, having thoroughly investigated this matter,† declares hat all he has said was necessary to repress he insolent audacity of Thomas Dempster,‡ who, he says, was not ashamed to affirm, in his letter to Cardinal Barberini, (who was afterwards Pope, under the name of Urban VIII.,) that Ireland was never called Scotia "Hiberniam nunquam Scotiæ nomen habuisse asseverare non puduit;" though he himself acknowledges that, according to Isidorus and Bede, Ireland was the country of the Scots: and to deprive Scotia Major, that is, Ireland, of every character celebrated for learning and piety, mentioned by the authors under the name Scots, even those who had preceded the year 840, when the Scoto-Britains were confined to the narrow limits of Dalrieda, which constituted but a small part of Albania.* "When Dempster," continues Usher, "endeavored to deceive Philip Ferrarius, who was composing a supplement to the Roman martyrology, and to make him an accomplice in his plagiarism, by giving him a list of the saints of Scotland to enrich the martyrology, this learned Italian having discovered the fraud, added an advertisement to his work, in which he says that, having followed certain authors, he attributed some Irish saints to Scotland, because, according to the ancients, Ireland was formerly called Scotia, and the inhabitants Scots, and that he thought fit to apprize the public of it, on account of certain authors who have robbed that island of her saints." It is thus he speaks of Dempster and his partisans.†

But what can be the advantages which Abercromby derives from the history of Ware to authorize his calumnies? This learned man begins his history of Ireland with Laogare, son of Niall the Great, and monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the fifth century. He says that he does not mention the predecessors of this monarch, as almost all that has been said of them is

* Pages 12, 13, 14.

† Usser. Primord. c. 16, p. 737.

‡ "That the insolent audacity of Thomas Dempster might be repressed."

* "After this he transfers, in crowds, from our Scotia Major into Scotia Minor, and shoves and confines them also in an angle, all Scots whom he discovered celebrated by writers for their piety and learning, even those who flourished in the year 840. The Scoto-Britanni Dalriads were confined to very narrow limits."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 738.

† "Of this plagiarism, while Dempster was endeavoring to make Philippus Ferrarius an Italian a participator, the discovery of the Irish saints being made known to him; this learned man, having at length discovered the fraud, took care to prefix for his readers the following admonition:—'I have thought fit to apprize you, that copying after other writers, I have attributed to Scotland or England some Irish saints, which it was the more necessary to inform you, in order to be guarded against robbers:' such was the name he affixed to Dempster and his confederates, pointing them out as robbers of the saints."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 738.

fabulous, or, at least, mixed with fable. There were, then, from the acknowledgment of Ware himself, kings in Ireland before Laogare, and histories which make mention of them; and though they were intermixed with the fabulous, as he asserts, he would have dated his history much farther back than Laogare, if the undertaking had not been too difficult for a man, who, not knowing the language of the country, was unable to fathom its antiquities sufficiently. Besides, this mixture of truth and fable is a vice common to the ancient historians of every country Ware also says, that they considered it praiseworthy to seize on the property of strangers, as it tended to the public welfare; but he also adds, that they imitated therein the Gauls and Spartans. He says that their judges, called "Brehons," distributed justice and decided lawsuits in the open air, and on high mountains, and that bastards frequently succeeded to the property of the father with the legitimate children. It would be indulging in trifles to reproach a people with the ridiculous customs of their pagan ancestors, at a time when all nations were barbarous. Lastly, he says, they had no walled cities; that their houses were built of wood, and covered with thatch, or straw. Those people who always fought in the open field, needed no fortified cities, and would have considered it as cowardice to conceal themselves behind walls in order to defend themselves against the enemy. With respect to their houses, it is unfit to reproach them with a custom common to all other nations. Cambrensis speaks of the castle of Pembroke* to have been built in the time of Henry I., with branches of trees and green turf, by Arnulph de Montgomery. The Britons, says Cæsar, gave the appellation of "a city," to a wood surrounded with a ditch and a hedge.† There are still to be seen in France, (which surpasses every other nation in refinement and good taste,) whole towns built of wood, and covered with thatch and straw.

We easily discover the bad faith of Abercromby, who ascribes to Ware sentiments very foreign to him, concerning the succession to the monarchy, and the inauguration of the kings of Tyrone and Tirconnel, which he only relates historically, after Cambrensis, as an imposition strange and incredible, "mirum videatur, et vix credibile quod tradit Giraldus,"‡ and not an historical fact taken from the registries of the country, or from any respectable author; particularly as he suggests, in the twenty-third chapter that the Topography of Cambrensis should be read with caution, and expresses his surprise, that men in his time, otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed on the public, by giving for truth the fictions of Cambrensis.*

Abercromby draws inferences injurious to the authenticity of the histories of the ancient Irish, from those barbarous customs, so called from not being conformable to the customs of the present day. He thinks to annihilate thereby the authority of manuscripts, which are made use of to combat the assumed antiquity of his monarchy: he has not, however, gained his cause, having to contend with enemies, who being better known are the more formidable. Such are the authors whom I have already quoted, and whose authority is so respectable. I might here add very many remarks on the means which Abercromby makes use of in favor of his system. I do not pretend that this subject has been exhausted; but, as that is not the chief object in view, I leave the matter to others.

* Itim Cambriæ, lib. 1, cap. 12.
† De Bello Gall. lib. 5.
‡ Cap. 4, p. 17.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE DIFFERENT NAMES OF IRELAND

IRELAND was not unknown to the Phœnicians nor Greeks. Orpheus of Crotona, contemporary, according to Suidas, of Pisistratus the tyrant,† who died in the sixty-third olympiad, and of Cyrus the Great, about 543 years before Christ, in his poem on the Argonauts, and Aristotle, in his Book of the World to Alexander, mention it under the name of "Ierna," whence Usher says that the Roman people could produce no testimony so authentic for the antiquity of their name.‡

Juvenal, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus, call this island "Juverna;"§ Ptolemy, "Juernia;" and Diodorus Siculus, "Iris." It is called "Iren," in the life of Gildas Badonicus,‖ who went says the author, to Iren

* "I cannot but wonder, how men otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed upon the world for truths, the fictions of Gualdus" —*Ware's Antiquities*, c. 23.
† Ogyg. part 2, page 95
‡ "Of a similar antiquity, neither the Romans themselves could produce a testimony."—*Usher*, p. 724.
§ Peter Lombard, Comment. cap. 1
‖ Lib. 5, p. 309, cap. 6

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(Ireland) to consult the doctors in philosophy and theology ;* whence it arises, that we call the Milesians, or Irish, "Irenses," and 'Iri."†

Claudianus, Strabo, and Stephen of Byzantium, call it "Ierne."

Rufus-Festus Avienus, in his book entitled "Oræ Maritimæ," Maritime Coasts, which he composed after the most ancient Greek geographers, calls it the Sacred Island, "Insula Sacra ;"‡ so that this island, which was one day to become, and bear the name of "the island of saints," in the time of Christianity, was called in the times of paganism, by the heathen themselves, "the sacred island," which, perhaps, originated from its nurturing no venomous reptile.§

Plutarch, in his book "De facie in orbe lunæ," calls Ireland "Ogygia." The poets, says Rhodogonus, call every thing that is ancient "Ogygium," from Ogyges, an ancient king of Thebes.‖ Egypt was also called "Ogygia"¶ for the same reason, the Egyptians having been considered the most ancient people, and the inventors of most of the arts and sciences, from whom the Greeks themselves had borrowed them.

Cæsar, Pliny, Tacitus, Orosius, and generally all the Latins call it "Hibernia." The derivation of this name is unknown. Some assert that it is derived from the Iberians,** a people of Spain who inhabited this island, or from Iberus, a river in that country, or from Iberia, which was sometimes the name of it. Others say that the name of Hibernia is derived from Heber, one of the sons of Milesius, or from Heremon, his brother.

Lastly, this island was called by the English, within the last six or seven centuries, Ireland.†† The derivation of this word is manifest, as it is evident that the word Ireland has been composed of "Iris," or "Fearon Ire," signifying the land of Ire, and the English word "Land."

It is absurd to seek the derivation of proper names among foreigners.* Every one should know the name of his own land or patrimony, better than his neighbors.

Pliny informs us,† that we should seek the proper and natural name of a country, among the learned in the language of the country itself. The natural name of a country is that which is acknowledged and adopted by the inhabitants, and which has its root in their language, and not that which the caprice of strangers may give it. The following are the observations of the historians of the country on this subject :—

Keating,‡ copying after the ancient monuments of this nation, says, that at the time of the first colonies, Ireland was sometimes called "Inis Alga," signifying the noble island ;§ sometimes "Inisfail,"‖ that is, the island of Fail, from an enchanted stone called in them "Lia-Fail ;" and "Saxum Fatale," by Hector Boetius, which the Tuatha de Danains had brought thither.¶

This island was afterwards, and immediately before the arrival of the Milesians, called sometimes Eire, sometimes Fodla, and sometimes Banba, the names of three queens, sisters, that married three brothers who governed this island alternately ; but Eire was at all times, and still is, the most general name, and the inhabitants are yet called in their language "Eirinachs," signifying natives of Eire, in Latin "Erigena." It was in this acceptation of the word that John Scot, an author of the ninth century, was generally called "Scotus Erigena."

Camden agrees, that Erin (which is the same as Eire) is the real name of this island, he says, that the names Ierna, Juverna, Juernia, Iris, Hibernia, and Ireland, are derived from it. "Ab Erin ergo gentis vocabulo originatio pretenda."** But he is mistaken in his conjectures concerning the derivation of the word Erin, which he supposes to have discovered in the Irish word "Hiar," signifying the west, as Ireland is the most westerly country in Europe. The name of Erin was given to this island by the inhabitants themselves : if we derived it from "Hiar," it would be giving the island a name

* "He went to Ireland that he might find out the opinions of other doctors of philosophy and divine learning."—*Life of Gildas*, c. 6.

† Odericus vitalis, ann. 1098. Hist. Eccles. lib. 10. Elnothus Cantur vita Canuti, cap. 10.

‡ "From this the ancients have given it the name of Sacred Island; it possesses a deep soil amidst the waters. The Hibernians (Irish) are its most extended possessors; an island of the Albions lies near and open."—*Festus Avienus in Camden.*

§ "Which name, on account of its happy soil, has been given it; likewise because no venomous reptile lives in it."—*Ogyg.* part 1, pp. 21, 22.

‖ "The poets call that 'Ogygia,' which is signified to be most ancient."—*Rhodogonus*, b. 15, c. 33.

¶ Ogyg. part 1, p. 22.

** Peter Lombard, Comment. c. 1, p. 9.

†† Philip O'Sullevan, lib. 1, cap. 1.

* "It is vain to deduce the cause of its name from any other language."—*Camden.*

† Hist. Nat. lib. 1.

‡ Book of Emigrations.

§ Psalter of Cashel.

‖ Lecan and others.

¶ War, Antiq. Hib. c. 1

** Page 677.

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which implies, that it lies to the west of itself. Besides, O'Flaherty, a man learned and ably conversant in the language of the country, rejects this conjecture of Camden as an absurdity.*

This island was also called by the Milesians "Scotie, or Scuitte," in Latin Scotia,† and the inhabitants Kinneadh-Scuitte, or Clanna-Scoitte, from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, wife of Milesius, and mother of the Milesians; or, according to others, from the word Scythia or Scythe, (Scythians,) of whom this people were a colony.

Whatever be the derivation of this name, it is certain that the island was known to foreigners by the name of Scotia,‡ and the inhabitants by that of Scoti or Scots, from the third till the eleventh century.§ The number of authors quoted by Usher, to support the truth of this statement, forms a link which nothing can sever.‖

Porphyrius, the philosopher, whose words St. Jerome quotes, in his epistle to Ctesiphon, against Pelagius, a Briton, and Celestinus, a Scot, makes mention, in the third century, of Britain, a province fruitful in tyrants, and of the Scotic nations, which, he says, were unacquainted with Moses and the prophets. "Neque enim Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scoticæ gentes.....Moysen Prophetasque cognoverant." Usher here corrects Erasmus, who affirms, that in some copies he had read "Scythicæ gentes," instead of Scoticæ.

The Picts and Irish, called by Eumenius the Rhetorician, towards the end of the same century, in his eulogium on Constantius, the general enemies of the Britons, are designated by Ammian and Claudian, in the following century, by the names of Scots and Picts; which proves, according to Usher, that Ireland should be acknowledged as the country of the ancient Scots; in confirmation of which, he quotes the lines of Claudian, wherein this poet represents the Scots as the inhabitants of the country called Ierne.¶

We have the testimony of Paulus Orosius in the fifth century, who says, in his description of this island, that it was inhabited by the Scots; "â Scotorum gentibus colitur."** St. Prosper, speaking of the pastoral solicitude of Pope Celestine for the British isles,† in destroying the heresy of Pelagius in Britain, and causing the gospel to be preached among the Scots by Palladius,‡ distinguishes the island of Scots, by the appellation of barbarous, from Britain, which he calls the Roman Isle.§ The island of Scots, in the acceptation of the word by Prosper, can only refer, says Usher, to Scotia Major, that is Ireland, and by no means to Albania, which was not then called Scotia, and is not an island, as it forms a part of that of Great Britain.‖

In the sixth century we have the authority of Gildas, a British author, who, after saying that Britain had been trampled on by two barbarous nations, namely, the Scots, who came from the west, and the Picts, from the north, adds that the daring robbers (the Irish) had returned home, with the design of returning in a short time, and that the Picts had settled in the northern extremity of the island.¶ It is manifest that Gildas here mentions the Scots and Irish as the same people; which is the inference that Usher draws from it, adding that Cogitosus, in the life of St. Bridget, agrees with Gildas.**

In the seventh century, Isidorus Hispalensis says, that Scotia is the same as Ire-

* "As much as the east is distant from the west, so much does Ere, Hiar in the Irish language, which implies westerly, differ in its meaning."—*Ogyg.* p. 20, part 1.

† Philip O'Sullevan, Hist. Cathol. compend. cap. 2.

‡ Petr. Lombard, Comment cap. 1, p. 5.

§ Idem. cap. 2, p. 15.

‖ Usser. Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, p. 728; et Ogygia, part 3, cap. 72.

¶ "It proves that Hibernia was the country of the ancient Scots, as is confirmed by the following lines from Clodianus: 'The icy Ierne bewailed the heaps of the Scots; when Scotia and all Ierne were moved, and the sea foamed from the hostile car.' "—*Usher.*

* Hist. lib. 1, c. 2.

† Petr. Lomb. Comment. c. 2, p. 16.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 25, p. 213.

§ "Nor with less care has he rescued the British isles from the same distemper, when he secretly excluded some who occupied the soil of their birth, from that part of the ocean, and a bishop being ordained for the Scots, while he labors to keep the Roman isle Catholic, he made that which was Christian, barbarous."—*St. Prosper in Usher*, c 16, p. 797.

‖ "And Prosper distinguishing eloquently this island of the Scots from the Britons, must be necessarily understood to mean Scotia Major to be Ireland, and not the Minor Scotia, which is Albania, (which was not Scotland at that period, neither is it an island, but forms a part of Great Britain.")—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16, p. 798.

¶ "From two very cruel nations beyond seas—the Scots from the west, and Picts from the north—Britain suffers and sighs during many years. The daring robbers, the Irish, return home, intending to come back in a short time; the Picts then settled, for the first time, in the north of the island."—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 593–609.

** "Where he takes the *Scots* and *Irish* for one and the same people; this is also observed by Cogitosus, as well in his prologue as in his epilogue upon the life of St. Bridget."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 729.

land ; " Scotia eadem et Hibernia."* The abbot Jonas affirms, in the life of St. Columbanus, that the saint was born in the island of Ireland ; which island was inhabited by a nation of Scots ; that this nation, though not governed by the same laws as others, was remarkable for its fervor in Christianity, and surpassed all the neighboring countries in its faith.† We may add the authority of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, in his epistle to Ealfrid, and that of Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, in the Life of St. Columb. Those holy men always make use of the names of Irish and Scots, Ireland and Scotia, as synonymous.‡

The venerable Bede, who lived in the eighth century, and whose authority is so respectable, bears testimony to the truth of this statement ; to be convinced of which, it is only necessary to read, with attention, his Ecclesiastical History. According to the title of his first chapter, he proposes to treat of the situation and ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, " de situ Britanniæ, vel Hiberniæ, et priscis earum incolis ;" and in the same chapter introduces the Scots as the inhabitants of Ireland, without mentioning the name of Irish. We discover, in the sequel of his history, the distinction he makes between the Scots of Ireland and those of Albania. He frequently mentions the former, whom he simply calls Scots ; and designates their country by the names, Scotia and Ireland. He says that the Picts had discovered the nation of the Scots in Ireland,§ " inventâ ibi gente Scotorum," and that Ireland was their country, " hæc autem propria patria Scotorum est."‖ He distinctly characterizes them in the second chapter of his second book, when speaking of the pastoral solicitude of Lawrence, archbishop of Canterbury, for the churches of the Britons, English, and Scots, who inhabited Ireland, which he points out as an island bordering upon Britain ; ' necnon Scotorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniæ proximam incolunt :" he says that this prelate knowing that the Scots were in error concerning the observance of the Easter, had written a letter to them, exhorting them to preserve unity with the Church of Rome ; this letter was entitled " Dominis charissimis, fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam." It is remarkable that in the title, he uses the word Scotia to indicate the same country which he had shortly before named Hibernia. Bede says elsewere,* " that Pope Honorius sent letters to the Scots, who were in error concerning the celebration of Easter, as mentioned above, exhorting them not to think themselves more enlightened than every other church in the world, particularly as they formed but a small nation, situated at the extremity of the earth."

" Misit Papa Honorius litteras genti Scotorum, quas in observatione sancti paschæ errare compererat juxta quod supra docuimus." It is plain from these words of Bede, " juxta quod supra docuimus," and which are an incontestable proof of it, that the letters of Pope Honorius, and that of Lawrence of Canterbury, were intended for the same people, that is, for the Scots of Ireland, who were in error concerning the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. In speaking of Oswald, king of Northumberland,† he says, that " this prince, seeing himself in peaceful possession of his kingdom, and eager for the conversion of his subjects, sent to the Scots, (among whom he and his attendants had received the grace of baptism,) to request that they would send him a prelate capable of instructing his subjects. The Scots attended immediately to the pious request of Oswald, and sent over Aidan, a man remarkable for his mildness, piety, and zeal in the cause of God, but not better instructed than his countrymen in the celebration of the Easter, which, as I have often mentioned, (continues our author,) was from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. It was thus, says Bede, that the northern Scots and the whole nation of the Picts, celebrated the Easter ; but the Scots of the southern provinces of Ireland, he says, had already, by the admonition of the apostolic See, conformed to the canonical rite."‡ To-

* Origin. lib. 14, cap. 6.

† " Columbanus was born in Ireland, an island of the sea : this is inhabited by the Scots, a people though differing in their laws from every other nation, are strong and flourishing in the doctrine of Christ, agreeing herein with the neighboring nations."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 729.

‡ " From this cause, we discover in Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, in the epistle to Ealfrid, that the *Irish* and *Scots*, *Ireland* and *Scotia*, are synonymous terms, and in Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, who writes of St. Columb. He makes use of the words, *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, (Ireland,) signifying that they are one and the same."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 729.

§ Lib. 1, cap. 1.

‖ Grat. Luc. c. 14, pages 126 et 127

* Lib. 2, cap. 19.

† Idem. lib. 3, cap. 3.

‡ " In this way the northern Scots and the whole nation of the Picts celebrated the Easter at that time. Besides this; the Scots who inhabited the southern parts of Ireland, had listened to the admo-

wards the end of the same chapter, he mentions "that Aidan was a monk and bishop; that he came from the monastery of the island of Hy, and that this island had been given to the Scots by the Picts, in gratitude for their having preached the gospel among them."* In the beginning of the following chapter, he plainly indicates the country of the Scots, by saying, "that there came from Ireland a monk called Columbanus,† eminent for the austerity of his life; that he preached the gospel to the northern Picts, and that they granted him the island of Hy, where he built a monastery." The venerable Bede expresses himself otherwise about the country of St. Columbanus. In his chronological table, he says "that this great man came from Scotia to Britain to instruct the Picts."‡ We should then misinterpret the history of Bede, if we did not discover that, according to this author, the terms Scotia and Ireland, Scots and Irish, are synonymous, and signify the same nation and the same people; that St. Columbanus, the apostle of the Picts, and founder of the monastery of Hy, was a Scot from Ireland; that Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrians, and first bishop of Landisfarn, was from the same country, namely, from the province of the northern Scots, who were involved in the error of the Quartodecimans, among whom Oswald had received baptism; that this northern province which Bede distinguishes from the southern Scots, on account of their difference in opinion respecting their observance of the Easter,§ is the north of Ireland, comprising the neighboring islands, among others that of Hy: were it otherwise, there would be a want of precision in the account which he gives; besides, it is obvious, according to the plan and thread of his history, that he always mentions those Scots as inhabitants of Ireland, to whom Lawrence, archbishop of Canterbury, had addressed a pastoral letter respecting their observance of the Easter, "which I have often mentioned," says Bede. "Cujus sæpius mentionem fecimus." "The Picts (continues this author) labored under the same error as the Scots." Besides the proximity of those nations, separated by an arm of the sea but fifteen miles in breadth, and besides the commerce which had always existed between them, the Picts received from them the light of the gospel; so that it is not surprising that they inhaled the venom of the error with which their apostles had been infected. "There came from Ireland (continues Bede) a holy man named Fursy, (and resuming the narrative towards the end of the same chapter,) who, after preaching the word of God for many years in Scotia, quitted this island, of which he was a native."* Finally, Bede tells us that Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, had sent an army into Ireland, under the command of Berte, to destroy an unoffending people. In the same chapter, he again quotes this passage of history, where he again makes use of the word Scotia, instead of Hibernia, which he had used in the beginning.† With respect to the Scots of Albania, this author having ranked them with the Picts, as forming, long afterwards, a third colony in Britain, "procedente autem tempore,"‡ they are seldom mentioned by him; and he carefully distinguishes them from those of Ireland, by calling them sometimes Dalreudini, sometimes the Scots, who possessed, together with the Picts, the north of Britain, "*Pictorum quoque ac Scotorum* gentes quæ septentrionales Britanniæ fines tenent;"§ and frequently the Scots who inhabited Britain; "*Scoti qui Britanniâm* incolunt."‖ He also speaks of Edan, king of the Scots, who inhabited Britain, without alluding to a kingdom of Scotland in that island; "*Edan, rex Scotorum*, qui *Britanniam inhabitant*."¶ Although Bede

nition of the Holy See, and conformed to the canonical observance of the Easter."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3.

* "Aiden was monk and bishop, and was appointed to the island of Hy: as a present from those Picts who inhabit these tracts of Britain, Hy was given to the monks who had preached among them the faith of Christ."

† "There came from Ireland, in the year of our Lord 565, the holy monk Columbanus, about to preach the word of God to the northern Picts, from whom he received the island, and permission to found a monastery."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3, 4.

‡ "The presbyter, saint Columb, came from Scotia into Britain, to instruct the Picts, and in the island of Hy he founded a monastery."—*Epitome*, p. 244.

§ Peter Lombard, c. 15, p. 185.

* "A holy man named Fursius came from Ireland, and (to resume the narrative) he preached, for many years afterwards, the word of God in Scotia, and left the island of which he was a native."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 19.

† "In the year of the Redemption 684, Ecgfridus, king of the Northumbrians, sent an army to Ireland, under the command of Bertus. He devastated the country, and inflicted great miseries on a people, who were innocent and most friendly to the English. The preceding year, he would not listen to the most reverend Egbertus, lest he should not carry war into Scotia, a country which did him no injury."—*Bede*, b. 4, c. 26

‡ Lib. 1, cap. 1

§ Lib. 2, cap. 5.

‖ Lib. 5, c. 24. ¶ Lib. c. 34.

says Usher, carefully distinguishes the Scots of Ireland from those who, in his time, inhabited a part of Albania; he allows, however, but of one Scotia, which is Ireland.*

Alcuin, disciple of the venerable Bede, follows his example on this subject, in speaking of St. Willibrord, bishop of Utrecht, whose life he wrote; and in saying that this saint was a native of Britain, and studied divinity in Ireland, he uses indiscriminately the names Ireland and Scotia, which, according to him, says Usher, signified, in the time of Charlemagne, the same nation and the same people.†

Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, or, according to some, his son-in-law, in his annals on the year 812,‡ informs us that the naval forces of the Normans landed in Ireland, the island of the Scots, and having given them battle, in which they were defeated, that those barbarians who escaped shamefully took to flight, and returned to their country.§

This fact is supported by the authority of several writers of that century, mentioned by Usher: as the monk of Angouleme, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, and Ermenoldus, by whom the annals of Fulda were compiled, who says in a few words, that the Danish fleet having attacked Ireland, was defeated by the Scots.‖

Rabanus, archbishop of Mayence, says, in his martyrology on the eighth of the ides of July, "Ireland is the island of the Scots:" and in another place, "Scotia and Ireland signify the same country."¶

Walafrid, in his preface to the life of St. Gal, says he was a native of Ireland, "de Hibernia insula;"** and again, that he was of the nation of the Scots, "de gente Scotorum."††

Ninius, a British author, affirms that the Scots came from Spain to Ireland; "Novissimè venerunt Scoti à partibus Hispaniæ ad Hiberniam."

Rathrannus, a monk of Corbie, assures us, in his fourth book against the Greeks, that the Scots, inhabitants of Ireland, were accustomed, in their monasteries and other religious houses, to fast till sunset, (the usual time of their repast,) except on Sundays and holydays.‡‡

In the tenth century, Hucbald, a monk of the Abbey of St. Amand,§§ and the abbot Adso, in his poem on St. Mansuy, (in Latin Mansuetus,) to Girald, bishop of Toul, use indiscriminately the names Scotia and Hibernia, to signify the same country.

Fabius Ethelwerdus,‖‖ and the Anglo-Saxon annals, mention three Scots from Ireland, "tres Scotos de Hiberniâ," who came in the year 891 to Alfred, king of England; their names were Dufslanus, Macbothus, and the third Magilmumenus who was well versed in the arts and sciences, and a celebrated doctor among the Scots: "Artibus frondens, litterâ doctus, Magister insignis Scotorum."

We discover in the life of Charlemagne written in the same century by Notker le Begue, a monk of St. Gal, that two Scots from Ireland, deeply conversant in sacred and profane learning, came to France, with some British merchants.¶¶

The same author, in his martyrology on the sixteenth of the calends of April, fixes in Scotia the birth of Saint Patrick, a bishop and native of Brittany, who preached the gospel to the Scots in the island of Ireland:*** on the fifth of the ides of June in Scotia, the decease of St. Columb, surnamed Columb Kill, on account of having been founder and

* "Though Bede distinguishes with care the Scots who inhabit Hibernia, (Ireland,) and the Scots who inhabit Britain, still Scotia is to him (as we have shown) always one and the same."—*Usher's C. Hist.* b. 4, c. 23.

† "A man powerful in virtue, full of divine love, eloquent, vigilant, and ardent in acting, came to thee, O happy France, in the days of Pepin; fruitful Britain was his mother, and the learned Hibernia nurtured him in sacred study; he was named Wilbrordus. As I have already pronounced, fertile Britain was his mother, and the country of the Scots his illustrious instructor. He obviously shows, that Hibernia and Scotia were one and the same in the time of Charles the Great."—*Usher Syllog.*

‡ Pres. Hain. Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, p. 43.

§ "A Norman fleet having attacked Hibernia, the country of the Scots, a battle was fought between the Normans and Scots, they were shamefully put to flight, and returned with a part only of their force."—*Annals of Eginardus, on the year* 812.

‖ "A fleet of Danes are overcome by the Scots in battle."—*Fulden's Annals.*

¶ "Hibernia, the island of the Scots, is the same as Scotia."—b. 12.

* Lib. 1, cap. 2. † Lib. 2, cap. 46.

‡ "The nation of the Scots who inhabit the island of Ireland, have a custom in all the monasteries and religious houses, to fast every day, except on Sundays and holydays, and to take food only at noon, or in the evening."—*Rathrannus Corbeieus,* b. 4, *against the Greeks.*

§ In vitâ Lebuini.

‖ Ethelwerd. Chron. lib. 4, cap. 3.

¶ "It happened that two Scots came from Hibernia with British merchants, to the shores of Gaul, who were most learned in sacred as well as in profane writings."

** St. Patrick, bishop, died in Ireland, where he first preached the gospel of our Lord to the Scots: he was of the nation of Brittany."—*Notker le Begue in Usher*

rector of several churches and monasteries:* and on the eighth of the ides of July, the passion of St. Kilian, first bishop of Wirtzburgh, and of his two disciples, Colonat a priest, and Totnan a deacon, who came from Ireland, the island of the Scots, and after receiving their mission from the holy see, preached the gospel in the same place, and the adjacent country.† An ancient author of the life of St. Kilian, quoted by Usher,‡ says that Scotia, which is also called Ireland, is an island in the ocean, the soil of which is very fertile; but that it is still more celebrated by the illustrious saints to whom it gave birth; among that number are St. Columbanus, who gave lustre to Italy, St. Gal, to Germany, and St. Kilian, to Teutonic France.§

The unanimous opinion of so many respectable authors, during seven or eight centuries, should be an incontrovertible proof of the truth of what I assert. It appears that the Abbé de Fleury had thoroughly investigated this matter, as in his Ecclesiastical History, when speaking of Scotia, and the Scots or Scotch, he always takes care to add, "that is, Hibernia and Hibernians," and sometimes Ireland and Irish. Had the author of the abridgment of the history of France, by question and answer, published in Paris some years ago, informed himself more accurately on the subject, he would have been more explicit respecting the name of the country to which Dagobert, son of Sigebert III., king of Austrasia, was sent by Grimoald, mayor of the palace; he would not have simply said that it was to Scotland; he would have added, like the Abbé Fleury, "that is, to Ireland."

* "In the island Hibernia, or Scotia, the decease of Saint Columb took place: he was surnamed Columb-Kill, on account of the number of cells, monasteries, and churches, which he had founded."—*Notker le Begue, in Usher*, c. 15, p. 687.

† "The martyrdom of Saint Kilianus, the first bishop of Wurtzburgh, and of his two disciples, Colonatus a presbyter, and Totnatus a dean, who coming from Hibernia, the island of the Scots, having received their authority from the apostolical see, preached the name of Christ in that place and the surrounding country."—*Notker le Begue, in Usher*, c. 16, p. 732.

‡ Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, 733.

§ "Scotia, called also Hibernia, is an island in the ocean, very fruitful in its soil, but still more renowned for the sanctity of its people; from among them, St. Columbanus gave lustre to Italy, St. Gal to Germany, and Kilianus to Teutonic France."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 733.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF IRELAND

Ireland was at all times divided according to the views and interests of those who possessed it. Partholan divided it into four parts, in favor of his four sons; Nennius, for the same reason, divided it into three, and the Firbolgs into five. The children of Milesius, on their accession to the government of this island, made a new division of it: Heber, with the descendants of Ith, had this southern part, called Munster; Leinster and Connaught fell to Heremon; and the northern part, called Ulster, to the children of Ir. Ugane the Great, who lived three centuries before the Christian era, divided this island into twenty-five parts in favor of his children.* But the most celebrated division of the island, which was confirmed by Eocha IX. before the time of Jesus Christ, and which still partially exists, was that of the four parts or provinces, and the separation which was shortly afterwards made of a certain portion from each province, by Tuathal Teachmar, to form the king's domain,† called in their language Fearon-Buoird-Riogh-Erinn, which signifies, "domain of the king's table," at present the counties of East and West Meath.‡ Those parts answering to our provinces§ were called, in their language, Coigeadh, which implies a fifth. It would appear that the king's domain formed the fifth part of this division, or that one of the other four was, at some time, subdivided into two, as Munster was divided into Eastern and Western Ireland, and was long after divided into two parts, by Conn, monarch of the island, and Mogha, king of Munster. The line of separation, called Eisker Riada, extended from Dublin in the east to Galway in the west. The northern part, which fell under the dominion of Conn, was called "Leath Coinn, or the half of Coinn," and the southern, "Leath Mogha."

The venerable Bede alludes probably to this division, when he mentions the northern and southern Scots.‖

Besides those general divisions which were made either by the wisdom of legislators or by force of arms, Ireland was anciently divided by the Milesians into territories, that is, into principalities and dynasties, as it has been since by the English into counties and

* Ogygia, page 18.

† Peter Lombard, Comment. de Hib. cap. 3, page 41. ‡ Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 68.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 46. ‖ Ogyg. part 1, p. 24

baronies. The chiefs of those territories, and the families who possessed them, were chosen from the tribe. The dynasties formed about thirty burghs or villages, comprising nearly the same extent of land as the baronies among the Anglo-Saxons, and the principalities were the same as our counties. Their chiefs were elective, and chosen by their own tribes, for life only; they were subordinate to the chief of the province, as the latter was to the monarch. Those chiefs who naturally convey to us the idea of the titles of duke, earl, and baron, were called Taoiseachs,* that is, lords: Thane among the Anglo-Saxons, signifies the same thing, namely, the chief of the tribe.

The ancient names of those territories had a strong analogy and connection with the names and origin of their possessors, who were sometimes called kings through courtesy, according to the extent of their possessions, and the number of their vassals: men never took the names of their lands; on the contrary, they generally gave to their patrimonies names that indicated the proprietors, which are still preserved among the people, notwithstanding the efforts of the English to obliterate them by giving foreign names to the lands and lordships which they usurped.

To understand more clearly the analogy between the names of the dynasties and the names and origin of the proprietors, we should observe that the words *Dal*, *Hy* or *Ibh*, *Sioll*, *Clan*, *Kinall*, *Mac*, *Muinter*, and others, are adjectives frequently used in the Milesian or Irish language, and which, in their primitive signification, denote the chiefs of families, and sometimes the different branches; but taken in a wider sense, they are applied to their territorial possessions.

The word *Dal*, according to Bede, means part of a thing,† and may be used to signify a portion of territory, or the branch of a family; but in its most natural signification, *Dal* means tribe or race, as Dal Riada, or tribe of Riada;‡ *Hy* or *Ibh*, signifies "of;" and *Sioll*, *Clan*, *Kinall*, *Mac*, *Muinter*, &c., the race or descendants of any one.§

The ancient territories of Ireland,‖ according to Keating, Gratianus Lucius, O'Flaherty,¶ and others, after the ancient monuments of the country, among others the very ancient poem of O'Douvegan, are arranged in alphabetical order, in the different provinces, at the end of this chapter, with the names and origin of the ancient proprietors, as far as they are known.

There are some territories, the names alone of which have been preserved, while those of the proprietors are unknown; and others, the names and proprietors of which are known, but their situation and extent cannot be ascertained, owing to the boundaries and ancient names having been confounded and changed by those strangers who have usurped them. We shall, however, subjoin them, in the form of a supplement, to those territories which are better known in each province, and distinguish them by an index.

The province of Ulster remained, from the settlement of the Milesians in Ireland, in possession of the descendants of Ir, known by the name of Clanna-Rorys, or Rudricians.* This province underwent many revolutions, the reign of the Rudricians was disturbed for the first time,† in the beginning of the third century, by the policy of the monarch Conare II.,‡ who, dreading the power of those people, placed Ogaman, a prince of the tribe of the Dalfiatachs, of the race of Heremon, on the throne; but they received the severest blow from Colla-Huais and his brothers, princes of the race of Heremon, in the fourth century, who destroyed the palace of Eamhain,§ put an end to the sway of the Clanna-Rorys, and founded the small kingdom of Orgiell, which comprised the counties of Louth, Ardmach, and Monaghan.‖

The tribe of the Magennises, chiefs of the Clanna-Rorys, though excluded from the

* Ogyg. part 1, pp. 24, 27, et 57.
† Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1, part 1.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 63.
§ Id. part 3, cap. 76.
‖ Cambrens. Evers. cap. 3.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, passim.

* From the Clanna-Rorys, are descended the MacGenises, the MacCartans, the O'Mordhans, (in English, O'More,) O'Conners-Kerry, O'Loghlins, O'Ferralls, MacGranuills, or MacRanells, Mac-an-Bhairds, (in English, Ward,) O'Lawlors, Magillagans, Scanlans, Brosnaghans, O'Cathils, O'Conways, Casies, Tiernys, Nestors, O'MarCachains, O'Tyns, O'Hargans, O'Flahertys, Dorcys, O'Huallachains, MacSheanloichs, O'Morains, O'Rodachains, (in English, Rody,) O'Duains, O'Mainings, MacGilmers, O'Kennys, O'Kenellys, O'Keithernys, MacEochaids, O'Carrollans, the Mac-an-Gaivnions, (in English, Smith,) and others.
† Ogyg. part 2, p. 146.
‡ Id. part 3, cap. 63.
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 75, 76.
‖ The race of those brothers were numerous, and formed many noble tribes, such as the Mac Donnels of Ireland and Scotland, the MacMahons, Maguires, O'Hanluans, Magees, O'Floinns-Tuirtre, O'Ceallaigs, or O'Kelly, O'Madaighins, or O'Maddin, O'Niallains, MacEagains, Neachtains, or Nortons, Shiehys, Dowels, Kerins, and the Nenys, &c

crown of Ulster, made at all times a considerable figure in the province, and possessed the principality of Dalaradie, so called from Fiacha-Araidhe, one of the chiefs of that tribe, and king of the province in the third century: it is now the county of Down.

Eogan and Conall Gulban, sons of Niall the Great, and brothers of Laogare the Monarch, took possession of Tir-Eogan, (Tyrone,) and Tyrconnel, so called after them in the beginning of the fifth century.*

Though the kingdom of Orgiell was confined to narrow limits, being surrounded by those principalities, which were so many sovereignties, it existed for a considerable time in this state.† Eocha, son of Muredach, son of Forga, son of Dallan, of the tribe of the Dalfiatachs, ruled over it in the time of St. Patrick; but his impiety and opposition to the gospel having drawn on him the malediction of that apostle, the sceptre was transferred to Carell, his brother, and his descendants, to the number of thirty-five.‡

Leinster was possessed by a branch of the Heremonians. This race had formed two branches by Cobthach, surnamed Caolbreagh, and Laogare Lorck, his brother, both sons of Ugane-More, who lived about three hundred years before Christ. Most of the monarchs who followed, derived their origin from Cobthach: the descendants of Laogare reigned in Leinster.

Cathoir, otherwise Cahire-More, of the race of Laogare, from being king of Leinster, became monarch of the whole island in the second century, and left a numerous posterity;§ the king who reigned in Leinster, of his race, in the time of St. Patrick, was Criomthan, son of Enna-Kinsealach.

Oilioll-Olum, of the race of Heber, first absolute king of the two Munsters after the expulsion of the Earnochs, in the beginning of the third century enacted a law rendering the succession to the crown of the province alternate between the descendants of his two sons, Eogan and Cormac-Cas, called after those two chiefs, the Eoganachts, and the Dalcaiss. In the time of St. Patrick, the sceptre was held by the descendants of Eogan. Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, of this race, governed the province, while Carthan Fionn, son of Bloid, of the race of Cormac-Cas, was prince of Thuomond, and chief of the Dalcaiss.*

In the beginning of the fourth century,

* The descendants of Eogan were the illustrious tribe of the O'Neils, divided into three principal families; namely, that of Dungannan, that is Tyrone, which was the first, Clanneboy, and Fews. The collateral branches are the Maglachluins, O'Cathains, (O'Kean,) MacSuibnes, (MacSwiny,) O'Gormleaghads, (Gormly,) O'Heodhasas, O'Connallains, O'Craoibhes, (Creagh,) O'Madagains, (Mullineux,) O'Mulvihils, O'Horins, O'Donallys, O'Cathmhaoils, (Caulfield,) MacGiollkellys, O'Hegertys, and the O'Dubhdiarmas. Conal Gulban gave birth to the illustrious tribe of the O'Donnels, O'Dohartys, O'Galaghers, O'Boyles, and the O'Dalys, or Siol-Ndala.

† Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 63, not. 92 et 93. in eund. lib.

‡ It appears from this historical fact, taken from Colgan, that the O'Carrols, kings of Orgiel, descendants of Carrell, of the race of Dalfiatachs, should not be confounded with the O'Carrolls of Elie, who derived their origin from Heber, by Oilioll-Olum, and his son Kiann.

§ This monarch had thirty sons, twenty of whom died without issue: the two most distinguished were Rossa-Failge and Fiacha-Baiceada.

From the first are descended the noble families of the O'Connors-Faly, the O'Dempsies, O'Dunns, O'Branains, O'Riagans, MacColgaine, Clan-Carbrys, O'Maolchiarains, O'Bearras, O'Hartaigs, O'Floinus.

From Fiacha-Baiceada, the youngest, are descended the royal family, and the other considerable tribes of this province, as the MacMoroughs, (Cavanaghs,) O'Morochus, (Murphy,) O'Broins, O'Tuathails, (in English O'Byrnes and O'Tools,) O'Dowlings, O'Moel-Ryans, O'Kinscalaghs, O'Mulduins, O'Cormacs, O'Duffys.

From Dair-Barrach, another son of Cahire-More, are descended the O'Gormains, O'Moonys, Muillins or O'Maolans; and from Cuchorp, are descended the O'Feadhails of Fortuath. The noble tribes of the Duibhidirs, or O'Dwyers, with the O'Donogains and the Macgiolla-Phadruigs, (in English Fitzpatrick,) formed two collateral branches of his race, some generations beyond Cahire-More. The former derive their origin from Conchorb, ancestor of the monarch, and the latter with the O'Braonains, from Broasal-Breac, one of his ancestors in the twelfth degree.

* The descendants of Eogan, after the illustrious tribe of the MacCartys, chiefs of this race, are the O'Sullevans, MacAulifs, O'Callaghains, O'Keefs, O'Mahonys, O'Mariartys, O'Donoghoes, O'Donovans, O'Conaills, O'Dalys, O'Cuilleans, O'Hehirs, O'Meighans, Devorens, O'Treasaighs, O'Garvans, MacFinnins.—*Ogyg.* part 3, cap. 81.

From Cormac-Cas descended the illustrious tribe of the O'Briens, chiefs of this family, O'Kenedies, MacMahons, MacCoghlains, O'Finallans, O'Regans, MacCraiths, O'Hogans, O'Shannaghains, O'Meadhras, Artureighs, (Arthur,) O'Henraghtys, O'Hicidhes, (Hickys,) Loinsighes, (Lonsy,) Seasnains, (Sexon,) Huainins, Cormucains, Ryadys, Slatrys, MacNemaras, Hurlys, O'Mullownys, O'Kearnys, O'Hiffernans, O'Henegains, O'Neaghtains, Conrays, (King,) O'Deas, O'Brodys, Gradys, Clanchys, O'Cuins, Keilliochairs, O'Beolains, O'Spealains, O'Hanraghains, O'Siodhachains, (Sihan,) Maceineirys, Congalaighs, O'Tuama, (Twomy,) Murronys, Healys, and the Hartagans.—*Idem.* cap. 82, Grat. Luc. cap. 3.

From Kiann, third son of Oilioll-Olum, are descended the O'Carrols of Ely, O'Connors, Kianachtas, O'Meaghairs, O'Haras, O'Garas, O'Flanagans, Dulchontas, Colcrans, O'Casies.

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Connaught was wrested from the Firdomnians, a branch of the Firbolgs, who had possessed it until then with the good will of the Milesians. Muiradach-Tireach, son of Fiacha-Straivetine, was first king of Connaught, of the race of Heremon; which remained in the possession of his posterity for many ages.* Eocha-Moy-Veagon, his son, succeeded him; who, having become monarch, left the province to his sons, namely, Brian, Fergus, and Oilioll. The two first were the ancestors of the Hy-Brunes, and Hy-Fiachras, whose posterity reigned in this province till the twelfth century.†

Lastly, from the beginning of the fifth century,‡ Meath remained in the possession of the southern Hy-Nialls,§ that is, the descendants of Laogare, Conall-Crimthine, Fiach, and Maine, son of the monarch Niall the Great, of the race of Heremon.‖

Such was the general state of the provinces of Ireland, and its inhabitants, in the first ages of Christianity. We shall now examine the particular distribution of the island into dynasties, and the families to whom they belonged.

IN ULSTER.

Arachty-Cahan, a territory comprising nearly the whole of the county of Derry, the patrimony of the O'Cahans, of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Niall-Noygiollach and Eogan his son.* Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Magnus, brother of O'Cahan, possessed that part of the country now called the barony of Coleraine, situated on both sides of the river Bann, at that time called Douhy Clanna-Magnus. His eldest son, named Henry, gave to his posterity the name of Mac-Henry. His second son settled on the river Buash, in Route, in the county of Antrim, and his descendants always preserved the name of O'Cahan; they were called Clann Magnus na Buasha, to distinguish them from the Clann Magnus na Banna, who, though the eldest branch, bear the name of Mac-Henry. O'Cahan was dispossessed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Mac-Henry in 1641, by Cromwell.

Ardes, an ancient territory, now a barony in the county of Down, forming part of lower Clanneboy, is a peninsula, eighteen miles in length. This territory belonged to a branch of the O'Neills.

Boylagh, a territory, now a half-barony, in the county of Donegal, the patrimony of the O'Buidhills, otherwise O'Boyle, a collateral branch of the O'Donnels.

Breifne, Briefnia, or Brenny, formerly comprised the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.† Aod-Finn, of the race of the Hy-Brunes, was prince of this country about the year 572; his race was called Sliocht Aodha-Finn. This country was divided into two territories, namely, eastern and western Briefne, in favor of the two principal branches of this race, the O'Rourkes and the O'Raghallaighs, (Reilly.) Eastern Briefne, also called Muntir-Maol-Morda, at present the county of Cavan, was the patrimony of the O'Reillys.

Clan-Bressail, a territory to the south of Lough Neagh, in the barony of O'Neland, in the county of Ardmach; it formerly belonged to the Mac-Canns, of the race of the Dalfiatachs.

Clanneboy, or Clan-Hugue-Boy, a territory which takes its name from the descendants of Hugue Boy O'Neill, and was divided into two parts, one northern, and the other southern, belonged formerly to the different branches of the O'Neills, of the race of Heremon.

Southern Clanneboy comprised part of the territory of Ardes, with the land which

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 73.

† The O'Connors Don derive their origin from the illustrious tribe of the Hy-Brunes, of which they were chiefs; the collateral branches are the O'Connors-Roe, O'Connors-Sligo, O'Rourks, O'Raghallaighs, (O'Reilly,) MacDermots, MacDonaghs, O'Flahertys, O'Malys, O'Floinns, (Flynn,) O'Flanegans, O'Hanly, MacMaghnus, O'Fallons, MacKiernans, MacBradys, O'Donallans, O'Gairbfhias, (O'Garvy,) O'Brins, O'Malons, MacBreuans, Maollallas, or Lally, O'Creans, Maol-Breanoins, Maol-Mocheirges, O'Faithaigs, (Fahy,) O'Camhins, O'Domhleins, O'Breislins, MacAodhs, O'Cosnamhas, MacSamhragains, MacOirioghtaig-Tumaltaghs, O'Gealbhuidhes, Cruadlaoch, (O'Crowly,) O'Concheanains, O'Fionnagains, O'Hallurains, O'Muirghcasas, O'Mahadys, O'Currains.

The descendants of the tribe of the Hy-Fiachras, are the O'Dowds, O'Sheagnassys, O'Heyns, Killkellys, Kearaighs, O'Cleirighs, O'Braonains, Chomaltains, Chedaighs, (Cead,) Cathmhoghas, (Caffuoighs,) Chreachains, Leanains.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.

§ Ogyg. part 3, c. 85, Trias Thau. not. 1, in lib. 2, Vit. 4. S. Brig. p. 564.

‖ The O'Conlivans, or Kindellan, O'Maoleachluins, owe their origin to Laogare, and Conall-Crimthine; Fiacha gave birth to the Maolmhuadhs, (Mulloy,) Mac-Eochagains, (Mac-Geoghegan,) Mac-Cullins, and the Huiginns. The descendants of Maine are the O'Sionachs, (Fox,) O'Hagains, O'Ronains, Magawlys, O'Braoins, O'Dalys, O'Quins, Mac-Conmeies, Slambains, Mulcornys, Ciobliochains, Shiels, Cathalains, Murrys, and the O'Deignans.—Ogyg. part 3, c. 85.

* Phill. O'Sull. Compend. Hist. Cathol. tom. 3, lib. 1, page 115.

† Act. Sanct. Hiber. vit. S. Berach ad. 15 Februar. note 20, et seq.

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extends from the bay of Dundrum, to the bay of Carrick-Fergus, in the county of Down, that is, the baronies of Castlereagh and Kinalearty.

Northern Clanneboy is a territory in the county of Antrim, bounded on the east and south by the bay of Carrickfergus, and the river Lagan; on the west by the territory of Kilultagh, and on the north by the countries called Route and Glinnes, now the baronies of Kilconway and Glanarm.

Conal-Muirthemne, an ancient territory, comprising nearly the whole county of Louth.* This territory was also called Hy-Conal, and Machaire-Conal, from Conal-Kearnach, to whose posterity it belonged.

Dalaraidie, an extensive territory which comprised part of the county Antrim on the south and southeast, and most of the county of Down: this territory, which was sometimes called Ulidia, was divided into several smaller ones.

Dalrieda, otherwise Reuta and Route, a large territory of thirty miles extent, in the county of Antrim, from the river Bush to the cross of Glenfrinaght. This territory was so called from the demi-tribe of the Dalriads, which had been established there in the fourth century by Fergus Ulidian, descended in the fifth degree from Cairbre-Rieda; the other demi-tribe, mentioned by Bede under the name of Dalreudini, had already settled in Albania. To this territory has since been given the name of the country of Mac-Surley-Boy, that is, of the Mac-Donnels, of the race of Heremon, by Colla-Huais, to whom it belonged.

Dufferin, at present a barony in the county of Down, forming a part of the country of the Mac-Cartans, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys.

Fanid, a territory, now the barony of Kil-Macrenan, in the county of Donegal,† the patrimony of the Mac-Sweenys, a collateral branch of the O'Donnels. The territories of Tueth and Banach in the same county, were possessed by other branches of the Mac-Sweenys.

Fermanagh,‡ an ancient territory, now a county, the patrimony of the Maguires of the race of Heremon, by Colla da Crioch.§

Fews, at present a barony in the county of Ardmach, the patrimony of a branch of the O'Neills.

Hy-Macarthen, a territory on the borders of Lough Foyle, in the county of Derry, so called from Carthen, great-grandson of Colla Huais, to whom it belonged, and whose descendants were the Mac-Carthens, the O'Colgans, and the O'Conaills.

Hy-Meith-Tire, a territory in the county of Ardmach,* at present the barony of Orior, the country of the O'Hanluans, (O'Hanlon,) of the race of Heremon, by Colla da Chrioch.

Northern Hy-Niellia, so called from the descendants of four of the sons of Niall-Noygiollach, monarch of Ireland, to whom it belonged, comprised part of the counties of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other territories.

Hy-Turtre,† a territory on the borders of the counties of Antrim and Down, east of lake Neagh, the patrimony of the O'Floinns and O'Donnellans, of the race of Heremon, by Colla Huais, and his grandson Fiacha Tort.

Hy-Veach, or Iveach, a territory of ancient Dalaradie, in the county of Down, now forming part of the baronies of upper and lower Iveach, with some other territories in the same county, the domain of the Magennises, of the race of the Clanna Rorys, by Conall-Kearnach, and his son Irial or Vriel.‡

Inis-Eoguin, a territory, at present the barony of Ennis-Owen, that is, the isle of Owen, (being a peninsula formed by the ocean on one side, and Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly on the other,) in the county of Donegal, the patrimony of the O'Doghertys, a younger branch of the O'Donnels.§

Kinel-Conail, otherwise Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal, the domain of the O'Donnells, of the race of Heremon, and of the monarch Niall, by his son, Conall-Gulban. This territory was divided into several dynasties, inhabited by the different branches of this name.

Kinel-Eoguin, a territory of northern Hy-Niellia, comprising the county of Tyrone, the domain of the O'Neills, of the race of Heremon, and of the monarch Niall-Noygiollach, and Eogan, his son; this territory was divided into several dynasties belonging to the different families of this name, of whom Dungannon was the chief, and in case of his dying without issue, one was chosen from Clan-Hughboy, or the Fews.

Maghinis, or Moy-Inis, a territory in the county of Down, now the barony of Lecale; which formerly belonged to the Magennises.

Mugdorne, now the barony of Mourne, a territory in the county of Down, bounded on

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 47.
† O'Sull. Comment. tom. 3, lib 1, page 115.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 76
§ Keat. Geneal.

* Ogyg. part 1, c. 66; Keat. Geneal.
† Ogyg. part 3, c. 76.
‡ O'Sull. Comment. tom. 3, lib. 1, page 115.
§ O'Sull. ibid.

the south by the bay of Carlingford, and belonging to the descendants of Colla-Maine.

Oilean-Magee, a peninsula in the county of Antrim, north of Carrickfergus bay, the patrimony of the Magees, of the race of Heremon, by one of the Collas.

Orgiel, Oriel, or Uriel, was an extensive territory, comprising the counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Ardmach, sometimes governed by feudal kings.* Monaghan, called in the language of the country, Uriel, belonged to the Mac-Mahons, who were divided into several branches, descendants of Heremon, by Colla-da-Chrioch.

Ulidia, see Dalaradie.

Uriel, see Orgiel.

☞ Calrie, a territory in eastern Breiñy,† the patrimony of the O'Carbhaills, of the race of the Hy-Brunes, from whom are descended the Mac-Bradys.

Clancarne, in the county of Orgiel, the patrimony of the O'Heagnys.

Clanfogartaid, a territory in Orgiel, the patrimony of the Mac-Cartans, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys.

Cualgne, a territory in the county of Louth.

Donamaine, a territory in the county of Monaghan, the patrimony of the O'Nenys, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch.

Glinnes, a territory between the bay of Oldfleet and Route, adjoining the barony of Glanarm.

Hy-Bruin, a territory in the county of Tyrone, commonly called Muinter Birne. There are other territories of this name, the situation and extent of which are unknown, though mentioned in history, as Hy-Bruin-Ay, Hy-Bruin-Brefne, and Hy-Bruin-Scola.

Hy-Cormaic, a small territory in the county of Derry, on the borders of Lough Foyle, enclosed by the territory of Hy-Macarthen.

Hy-Conall, or Conall-Muirthemne, in Louth.‡

Hy-Fiachria, a territory between the counties of Tyrone and Derry,§ on the river Derg, which comprised the ancient bishopric of Ardsratha, afterwards united to that of Derry.

Hy-Meith-Mhara, a maritime territory in the county of Louth, near Carlingford.

Hy-Niellain, a territory near Ardmach, the patrimony of the O'Niellans, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch.

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 76.
† Grat. Luc. c. 3.
‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 66.
§ Ibid. cap. 76.

Hy-Semnia, a territory in ancient Dalaradie.

Kenelmoigne, the patrimony of the O'Gormlaids.

Kiennachta-Glenngemhin, a territory in the county of Derry, whence O'Connor Kiennachta had taken his name.

Kilwarlin, a small territory in the county of Down, forming part of the ancient territory of Iveach, now the barony of lower Iveach.

Kilulta, a small territory in the county of Antrim, on the borders of lake Neagh, extending southward into the county of Down.

Magh-Murthemne or Machaire-Conaill, the same as Conal-Murthemne.

Muintir Birne, see Hy-Bruin.

Oirther, a territory in the county of Ardmach, the same as Hy-Meith-Tire.

Route Reuta,* see Dalrieda.

Sioll-Eoghuin, see Inis-Eoghuin.

Tirconnel, see Kinel-Conaill.

Tirmaccarthuin, a territory in the county of Tirconnel, the patrimony of the O'Maologains.

Tirmbrassail and Tirtiole, in the same country, the patrimony of the O'Donnagains.

Tuaithratha, a territory in Orgiel, the patrimony of the O'Flanagans.

Ulidia or Ullad, see Dalaradie.

Uriel, see Orgiel.

IN LEINSTER.

Annaly, at present the county of Longford, anciently called Conmacne, the country of the O'Ferrals, of the race of Ir, by Feargus Roigh, and Maude, queen of Connaught.

Clan-Malugra, otherwise Clenmalire, lying on both sides of the river Barrow, in the King and Queen's county, and including the baronies of Geashill and Portnehinch. This territory was in the possession of different branches of the O'Dempsies, of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Cahire-More and his son Rossa-Failge.

Coille-Culluin, a territory on the frontiers of the counties of Wicklow and Kildare, the patrimony of the O'Culluins, of the race of Cahire-More, by his son, Fiacha Baicheada. This noble tribe possessed another large tract of land in the vicinity of Dublin, on which part of this city has been built.

Crioch-Culan,† a territory in the county of Wicklow, including part of the baronies of Arklow and Newcastle, possessed by the

* Ogyg. p. 3, cap. 59, 46.
† Ogyg. part 3, c. 59.

O'Kellys, descendants of Maine Mal, brother of Cahire-More.

Ely O'Carrol, formerly a territory in the province of Munster, at present in the King's county, including the baronies of Clonlish, Ballybrit, and probably that of Eglish, the domain of the O'Carrols of the race of Heber, by Oilioll-Olum,* and his son Kian. This territory was called Ely, from Eile Riogh-Dearg, one of the ancestors of this tribe who lived in the fourth century.†

Fothart, a territory on the banks of the river Slaney,‡ in the county of Wexford, the patrimony of the O'Nuallans, descendants of Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, brother of the monarch Conn Keadcaha. The barony of Forth, situated in this canton, still preserves some vestige of that name.

Hy-Failge,§ or Offaly, otherwise Douhy-Faily, that is, the patrimony of Failge, an extensive territory, including part of the King and Queen's county and that of Kildare, bounded on the west and south by Kinalyach, Fearcall, Hy-Regan, and Clenmalire, on the north and east by part of the county of Meath, the barony of Carbury, and the great bog of Allen, and comprised part of the county Kildare, towards the river Liffey. This territory belonged to a tribe of the O'Connors-Faly, of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Rossa Failge, from the second till the last century, and was divided into several fiefs ; part of it still remains in the county of Kildare, erected into a barony under the name of O'Phaly.

Hy-Kinseallagh, a territory comprising a considerable part of the county of Wexford, from the Barrow to the river Slaney, and from thence towards the east. This territory formerly belonged to the O'Kinseallaghs, the Murchedas, (O'Murphy,) and the O'Dowlings, of the royal race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Hy-Mairche,‖ or O'Mairche, a territory in the Queen's county, at present the barony of Slieve-Margie, on the river Barrow, bounding the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Kildare, the patrimony of the Mac-Gormans, of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Dair-Barrach.

Hy-Regan, or O'Regan, a territory in the Queen's county, now the barony of Tinehinch, the patrimony of the O'Duinns¶ of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Cahire-More, and his son Rossa Failge, but belonging anciently to the O'Regans.

Idrone, a territory, at present a barony in the county of Carlow, on the river Barrow, the patrimony of the Mac-Murroughs or Cavanaghs, of the race of Heremon, by Cahire-More and Dirmuid Na-Nagall, king of Leinster, by whom the English were introduced into Ireland in the twelfth century

Imayle,* a territory in the county of Wicklow, the ancient possessors of which were the O"Tuathails, (O"Toole,) of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Idough, at present the barony of Fassa-Dining, in the county of Kilkenny, the ancient patrimony of the O'Brennans, a branch of the Fitzpatricks, of the race of Heremon.

Lagisia, Lesia, or Leix, an extensive territory in the Queen's county, including the baronies of Maryborough, otherwise Porteloise, Cullinagh, and other tracts of land which formerly belonged to the O'Mordhas, (in English, Moor,) of the race of Ir, by Rory the Great, Connal-Kearnach, and his son Laoiseach-Kean-More.

O'Moerough, a maritime territory in the county of Wexford, in the barony of Beblaghkeen, commonly called the Murrowes forming part of Hy-Kinseallagh, the ancien patrimony of the O'Murchudas, otherwise O'Murphys.

Osraigh, or Ossory,† an extensive territory in the Queen's county, now a barony, belonged to the Mac-Giolla-Phadruigs. or Fitzpatricks, descendants of Heremon,‡ by the monarch Ugane-More, Breasal-Breac, and Ængus Ossory, the first of that race who settled in this territory in the first century.§

Ranilough, also called Colconnel, or the country of Fiagh-Mac-Hughs,‖ a territory in the western part of the county of Wicklow belonging to different branches of the O'Birnes of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Feargualuin, the patrimony of the O'Coscraidhs.

Fingall, a country in the county of Dublin, in the possession of a colony of Danes before the twelfth century.

IN MUNSTER.

Aradh-Cliach, a territory north-east of Limerick, probably the half-barony of Arra

* Keat. Geneal. of O'Carrol.
† Ogyg. part 3, c. 68, et 87
‡ Idem. c. 59.
§ Idem. c. 59.
‖ Grat. Luc. c. 3, et c. 26, page 242.
¶ Ogyg. part 3, c. 59.

* Walsh, page 287.
† Keat. on the reign of Cahire-More.
‡ Idem. Geneal. of the Mac-Murroughs.
§ Ogyg. part 3, c. 27
‖ A. M. 3700.

in the county of Tipperary, belonged to a branch of the O'Briens, of the tribe of the Dal-Caiss.

Beare, a territory in the western part of the county of Cork, now forms part of the baronies of Beare and Bantry, the domain of O'Sullivan-Beare, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan-More.

Carbury, a territory in the southern part of the county of Cork, now the baronies of east and west Carbury, the patrimony of the Macartys-Riaghs, divided into several branches, and descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan-More; the O'Donavans, a branch of the Mac-Cartys, had extensive possessions in the neighborhood of Ross.

Coillnemanagh, now the barony of Killnemanna,* in the county of Tipperary, the domain of the O'Dwyers, of the race of Heremon, by Ugane-More and Breasal-Breac.

Corco Baskin, a territory in the county of Clare, now the barony of Moyarta,† the patrimony of the Mac-Cartys, a branch of the Dal-Caiss.

Corcumruaidhe, now the baronies of Corcumroe and Surrin,‡ in the county of Clare; its ancient proprietors were the O'Connors and O'Loghlins, of the race of Ir, by Fergus-Roigh, and Maude queen of Connaught.

Desie, or Nan-Desie, now a barony in the county of Waterford, the ancient patrimony of the O'Faolans, otherwise Phelans, of the race of Heremon. Some ancient authors describe this country as being more extensive, and divide it into Desie-Tuasgirt, that is, northern Deasie, including all those plains which extend from the river Suire and Clonmel, by Cashel, towards Thurles, and Desie-Discerat, or Southern-Desie, extending from the river Suir, on the south, as far as the sea, and comprising the entire county of Waterford.

Douhallow, a territory, at present a barony in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Keefs, a branch of the Mac-Cartys.

Dunkeron, now a barony in the county of Kerry, the domain of the O'Sullivans-More of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan-More.§

Hy-Fogarta, a territory, now the barony of Eliogurty, in the county of Tipperary, the patrimony of the O'Fogarthys, or O'Fogartaidh, a branch of the tribe of the Eoganachts.‖

Hy-Kierin, or Ikerin, a territory, now a barony in the county of Tipperary, bounded on the west by Upper Ormond, on the south by the barony of Eliogurty, and north and east by the King and Queen's county, belonged to the O'Meaghairs, of the race of Heber, by Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum.

Ivreagh, a territory, now a barony in the county of Kerry, the domain of the Mac-Cartys-More, chief of the Eoganachts.

Kierrigia-Luachra, or Ciaruidh, a territory, comprising a great part of the county of Kerry, the patrimony of the O'Connors-Kerry, descended from Ir, by the monarch Rory the Great, and his grandson Feargua Roigh, and Maude, queen of Connaught.

Kinel Meaky, now a barony in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Mahonys, a branch of the Mac-Cartys.

Muscraighe, an extensive territory in the county of Cork, now the baronies of Muskerry, Barrymore, and other dynasties, which belonged for more than two thousand years to different families of the Mac-Cartys,* the descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan: this territory comprised several smaller ones, as Muscrighe-Breoguin, Muscrighe-Mitine, &c.

Muscraighe-Thire, a territory in the county of Tipperary, now the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, the ancient patrimony of the O'Kennedys, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Cormac-Cas.

Oneagh, a territory, now the barony of Owny, in the county of Tipperary, the patrimony of the O'Moel-Ryans, of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Poble-Hy-Brien, a territory, now a barony in the county of Limerick, belonging to different branches of the O'Briens.

Thuomond, or Towoin-Hy-Brien, which comprised a large portion of the counties of Limerick and Clare, the patrimony of the O'Briens, chiefs of the Dal-Caiss.

☞ Aghadeo, a territory in the county of Kerry, near Lake Lene, the ancient patrimony of the O'Connels.

Balli-Mac-Eligod, and other lands in the barony of Truchanacmy, in the county of Kerry, the patrimony of the ancient family of the Mac-Eligods.

Cloinifernain, a territory of Thuomond, the patrimony of the O'Cuinns, of the race of the Dal-Caiss.

Corca-Eathrach, a territory in the county of Tipperary which includes the city of Cashil.

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 51.
† Ogyg. part 3, c. 46.
‡ Grat. Luc. c. 3.
§ Hist. Cath. Hiber. Compend. tome 3, lib. 1, c 2
‖ Grat. Luc. page 28.

* Ogyg. part 3, p. 68.
Keat. Geneal. et Ogyg. c. 46.
A. M. 3950, B. C. 50.

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Corcaoichaidh, the patrimony of the O'Scanlans, of the race of the Eoganachts.

Eoganacht, a territory in the county of Tipperary, between Cashil and Thurles. It was so called from Eogan, eldest son of Oilioll-Olum, to whose descendants it belonged. There were six other territories of this name in Ireland, but their situation is unknown.

Fera-Muigh-Fene, a territory in the county of Cork, now the barony of Fermoy.

Glinn, and other territories in the environs of Lake Lene, the ancient patrimony of the O'Donoghoes, of the tribe of Eoganachts.

Hy-Conall-Gaura, also called Fearmore, a territory in the county of Limerick, in the barony of Conniloe.

Hy-Finginte, a territory comprising part of the baronies of Connilloe in the county of Limerick, and Iraghticonnor and Clan-Morris in the county of Kerry.

Hy-Liathain, a maritime territory in the southern part of the county of Waterford, in the barony of Desie

Imocuille, a territory, at present the barony of Imo-Killy, in the county of Cork.

Muighaghair, a territory in Thuomond, the patrimony of the Mac-Con-Maras, or Macnemara, of the race of the Dal-Caiss. Keating calls them the Macnemaras of Ross-Ruadh, and Sioll-Æda.

Muscri-Mithaine, a territory which belonged to the O'Donnogains, the O'Culenains, and the O'Floinns.

O'Flaithry, the patrimony of the O'Cathails or Cahill.

O'Gearny, the patrimony of the O'Kearnaidhs, otherwise O'Kearny, of the race of Dal-Cæiss.

Onachach, or Poble-Hy-Callaghan, in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Keallachains, or Callaghan, a branch of the tribe of the Eoganachts.

Ormond; see Muscraighe-Thire.

Oweney-Hoiffernan, a territory in the county of Limerick, the patrimony of the Hiffernans, of the tribe of the Dal-Caiss.*

IN CONNAUGHT.

Aidhne, a territory in the southern part of the county of Galway, now the barony of Killtartan, the patrimony of the O'Seaghnassys, of the race of the Hy-Fiachras, by Dathy, monarch of the island in the beginning of the fifth century.

Breifne, Brifnia, or western Brenny, at present the county of Leitrim, was the patrimony of the O'Rourkes, a branch of the Hy-Brunes. This territory, like that of the O'Reillys, is known in ancient histories by the names of Brenny-O'Rourke, and Brenny-O'Reilly; part of Annally, the country of the O'Ferrals, was also called Brenny.

Calruidhe, or Calrigia. There were several districts of this name in Connaught, the precise situation of which is not known as, Calrigia-Luirc, Calrigia-Anchala, Calrigia-Inse-Nisc. There was also Calrigia on the borders of Lough-Gill, forming a part of the barony of Carbury, in the county of Sligo, and Calrigia-Muighe-Murisk, in the barony of Tyrawly, in the county of Mayo.

Clan-Fergail, an ancient territory on the borders of Lough-Corrib, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, in which the town of Galway is situated: this district belonged to the O'Hallorans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Cloin-Moelruan, also called Slive-Hy-Flion, a territory in the barony of Dunemore, in the county of Galway, extending into the county of Roscommon, the patrimony of the O'Flyns, a branch of the tribe of the Hy-Brunes.

Conmacne, otherwise Muinter-Eolas, in the county of Leitrim, a territory belonging to the Magranuills, or Ranalds, who were descendants of Ir, by Feargus-Roigh.* There are many other districts of this name in Connaught, as Conmacne of Kinel-Dubhain, or Conmacne of Dun-Mor, at present the barony of Donamore, in the county of Galway: the principal town is Tuam, which is an archbishopric.

Conmacne-Mhara, in the county of Galway, now the barony of Ballinahinch: and Conmacne-Cuiltola, the barony of Kilmain, in the county of Mayo.

Coolavin, at present a barony in the county of Sligo, forming part of ancient Coranne, which has been since the fourth century the patrimony of the O'Garas, of the race of Heber, by Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster.†

Coranne, a territory, now a barony in the county of Sligo, the patrimony of the Mac-Donoghs, of the race of the Hy-Brunes ‡

Corcachlann, a territory in the northern part of the county of Roscommon, an an-

* Grat. Luc. c 3

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 43.
† Ibid. cap. 95.
‡ Keat. Geneal. of O'Connor Roe. Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.

cient patrimony of the O'Hanlys and O'Broenans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.*

Dartry, or Dartrigia, a territory in the barony of Carbury, near Lough-Gill in the county of Sligo, formerly the patrimony of the Maglanchys, of the race of Ith.†

Deabna-Feadha, now the barony of Moycullin, in the country called Tir-Da-Loch, from its being situated between two lakes, namely, Lough-Corrib on the north, and Lough-Lurghan, or the bay of Galway, on the south. This territory belonged anciently to the posterity of Gnomer and Gnobeg, of the tribe of Dal-Caiss, from whom are descended the Mac-Conrys; and since the ninth century to the O'Flahertys, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Hy-Maine,‡ or Mainech, a territory in the county of Galway, and patrimony of the O'Kellys, otherwise O'Ceallaighs, of the race of Heremon, by Colla-De-Crioch. This territory was so called after Maine-More, from whom the O'Kellys are descended, and who was the first of that tribe who settled there towards the end of the fifth century; his descendants extended their conquests beyond the river Suck, in the county of Roscommon, and were divided into several branches, the chief of which was O'Kelly of Aughrim, who lost his possessions.

Hy-Malia, Umalie,§ a territory southeast of the county of Mayo; it included the barony of Morisk and part of Carragh, the patrimony of the O'Maileys, a branch of the tribe of the Hy-Brunes.

Hy-Onach, a district in the county of Roscommon, comprising Elphin; it anciently belonged to the eldest branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Luigne, a district in the county of Sligo, at present the barony of Leny, forming part of ancient Coranne, and patrimony of the O'Haras, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Kiann.‖

Moy-Lurg, a territory in the county of Roscommon, on the right bank of the river Shannon, at present the barony of Boyle, and patrimony of the Mac-Diarmuids, or Macdermots, a branch of the Hy-Brunes, who were subdivided into several branches.

Moy-Noy, or Maghery-Connoght, called "Planities Connachtiæ," by O'Sullivan,¶ an extensive territory including the baronies of Roscommon and Ballintobber, under the dominion of the O'Connors-Don, chiefs of the Hy-Brunes and Clan-Murrays, of the race of Heremon, by Eocha-Moy-Veagon, and his son Brian.

O'Fiochrache, a territory in western Breifny, the patrimony of the O'Dubhas, otherwise O'Dowd, of the race of Hy-Fiachras.*

Partry-Kiara, or Partry-on-Loch, sometimes called Couilleagh, a territory in the county of Galway, at present the barony of Kilmain, the patrimony of the Mac-Allins, by corruption Mac-Nally, of the race of Ith, by Lugha-Mac-Conn, monarch of Ireland in the third century, and his son Faha-Canan, chief of the Mac-Allins and Mac-Cambels of Argyle in Scotland, of whom they are a branch.

Siolanamchad, or Silanchie, a territory in the county of Galway, at present the barony of Longford, on the banks of the Shannon, and patrimony of the O'Madagains, or Maddins, of the race of Heremon by Colla-da-Crioch.

Siol-Murray, a territory in the environs of Sligoe; it includes a considerable part of the barony of Carbury, formerly called Crioch-Carbury, the patrimony of O'Connor-Sligoe, a younger branch of the O'Connors-Don, divided in the person of Brien-Laighneach, son of Tourlough-More, and brother of Cahal-Crob-Dearg.

Tir-Amalgaid, an ancient territory now the barony of Tirawly, in the county of Mayo, and patrimony of the O'Haras, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Kiann.

☞ Cloincathail,† a territory on the frontiers of Roscommon and Sligoe, near Elphin, and patrimony of the O'Flanaghans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Cloinfearumoigh, a territory in western Breifny, the patrimony of the Maccagadons, or Mac-Eogans, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch; another branch of his name had possessions in northern Clan-Diarmada.

Cloinmbrassail, a territory, and patrimony of the O'Donnelans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Cloinuadach, a territory and patrimony of the O'Fallumhoins, or O'Fallons, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Coranne, an extensive territory in the county of Mayo, including Galang, at present the barony of Galang in the same

* Ogyg. part 3, cap 79.
† Ibid. cap. 76.
‡ Ibid. cap. 76.
§ Ibid. 79.
‖ Idem. cap. 69.
¶ Hist. Hibern. Compend. tom. 3, lib. 1, c. 1.

* Grat. Luc c. 3
† Ibidem

county, with the baronies of Lugne, Leny, and Coranne, in the county of Sligoe.

Deabhna-Nuadhat, a territory in the county of Roscommon, between the rivers Shannon and Suck, forming the baronies of Athlone and Moycarme.

Dunamon, a territory in the barony of Ballymoe, in the county of Galway, extending towards Glinsk, the patrimony of the O'Finaghtys of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Gregagie, a territory in the county of Sligoe, on the border of lake Techet, otherwise Lough-Gara, comprising the barony of Coolavin.

Hybh-Sen, or Hy-Orbsen, a territory in the county of Galway, on the borders of Lough-Corrib, or Lough-Orbsen, extending into the baronies of Moy-Cullen and Clare.

Hy-Bruin-Ratha, a territory in the county of Galway, in the barony of Athenry.

Hy-Bruin-Sinna, a territory in the county of Roscommon, formerly called Tirmbruin.

Hy-Fiachria-Aidhne, a territory in the county of Mayo, on the river Moy, near Killala, now the barony of Erris, belonged formerly to a tribe of the Firbolgs, and since divided into dynasties, which were in the possession of other families.

Irrosdomhnon, a territory in the county of Mayo.

Ivediarmada, the patrimony of the O'Conchanains, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Kierrigie-Ai, a territory in the county of Roscommon, afterwards called Clan-Ketheren.

Kierrige of Lough-Nairn, a territory in the county of Mayo, now the barony of Costelo, the country of the Mac-Costelos; this territory is sometimes called the barony of Belahaunes.

Kinel-Cairbre, a territory in the county of Sligoe, now the barony of Carbury, extending towards Lough-Gill.

Moenmoye, an ancient and extensive territory in the county of Galway, since called Clanricard, including the six baronies of Clare, Dunkellin, Loughrea, Killartan, Athenry and Leitrim.

Muinter-Eolas; see Conmacne.

Partry, a territory in the county of Mayo, now the barony of Carra, belonged to the Shoyaghs, (Joice,) and other families.

Teallachindumhe, a territory in western Brefny, and patrimony of the Mactieghernains, or Mac-Kiernans, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Tir-da-Loch, a territory situated between two lakes in the county of Galway, now the barony of Moy-Cullin. See Dealbna-Feadha.

Tirm-Bruin; see Hy-Bruin-Sinna.

IN MEATH.

Clan-Colman, a principality in Meath, on the left bank of the river Boyne,* extending as far as Taylton; it belonged to the O'Moelsachluins, or O'Maoleachluins, of the race of Conal-Creamthine, son of Niall the Great. The eldest sons of this illustrious tribe were styled kings of Meath, and frequently succeeded to the monarchy.

Crioch-Leogaire, or Hy-Lêogar,† an extensive territory on the banks of the river Boyne, which extended from Belatruim (Trim) to Tara, and belonged to the descendants of Laogare, monarch of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, the chiefs of whom were the O'Caoindealvains, or Kindellans.

Cuircne,‡ or Machair-Cuirckny, a territory in Westmeath, now the barony of Kilkenny-West, and patrimony of the O"Tolargs.

Dealbna, or Delvin,§ (so called from Dealbhaodh, of the race of Heber, and tribe of the Dalcaiss, whose posterity inhabited these parts of the country,) a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the ancient patrimony of the O'Finellans, who were dispossessed under Henry II., in the twelfth century.

Dealbna-Eathra, an extensive territory, now in the King's county, extending from Banaghir as far as the frontiers of Westmeath, the patrimony of the Mac-Coghlans, of the tribe of the Calcaiss, who were subdivided into several branches.

Fearcall, a territory, formerly in Meath, at present in the King's county, including the baronies of Bally-Cowan and Bally-boy, and belonged since the fifteenth century to the O'Mollovs, of the race of Heremon, by Nioll-Noygiallach, and his son Fiacha, who were subdivided into many other branches.

Fertullagh, a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the ancient patrimony of the O'Dubhlaidhs, or O'Dowlys, of the race of Heremon.‖

Hy-Machvais, Hy-Macvais, a territory on the river Inny, in Westmeath, now the barony of Moy-Goish, the ancient patrimony

* Keat. Geneal. Grat. Luc c. 3.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.
‡ Idem. cap. 81.
§ Idem. cap. 81.
‖ Grat. Luc. page 25.

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of the Mac-Vais, or Mac-Voys, of the race of Collavais.*

Kinel-Enda, or Kineal-Aodha, a territory in Westmeath, in the barony of Rathcourath, at the foot of the hill of Usneach, or Usny, and patrimony of the O'Broenans, of the race of Enna, son of Niall-Noygiallach.†

Kinel-Fiacha, by corruption Kinalyagagh, signifying the children or race of Fiacha, an extensive territory in Westmeath,‡ which includes, besides the barony of Moycashel, part of those of Raconrath, Mulingar, and Fertullach. This territory was divided into several fiefs, and belonged since the fifth century to the different branches of the Mac-Eochagains, or Mac-Geoghegans, of the race of Fiacha, son of the monarch Niall-Noygiallach. The chief of this tribe is Mac-Geoghegan of Moycashel. The fiefs belonging to the different branches are Donore, Castletown, Sionan, Newtown, Drommore, Lochanleonact, Larrah, Louhertan, Ballycommine, Couletor, &c.

Teffia, or Teamhfna,§ an extensive territory, including, with half of Westmeath, nearly the whole county of Longford; it contains several small territories, namely, Caleroy and Muinter-Hagan, now the barony of Kilcourcey, the country of the O'Sionachs, otherwise Fox, Mac-Hagains, Magawlys, &c. Bregmuin and Cuircne, now the baronies of Brawney and Kilkenny-West. Those territories belonged to the descendants of Maine, one of the sons of Niall the Great. Teamhfna, in the county of Longford, was divided into northern and southern; northern Teamhfna, also called Carbre-Gaura, included the environs of Granard: southern Teamhfna was near Ardagh, an episcopal see.

☞Bregia or Breagh, and Bregmagia, two territories in Meath, the former near Tara, the latter in the environs of Athruim.

Broghe, the patrimony of the O'Mulledys.

Corcaduin, the patrimony of the O'Dalys, in Irish, Sioll-Ndala.‖

Dealbna-Teanmoy, a territory in Meath.

Desies, now the barony of Deece.

Fearbile, a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the patrimony of the O'Hanbiths

Finfochla, the patrimony of the O'Ruadhrys.

Kiennachta-Bregh, or Kiennachta-Ard,¶ a large territory, extending from Duleek to the river Liffey: it was also called, on account of its situation and beauty, Moy-Breagh, which signifies "beautiful field." This territory belonged to the Keniads, descendants of Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster.

Luighnie, the patrimony of the O'Bruins.

Moynalta, the patrimony of the Biataghs, believed to be a noble and ancient family of Danish extraction.

Those principalities and dynasties which are now changed into counties and baronies, still retain some vestiges of their ancient names; they belonged to the same families from the first ages of Christianity. Their possession was first interrupted about the end of the twelfth century by a colony of English, who usurped the properties of several of the ancient proprietors, particularly in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Meath. Many others were dispossessed in the different provinces, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; but under the tyranny of Cromwell and the Prince of Orange, the plunder was almost universal. However, notwithstanding these several revolutions, notwithstanding the repeated snares that have been so artfully laid to force them to rebel, and thereby furnish a pretext for confiscating their properties, there are still many ancient proprietors who enjoy the inheritance of their ancestors by an uninterrupted possession of ten, twelve, fifteen, and eighteen centuries; a possession which, for duration, has few examples in the other nations of Europe.

The nobility of the Irish cannot appear doubtful to those who take the trouble of comparing this length of possession, with what is said in the critical essay on their antiquity and traditions. Genealogists divide nobility into three classes; the first is that of knighthood, the origin of which cannot be ascertained; the second, though ancient, may still be traced to its commencement; and the third, a new nobility, which has not yet numbered three generations. Nobility is one of those things not easily defined; however, it manifests itself by the prerogatives which it confers; it is looked upon by some as a mere chimera, and by others in an opposite light. Juvenal, a pagan writer, says it consists in virtue alone: "Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus." Whatever be the origin and nature of nobility, it tends to establish subordination in the state, and distinction of rank in society, by selecting from the crowd a certain number of men, who are raised

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 76.
† Idem. cap. 85.
‡ Keat. Geneal. Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.
§ Idem.
‖ Ogyg. part 9, c. 85. ¶ Ibid. cap. 68

above others, and invested with prerogatives. Nobility was not, in ancient times, as it now is, founded on letters patent: according to the general opinion of men, a long possession of lands and lordships constituted nobility, as they thereby acquired certain subjects whom they called vassals. A family which has for several centuries kept possession of the same lands, and maintained itself in a certain degree of rank, without contracting any degrading alliance, and of whose ancestors are recorded a long succession of those virtuous actions which attract the attention of mankind—such a family, I say, deserves to be placed in the first class of nobility, and should be considered as such, in every nation in the world.

The constitution and first establishment of the Irish nation, were of a nature to give rise to nobles of the above description. We have already seen, in the preceding part of this history, and in the beginning of this chapter, that the children of Milesius had formed tribes, of which they were the chiefs, by the division they made of the island between them. According as the population increased, the tribes were multiplied, and in time divided into many branches. The last, and most permanent division of those tribes into dynasties, which has lasted to the present time, took place in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The names of the dynasties, and those to whom they belonged in the fifth century, are mentioned by the historians of the country, and the different authors of the life of St. Patrick, when speaking of his apostleship in Ireland.

Each of those tribes or dynasties had its chief, who was either the eldest of the tribe, or the most capable of governing it; and the collateral branches who possessed lands and fiefs, acknowledged his authority. Though divided into different bodies, like the Israelites, they never forgot their common origin: they were all more or less nearly allied in affinity, and by intermarrying they all enjoyed a mutual inheritance; so that unless the whole tribe were extinct, there was always a legitimate heir to the dynasty; on which account those great families were never confounded one with the other. Though several of those ancient proprietors were deprived of their possessions in the last century, on account of their religious zeal, and their fidelity to their legitimate princes, and consequently have fallen from that ancient splendor which can only be supported by riches, they are still looked upon in the country in the same light as their ancestors; and, provided they can prove the purity of their blood, and regular descent from the chiefs of their houses, I see no reason why they should be excluded from the privileges of nobility, any more than others of the same blood, more favored by fortune, and who have preserved their properties. In the latter part of this history I shall enlarge upon this subject, when there will be an occasion to speak of many illustrious families, originally from England, and who are well deserving the title of ancient nobility.

CHRISTIAN IRELAND.

PART II.

CHAPTER IX.

The throne of Ireland being vacated by the death of Dathy, the last pagan monarch of this island, as we have observed in the sixth chapter of the first part of this history, the sceptre returned to the family of Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, in the person of his son Laogare, who began his reign in 428, and continued in it, except in one instance, from that period until the eleventh century

Though we have seen, in the first part, that there were Christians in Ireland in the first century, and long before the mission of St. Patrick; that, independent of Cormac-Ulfada, monarch of this island in the third century, whose piety and religion had rendered him odious to the pagans, several had left their native country on hearing of the Christian name; and that having become perfect in the knowledge of the evangelical doctrine, and the discipline of the Church, some had preached the gospel in the different pagan countries in Europe; others, filled with zeal for the salvation of their fellow-citizens, had successfully expounded to them the word of God; still the nation was not yet considered as converted: this grace was reserved for the reign of Laogare, and the pontificate of St. Celestine I. This great pope, seeing the pious inclination of those people,* and the success of private missionaries among them, thought of sending them an apostle invested with full au-

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 16, page 797, et seq

thority to complete a work so happily begun.*

The first whom he sent to Ireland, with all power requisite for his mission, was Palladius, an archdeacon of the Roman Church, who, having been ordained bishop, or rather archbishop of all Ireland, set out, accompanied by twelve missionaries, all equally inspired with the apostolical spirit, and provided with several volumes of the Old and New Testament, and some relics of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and of some other martyrs. On landing in the province of Leinster, he began his mission by preaching the faith of Jesus Christ; but he was badly received by the pagans. Jocelin quotes a proverb, common in the country, signifying that "God did not reserve for Palladius, but for Patrick, the conversion of Ireland." However, he baptized a few persons, and founded three churches, the first of which was called "Kill-Fine," the second, "Teach-na-Romanach," or House of the Romans, and the third, "Domnach-Arte." After a short mission of a few months, he was expelled from Ireland by Nathi, son of Garchon, a prince of this country. This holy missionary withdrew into Britain, and died some time after at Fourdoun, in the country of the Picts: others assert that he suffered martyrdom in Ireland.

The origin and country of St. Palladius have been the subject of much disputation. John Sichard asserts that he was a native of Ireland; Anthony Possevin, in his Sacred Compendium, calls him a Briton; Trithemins, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and others, copying after him, affirm that he was by birth a Greek, confounding him, probably, with Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, in Bythinia, who died before the year 431, the time of the mission of St. Palladius among the Scots. However this be, there is another question more interesting, as being more closely connected with the object of this history, namely, to know who were those Scots for whom St. Palladius had received his mission. The Scotch authors, namely, John Major, Boëtius, Lesly, and Dempster, on the double acceptation of the name "Scot," assert that he had been sent to the Scots of Britain; in which account they are followed by Polydore Virgil, the author of the English Martyrology, and by Baronius in his Annals on the year 429; but the latter, after a more minute investigation, corrected himself on the year 431, by saying that St. Palladius had been sent to Ireland.

We need only read the sixth and seventh chapters of the first part of this history, to discover the error of those authors, in which it has been proved that the Scots had no fixed dwelling, or any monarchy founded in Britain, before the beginning of the sixth century, and that the terms Scots and Irish were synonymous till the eleventh.

We may, however, mention here the authority of St. Prosper, whom I have already quoted, as he expressly speaks of the mission of St. Palladius. This father, when praising the zeal of Pope St. Celestine for the conversion of the British Isles, says, that when he was endeavoring to preserve the purity of the faith in the Roman Isle, he ordained a bishop for the Scots, and converted to Christianity that island which had been barbarous.* St. Prosper here mentions Palladius, as he says in his Chronicle, that Pope Celestine had ordained him bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ: "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur â Papá Cœlestino Palladius." He also distinguishes the island of Scots, which he calls barbarous, (a name given by the Romans to all those who were not under their dominion,) from Britain, which he designates by the name of the Roman Isle. The island of Scots, as mentioned by Prosper, can only refer, says Usher, to Scotia Major, that is, Ireland, and by no means to Albania, which was not at that time called Scotia, and is not an island, as it forms part of that of Great Britain.†

Lastly, we may add, that as St. Patrick succeeded St. Palladius in the same mission, they both preached the gospel to the same people, namely, the Scots of Ireland.‡

St. Prosper places the mission of St. Palladius in Ireland under the consulship of Bassus and Antiochus; which corresponds

* Trias. Thaum. vit. S. Patr.

* "With equal care he rescued from the same distemper the British isles, when those who were enemies to grace, and occupying the soil of their birth, were shut out by that secluded part of the ocean: a bishop being ordained for the Scots, while he is eager to preserve the Roman isle Catholic, he rendered that which was Christian, barbarous."

† "And Prosper, distinguishing eloquently this island of the Scots from the Britains, must be necessarily understood to mean Scotia Major to be Ireland, and not the Minor Scotia, which is Albania, (which was not Scotland at that period, neither is it an island, but forms a part of Great Britain.")—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16, p. 798.

‡ "It is plain, that Palladius had been appointed for the same Scots to whom Patrick had been afterwards sent."—*Usher*

with the year 431 of the Christian era. The venerable Bede fixes it in the eighth year of the empire of Theodosius the younger.* Baronius says the date of the latter should be corrected by that of St. Prosper; he does not, however, observe, that Bede and Prosper are in perfect accordance, as they count the years of the reign of Theodosius from the death of Honorius, which happened in 423, as well as the elevation of Pope Celestine to the pontificate; while that celebrated annalist (Baronius) dates from the time that those two emperors began their reign together.

Bollandus and le Nain de Tillemont seem to doubt that there were Christians in Ireland before St. Palladius.† "The Irish," says Tillemont, "give the histories of several saints of their country, many of whom were bishops, and assert that they had preached the gospel in their country, and converted many persons long before St. Patrick, even in the fourth century. Usher quotes, continues he, many fragments of the lives of those saints, in which can be easily discovered several very improbable things. We might judge far better of those lives, if we had them complete; however, it suffices that Bollandus, who it appears has seen them, affirms that none were composed before the twelfth century, and that most of them are by very fabulous authors."

The above is a severe, as well as an ill-founded censure. Bollandus, on account of a few hyperbolical phrases used in the lives of those saints, or some improbable facts, (the common result of the enthusiasm of ancient writers,) without distinguishing truth from falsehood, saps the foundation of their history, which he treats of as fabulous. However, without injuring the reputation which Bollandus has so deservedly acquired among the learned, Usher, who quotes those fragments as respectable monuments of antiquity, was as judicious a critic, and a much more competent judge in this matter, though he was of English extraction, and of a different religion from the saints whose lives he quotes, (two things which should remove all suspicion of prejudice on his part:) having been born and educated in Ireland, he had it better in his power to see and judge, than Bollandus, a stranger, who embraced too many objects to succeed in all. It is, besides, an incontestable fact, that in those ages, which immediately succeeded the preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland, that country was celebrated for its knowledge in the sciences and literature. Therefore it is not probable they would have been so long without writing the annals and lives of the saints of that people. The remark of Bollandus, that there were no lives of the saints of Ireland written before the twelfth century, is therefore highly incorrect. This learned author seems to confound some copies taken from the original lives, in the twelfth century, in order to preserve them to posterity, as well as the original ones; as if we were to say, that the life of St. Patrick had not been written till the twelfth century, because Jocelin, an English monk, had not taken extracts from every ancient life of that saint, written many ages before.

Usher, continues Tillemont, desirous of supporting the historians of his country,* among whom we discover many bishops sent to Ireland before St. Palladius, adduces, in opposition to himself, St. Prosper, who says that St. Palladius was the first sent there in 431: he thinks to destroy, says he, this undeniable authority, by remarking that the word "primus" is not in the Duchesne edition. The above criticism is unjust; Tillemont suppresses the other explanations which Usher gives of the word "primus," which, according to him, signifies the first of the two, namely, Palladius and Patrick whom Pope Celestine sent to Ireland, with full apostolic power as archbishop or primate of the whole island.† Besides, these words, "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus â Papâ Cœlestino Palladius Episcopus mittitur," used by St. Prosper in his chronicle on the year 431, and by Bede in the thirteenth chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical History, evidently indicate that there were Christians in Ireland, and consequently pastors, before the mission of St. Palladius. Bollandus himself acknowledges it, as he says that St. Palladius had found in Ireland more Christians than

* "In the year 423 of our redemption, Theodosius the younger reigned for 27 years, in the eighth year of whose reign Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine, as first bishop, to preach to the Scots who believed in Christ."—*Bede*, b. 1, *Church Hist.* c. 13.

† Mémoires, tom. 16, Vie de S. Patrice.

* Notes sur S. Patrice.

† "But although four former bishops be mentioned to have been ordained before the pontificate of Celestine, for the mission, it might appear that Pope Celestine appointed Palladius first bishop, and that Patrick had been sent the second, or primate to the Episcopal seat. So that, although our island had other bishops, still Palladius was the first archbishop, and Patrick the second."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16, p. 800.

he made.* There never was an instance, says Colgan,† of the Roman Church specially ordaining a bishop for any nation, or sending a solemn mission to a country in which the Christian religion was totally unknown.

Lastly, it was not affirmed by Usher, nor any other historian of the country, that Ireland was converted before the time of St. Patrick. A kingdom is not considered to be converted till the king and princes, and most of the people, have received baptism; which did not take place in Ireland till the time of this apostle. This did not prevent the conversion of some in different parts of the island, by the private missionaries mentioned by Usher.

As soon as the death of St. Palladius was known at Rome, Pope St. Celestine thought of providing a successor to him. The lot fell to Patrick, who being at that time at Rome, was ordained bishop of Ireland by the pope, and was sent to this island invested with apostolic authority, and loaded with the benedictions of the holy father. This pope died a short time afterwards, and his successor, St. Sixtus III., confirmed the mission of St. Patrick, and associated with him other evangelical missionaries, to assist him.

Before we enter into a detail of the life and mission of St. Patrick, we should here examine the several histories written on this subject.

The number of histories which have been composed on the life of St. Patrick, has, in a great measure, tended to darken the knowledge we should have of the truth of what concerns him. According to Usher, and ancient monuments in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, there were sixty-three, or sixty-six.‡ However, we must confine ourselves to the most genuine, and those which appear the most authentic, and least liable to contradiction; which are, the Confession of Saint Patrick, his letter to Corotic, and his life, written by some of his disciples.

The Confession of St Patrick was written by himself, in which he gives an account of his life and conversation, principally during his youth, and commenced with these words: "Ego Patricius peccator." Very few miracles are recorded in it; several visions are mentioned by the saint himself, and he says that God frequently imparted to him, in a very extraordinary manner, what he was to do.* We may also add, that in those visions which St. Patrick mentions having seen, there was nothing that was not grave, holy, and worthy of God. This volume, says Colgan, is to be found in the library of the monastery of Saint Vast, in Artois;† and also, according to Ware, in the library of Sarum, or Salisbury, in England,‡ if it is the same (which is most probable) that Colgan quotes under the title of "Patricius de vita et conversatione sua;" the beginning, "Ego Patricius peccator," &c. &c., is the same in both copies.

The subject of St. Patrick's letter to Corotic,§ was a cruel and barbarous action committed by this tyrant, who reigned over some canton in Wales.

This petty prince, having made a descent upon Ireland during the festival of Easter, ravaged the canton where the saint then was, and where he had just administered the holy chrism to a great number of converts, that were still clothed in the white robes of their baptism. Corotic, though a Christian, without the slightest regard for the sanctity of the sacrament, massacred a great number, and carried off others, whom he sold to the Picts. The atrocity of this action roused the zeal of the saint to such a degree, that, on the day after the massacre of those innocent people, he sent a letter to Corotic, by a holy priest whom he had brought up from his infancy, and by some other ecclesiastics, to request of him to restore the Christians whom he had carried into captivity, and a part, at least, of the booty. However, the saint's letter not producing the desired effect on the mind of Corotic, and his answer proving unsatisfactory, he resolved to write a second, in form of a circular, which he published, instead of addressing it to Corotic, and it is that which has been preserved until our time. In this letter he complains loudly of the action of Corotic, and particularly of his having sold the Christians to infidels. He declared to the church, that this tyrant, and the other fratricides who had been accomplices in his crime, should be separated

* "Palladius thought it sufficient to have two of his brethren, Sylvester and Solonius, to assist the few Christians whom he had found, and it is probable that he found more than he had made, on account of the short time he remained. After consecrating three oratories for their use, he set sail with his companions, and being driven by a storm (perhaps by the Divine will) around North Britain, he landed in the eastern part of the country of the Picts, which he held, and died in it."—*Bollandus in his Life of St. Patrick*, p. 581.

† Triad. Thaum. Append. 5, cap. 15, pag. 250.

‡ "All the books which have been written on the life of St. Patrick are 66 or 63."—*Usher, C. Hist.* c. 17, p. 816.

* Tillemont, Vie de Saint Patrice, art. 2.

† Append. 4, part 3, de Script. Act. S. Patr.

‡ De Script. Hib. lib. 2 cap. 2.

§ Tillemont, Vie de Saint Patrice.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

from him and from Jesus Christ, whose representative he was; that none should eat with them, nor receive their alms, until they should have satisfied God by the tears of true repentance, and restored to liberty the faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He declared that whosoever should hold converse or communication with them, and flatter them in their sins, would be judged and condemned by God. The above is the excommunication pronounced by St. Patrick against Corotic and those who were accomplices in his crime.

The Confession of St. Patrick, and his letter to Corotic, are quoted with praise by Usher, Bollandus, Ware, Colgan, and others.* Those two productions bear the name of the saint, who frequently speaks in them of himself, and appear truly worthy of him. They are both in the same style and character.

The Confession is quoted by all the ancient authors of his life, which proves, at least, that it is more ancient than they are; and there seems to exist, throughout, a character of truth, which supports it, even were it not quoted by any author. Cave himself admits that this confession, and the letter to Corotic, are ancient writings.†

The principal authors of the life of St. Patrick‡ are, Saint Secundinus, or Seaghlin, bishop of Domnach-Sechnaild, now Donseachlin, in Meath; he was a disciple of the saint, and his nephew by his sister Darerca;§ and composed a hymn in honor of his master, which may be seen in Colgan.‖

St. Loman, his disciple, and nephew by his sister Tigrid, bishop of Athrum,¶ now Trim, in Meath; St. Mel, bishop of Ardach, his disciple and nephew also, brother of St. Secundinus; and a second St. Patrick,** to whom the saint gave his own name while holding him over the baptismal font; all three wrote the acts of his life. The last, after the death of his uncle, retired to the abbey of Glastonbury, or Glaston, in Somersetshire in England, where he ended his days.

Saint Benignus, (in the Irish language Binen, signifying gentle,)†† who succeeded St Patrick in the see of Ardmach, is reckoned among the authors of his life. Those four lives, says Jocelin, were written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, by his four disciples, St. Benignus, his successor, St Mel, and St. Luman, bishops, and St. Patrick, his godson.*

St. Fiech, of the race of the monarch Cahire-More, by Diare, surnamed Barrach, was a disciple of St. Patrick, and bishop of Sletty, formerly Slebte, in the barony of Sliev-Margie, territory of Leis, now the Queen's county; he has left a hymn written in thirty-four stanzas, in the Irish language, containing the most remarkable events of that apostle's life. This hymn, and the Latin translation, are in Colgan, among the lives of St. Patrick, and should be rather considered a panegyric than a life of this saint.†

St. Kienan, of a noble family in Connaught,‡ or rather (says Colgan) of the race of the Keniads, descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Kiann, and lords of a territory in Meath, called Kiennachta,§ having taken orders in the monastery of St. Martin, at Tours,‖ returned to Ireland, and was nominated by St. Patrick bishop of Damhliah, now Duleek, in the territory of Bregh, in Meath. According to the calendar of Cashil, he wrote the life of St. Patrick, whose disciple he was.

St. Evin, or Emmin,¶ abbot of Ross, otherwise Ross-Mac-Treoin, adjoining the river Barrow, is thought to be the author of the life of St. Patrick, written in Irish and Latin, divided into three parts, and called by Colgan,** "Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii."††

Saint Ultan, bishop of Ard-Brecain, in Meath, and St. Tirechan, his successor in

* Tillemon. not. sur S. Patrice. † Page 336.
‡ Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, pages 825 et 826.
§ War. de Script. Hib. ‖ Triad Thaum. App. 3.
¶ Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 816, seq.
** Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 1121.
†† Colg. Triad Thaum. App. 4, p. 3, de Script. Act. S. Patrie.

* "The greatest number of the books or tracts (which were 65) treating of the miracles which he wrought, were consumed by fire in the reign of Gurmondus and Turgesius. Four books, however, which treat of his virtues and miracles, written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, by St Benignus his successor, St. Mel, bishop, St. Lomanus, archbishop, and St. Patrick, his godson, who returned after the death of his uncle to Britain, where he died and was buried in the church of Glasconensis, with honor."—*Jocelin, in his Life of St. Patrick.*
† Colg. Triad. prima Vita. page 4.
‡ Usser. Primord. page 1070.
§ Idem. Ind. Chron. page 1108.
‖ Colg. Triad. Thaum. Append. 4, part 3, de Script. Act. S. Patr.
¶ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, et War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 3.
** Colg. Triad. Thaum. Append. 4, part 3.
†† St. Elvinus, influenced like St. Patrick, compiled in one book, written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, his history, any portion of which that I deemed worthy of posterity, I have carefully selected and introduced into this work.—*Jocelin*, c. 186

that see,* wrote on the same subject in the seventh century; the latter left two books, which were in the possession of Usher, and which he quotes in pages 829, 835, 848, 853, 887, and 889.

Usher, Ware, and others, make mention of St. Aileran, surnamed the Wise, St. Adamnam, abbot of Hy, St. Muccuthen, St. Colman, St. Kieran, surnamed the Pious, abbot of Belach-Duin, St. Ermead, bishop of Clogher, and St. Collait, a priest of Druim-Beilgeach, all of whom had written on the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick.

Nennius published in the ninth century a history of Great Britain, wherein he quotes several facts alluding to the apostle of Ireland.†

Probus, an Irishman, wrote in the same century two books on the life of St. Patrick, dedicated to Paulinus. Those books are to be met with in the third volume of the works of Bede, without the name of the author: we discover his name, however, in the epilogue of the second book, by the following words: "Ecce habes, frater Pauline, a me humili Probo, postulatum nostræ fraternitatis indicium." Usher, after Gabriel Pennotus,‡ and Stanihurst,§ says that the works of those two authors, namely Nennius and Probus, are filled with absurd accounts, and with things that are obviously untrue, whether they emanated from themselves or have been added to their works by others.

The life of St. Patrick, written in Latin in the twelfth century by Jocelin, a Cambro-Britain and monk of Furnes, is, according to Usher, the most ample and correct that has been published.‖ This author had followed the other lives of St. Patrick which had been written before his time; he had at least seen some of them, as he quotes the four books of the four disciples of that saint, namely, of St. Benignus, St. Mel, St. Luman, and St. Patrick, with that of St. Evin. He composed his history, as he himself asserts, at the solicitation of Thomas or Tomultach O'Connor, archbishop of Ardmach, Malachi, bishop of Down, and John Courcy, prince of Ulidia, after those original lives, from which he extracted every thing that was worthy of being related. Alford complains,¶ says Tillemont, that scarcely any thing has been written on St. Patrick except his miracles, the most of which are highly improbable, as well as many of those ascribed to the other saints of Ireland. Indeed, the history of his life written by Jocelin contains several, some of which have little appearance of truth; it was the taste of the writers of those ancient times, and we should not on that account reject the groundwork of his history.

However, we ought not to doubt of his having performed many miracles that are true. God had necessarily given him that power, to convert an idolatrous nation. The difference between the twelfth and present centuries is, that in the former and preceding ones, people were too credulous, and in the latter have become quite the contrary; both extremes are equally dangerous, and equally to be dreaded, one being the result of ignorance, the other of incredulity.

The succeeding ages produced panegyrists on the virtues of that apostle.* In the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais, in his Historical Memoir, notices in a summary manner, and in few words, the actions of St. Patrick.†

In the fourteenth century, James de Voragine, bishop of Genoa, in his Golden Legend, and John of Tinemuth, an Englishman and Benedictine monk, in his book on the deeds of the saints of Great Britain and Ireland, the manuscript of which is preserved in the college of the Benedictines at Cambridge, speak of the memorable actions of that saint, as Stanihurst and William Tirrey, bishop of Cork, have done in the last centuries.

Various opinions are entertained concerning the country which gave birth to St. Patrick.‡ Matthew of Westminster, known by the name of Florilegus, and Baronius, say he is a native of Ireland, "natione Hibernensis:" Sigebert de Gemblours, the martyrologies of Bede, Usuard, Rhabanus, Ado, and the Scotch writers, call him a Scot, "xvi. Kal. April, in Scotiâ natale S. Patricii." But it is known that in the style of martyrologists, the day of a saint's death is considered to be that of his birth, and that Ireland alone was known by the name of Scotia in the time of St. Patrick. Lastly, others assert that he is of a different origin. However, according to the most general, and at the same time most probable opinion, he was a native of Great Britain. He was born in a village which he himself calls, in his Confession,

* War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 3; et Colgan, Triad. Thaum. Append. 4, part 3.
† Usser. Primord. cap. 17, p. 819.
‡ Pennot. in Clericorum Canonic. Hist. lib. 2, c. 35, sect. 4.
§ In Præfat. ad Vit. S. Patr.
‖ Primord. cap. 57, page 816
¶ Alf. 430, sect. 2.

* Colg. Triad. Thaum. Append. 4.
† Lib. 20, cap. 23, et seq.
‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 820.

Banaven,* in the territory of Tabernia, "in vico Banaven Taberniæ," in the northern extremity of Britain,† and, according to Probus, not far from the western sea, "De vico Bannavæ, Tiberniæ regionis, haud procul à mare occidentali."‡ Jocelin interprets the name of Tabernia by "Tabernaculorum campus,"§ the field of the tabernacles or tents, the Roman armies having been, according to him, encamped there. He also adds, that the dwelling-place of Patrick's father was Empthor, on the coast of the Irish sea. These topographical descriptions have made Usher fix the birthplace of St. Patrick at Kirk-Patrick, or Kil-Patrick, so called from his name, between Alcuid, now Dumbriton, and Glasgow. This district was also called at that time Valentia, by Count Theodosius, who had retaken it from the enemies of the Romans.‖

The error of those who say that St. Patrick was born in Scotland, arises from their not sufficiently discerning the periods of the different changes of the frontiers of Britain and Scotland, nor observing that this territory, which in the time of St. Patrick formed part of the Roman province, was long after annexed to Scotland.¶

The time of the birth and death of this saint, and the number of years he lived, are not less a subject of dispute than the country which gave him birth. William of Malmesbury, Stanihurst, and others, after Probus, fix his birth in the year 361; Probus says that he lived 132 years, and died in 493; Malmesbury fixes his death in 472, in the 111th year of his age: Henry of Marleburg says he was born in 376, Jocelin in 370, and Florence of Worcester in 372. The calculation of the latter is followed by Usher, who says he sees no reason to differ from it: "A quibus quare alii discesserint, justam adhuc causam non videmus."** Lastly, the most general opinion, which is in accordance with Usher,†† is, that St. Patrick lived 120 years, and that his death happened in 493:* if we deduct 120 years, there remain 373, which is accounted the year of the birth of that saint. St. Patrick was of a respectable family, as he himself observes in his epistle to Corotic, "ingenuus fui secundum carnem;"† his father was Calphurnius, a deacon, son of Potit, a priest, who had taken orders after the death of their wives:‡ Conchessa, his mother, was sister or rather niece of Saint Martin of Tours.§ As Saint Martin was a native of Sabaria in Pannonia, it is probable, says Usher, that his sister was from the same country, and had followed him into Gaul, where she married Ochmuis, by whom she had, among other children, Conchessa; that the latter having been brought a captive into Britain, married Calphurnius, and became mother of our saint,‖ Sanannus, the deacon, and five daughters, namely, Lupita, Tigris, Liemania, Darerca, and Cinnenum.¶

The apostle of Ireland was called at his baptism, Succath, signifying warlike, "fortis in bello;"** it was Pope Celestine that gave him the name of Patricius.†† Patrician was a title of honor among the ancient Romans, and a dignity to which high privileges were annexed, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus:†† some of the kings of France have not disdained to bear the title of Roman Patrician.§§

The authors of the life of this saint, say that he performed some miracles in his youth. Fiech, his contemporary, makes no mention of them; he himself, in his Confession, attributes his captivity to his ignorance of the true God, and disobedience to his laws. He was, however, carefully brought up by his parents; the mildness of his disposition and purity of his morals, rendered him the admiration of all who knew him.

Patrick was in his sixteenth year‖‖ when brought a captive into Ireland and sold like a second Joseph.¶¶ The authors of his life

* Page 1.
† War. de Præsul. Hib. Vit. S. Patr.
‡ Prob. Vit. Patr. lib. 1, c. 1.
§ Vit. S. Patr. cap. 1.
‖ "Whereas the native spot of St. Patrick, was that part situate between the camp called Dun-Britannicum and the city of Glascuensis, called from his name Kirkpatrick, or, as at present, Kilpatrick. This remote part belonging to the Romans in the province of Britain, was called, four years before Patrick was born and recovered from the enemy, Valentia, by Theodosius."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 17, p. 819.
¶ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, p. 20.
** Usser. Primord. page 823.
†† Usser. Ibid. p. 879, ad. 887.

* Colg. App. 5, ad Vit. S. Patr. c. 67.
† Confess. page 1.
‡ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 822.
§ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 1.
‖ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, p. 824.
¶ Scholia in primam Vit. S. Patr. apud Colgan, note 5.
** Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 821.
†† Ibid. page 841.
‡‡ Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 2.
§§ War. de Præsul. Hib. Vit. S. Patr.
‖‖ Confess. page 1.
¶¶ "This illustrious youth was in his 16th year when taken, with several of his countrymen, by pirates, and was carried a prisoner into Ireland. He was there sold as a slave to one Milchon, who ruled

are not in accordance concerning his captivity; some say that St. Patrick, having gone to Armoric Gaul, since called Lower Brittany, with his father, mother, brother, and five sisters, to visit the parents of his mother Conchessa, was taken,* with his two sisters, Lupita and Tigrida, by some British pirates, who brought them prisoners into Ireland;† others, with more appearance of truth, say that the Romans having abandoned Britain, it became the prey of the Scots, and that Patrick was carried a captive to Ireland by robbers from that country.‡ We are induced by all these circumstances to fix the captivity of this saint in the reign of Niall the Great, surnamed Noygiollach. This monarch, as we have observed in the first part of this history, having crossed the sea with his army to quell some disturbances which had arisen in Albania, between the Scots and Picts, and after laying Britain waste in 388, embarked with his forces for Armoric Gaul, from whence he brought considerable booty, and some prisoners. As Patrick was, at the time of his captivity, entering upon his sixteenth year, which corresponds with the year 389, having been born in 373, this period is in perfect unison with the time of the expedition of Niall. I do not pretend to decide whether he was taken in Britain or in Armoric Gaul; but it is a certain fact that he was carried to Ireland, and sold to Milcho-Mac-Huanan, a petty prince of Dalaradie in Ulster, who gave him the care of his flocks, in a valley at the foot of a mountain, called in the language of the country, Sliev-Mis; his two sisters were sold at the same time, in the country then called Conaill-Muirthemne, at present the county of Louth. Our saint, who was destined by Divine Providence to convey the light of the gospel into Ireland, which was also called Scotia, was early qualified for the fatigues of the apostleship, by the hardships of captivity; and allowed by God to be a slave in a country which was one day to be delivered, through his ministry, from the bondage of Satan, by affording him an opportunity of learning the language, and becoming habituated to the customs of that country. In his Confession he gives an account of the use he made of his time, during his captivity.§ "I was always careful," he says, "to lead my flocks to pasture, and prayed frequently during the day: I always became strengthened in the belief, love, and fear of God, and prayed at least a hundred times a day, and as often during the night. When I inhabited the forests and mountains, I performed my prayers before daylight, and never experienced, either in frost, snow, or rain, that negligence which I now feel, as I was then fired with the spirit of God."* In the beginning of the seventh year of his slavery, he was warned in a dream to prepare for his return; he accordingly made his escape from the house of his master, to whom he had been sold, and reached the sea-shore, where there was a vessel ready to sail. The captain at first refused to take him on board, but, on consideration, he admitted him, and after a dangerous voyage of three days they landed in Albania, now called Scotland. However, his fatigues were not yet at an end; he had to perform a journey of twenty-eight days through deserts and impassable roads, where he suffered severely by fatigue, hunger, and thirst before he arrived in the territory of Tabernia, his native country. A. D. 396. The authors of his life mention his having fasted during twenty days, and his having performed several miracles to procure subsistence for his fellow-travellers.† It is also said that he underwent a second captivity, which lasted but for two months.‡

After undergoing many dangers both by sea and land, Patrick arrived in his native country, where he was tenderly received by his parents. Having remained some time with them, a man from Ireland appeared to him in a dream, carrying a bundle of letters, one of which he gave him to read, beginning with those words: "Vox Hibernionacum," the voice of the Irish. While reading the letter, he thought he heard the cries of the inhabitants of the neighborhood of Foclut forest, in the territory of Tiramalgaid, now the barony of Tirawly, in the county of Mayo, entreating him with one voice to go to them; by which he was so much affected,

in that district, the northern part of the island, in the same manner as Joseph had been sold into Egypt."—*Jocelin*, c. 13.

* Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. 1, c. 16.

† Usser. Primord. c. 17, page 827, et seq

‡ Baillet, Vie de St. Patrice, au 17 Mars.

§ Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. apud Colgan.

* "Every day I fed the flocks, and prayed frequently during the day; my love of God increased more and more, and my fear and faith in him were augmented, so that in one day I prayed almost a hundred times, and as often in the night: while I tarried on the mountains and in the woods, I was roused to pray both in the snow, frost, and rain; neither did I feel any pain from it nor lassitude, as I think, because my soul was then ardent."—*Usher*, c. 17, p. 830.

† Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. apud Colgan.

‡ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 18; et Usser. Primord. cap. 17, p. 832.

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that he was unable to continue reading the letter, whereupon he awoke *

Struck with this vision, which brought back to his remembrance his sojourn in Ireland, Patrick secretly formed the design of returning thither, to labor for the conversion of those islanders. To prepare himself to discharge so holy an undertaking, he resolved to leave his country, and seek in foreign countries the light and knowledge required for that apostleship, without being influenced by the repeated solicitations which his parents used to keep him at home.

At that time he was about twenty-three years of age, A. D. 396. He went first to the monastery of Marmoutiers, which was built near Tours, by St. Martin, bishop of that city, and uncle to his mother Conchessa; he received from him the clerical tonsure and monastic habit. We should not dwell on Baillet's calculation, which advances that that prelate died a year before the arrival of Patrick.†

Patrick spent some time at Tours, in the practice of piety and monastic discipline, and St. Martin having died in 397,‡ or, according to Severus Sulpicius, in 402, he set out for Rome, where he was admitted among the students or regular prebendaries of St. John of Lateran, A. D. 403. He was then thirty years of age. He applied himself to study, and made a considerable progress in the knowledge of sacred literature and ecclesiastical discipline.§ He afterwards visited the holy places and servants of God, the monasteries and hermitages of the islands in the Mediterranean; and attached himself particularly to the barefooted hermits of the order of St. Augustin. The high character of St. Germain, who was nominated bishop of Auxerre in 418, induced him to go to that prelate. It appears that this was his first visit, although some among the authors of his life affirm that he spent four years with St. Germain before he went to Tours: we should either suppose that he had been under the discipline of St. Germain before he was made bishop, which is improbable, or that he had not seen St. Martin, who died at least sixteen years before the episcopacy of St. Germain.

He lived at Auxerre for many years, under the discipline of that illustrious bishop, and prepared himself, after the example of such a master, for the ministry of the church, and the attainment of every virtue of a true pastor. A. D. 421.

The love of perfecting himself in the calling of a religious life which he had embraced, influenced him to retire into the monastery of the isle of Lerins: he continued in it for nine years, both under the instruction of St. Honoratus, who was the founder of it, and the abbot St. Maximus, his successor, still adhering to the counsels of his dear master, St. Germain, to whom he imparted all his intentions and desires. A. D. 430.

After his leaving Lerins, he returned to Auxerre, and was then thirty-eight years old. When the news of St. Palladius' death had reached them, St. Germain sent him to Rome, with instructions upon the mission to Ireland, and gave him letters of introduction to Pope St. Celestine, who received him with every mark of kindness and respect. Celestine himself then consecrated and appointed him archbishop of Ireland, and sent him, invested with all apostolical authority, to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of that island. Twenty priests and deacons were likewise ordained, who were to accompany St. Patrick in his mission, and officiate under his directions, "ut sub ipso Domino ministrarent." Among the number, there were some prebendaries of St. John of Lateran, who were eminent for their piety. The new apostle of Ireland returned to Auxerre to take leave of St. Germain, who gave him many salutary admonitions to render the success of so great an undertaking possible and easy: he also made him presents of chalices, ornaments for the priesthood, books, and every thing necessary for the ecclesiastical worship and ministry.* All things being prepared for his voyage, he set out for Ireland at the end of

* "And there I saw in a vision during the night, a man coming from the west; his name was Victoricius, and had with him many letters; he gave me one to read, and in the beginning of it was a voice from Ireland. I then thought it to be the voice of those who inhabited near a wood called Foclut, adjoining the western sea; they appeared to cry out in one voice, saying, Come to us, O holy youth, and walk among us. With this I was feelingly touched, and could read no longer: I then awoke."—*Confession of St. Patrick in Usher*, p. 9, c. 17, p. 832.

† Vit. de S. Patr. au 17 Mars.

‡ Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 844.

§ "In this place he signifies that he was skilled in sacred learning, and endowed with the knowledge of ecclesiastical rules and discipline."—*Usher*, c. 17, p. 835

* "He hastened now towards Ireland, together with twenty men eminent for their wisdom and sanctity, appointed by the pontiff himself to assist him in the mission. He turned, however, to St. Germanus, his guardian and instructor: from him he received chalices and sacerdotal vestments, a quantity of books, and every other thing requisite for the ministry of the church."—*Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick*, c. 26

the year 432. after making some converts in the counties of Cambridge and Cornwall, western provinces of Great Britain.*

Before we enter into the particulars of the apostleship of St. Patrick, we should observe the state of the island at that time. The fundamental laws which had been enacted many centuries before by wise legislators, were enforced under a monarchical government. Laogare, son of Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, had been monarch of the whole island since the death of Dathy in 428. The four provinces had also each their respective kings.

Baillet formed wrong ideas of the history of this nation, from the slight knowledge he had of it, when he emphatically observes that St. Palladius had found all Ireland in a state of disturbance,† caused by the emigrations from the country, of those people who were then called Scotch or Scots, and had gone at that time to the north of Britain. This passage in Baillet would seem to imply that the whole nation of the Scoto-Milesians had left the fertile and rich lands of Ireland, to go and settle in the barren mountains of Albania. All those emigrations were confined to the demi-tribe of the Dalriads, who inhabited the small territory of Route, in the north of Ulster, and who, always forming one body with those of the same tribe already settled in Albania, and considering themselves as the same family, frequently crossed over, accompanied by volunteers from the other provinces, as they had probably done this year, to join the Picts in their incursions into Britain. This was the third devastation committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, and which Usher, after Gildas and Bede, fixes in the eighth year of the reign of Theodosius the younger, counting from the death of Honorius, in 431, the year of the apostleship of St. Palladius in Ireland.‡

"That saint," adds our author, "was soon obliged to leave Ireland, and follow those colonies to New Scotland, where he hoped to be more successful." However, those people, who were solely intent upon pillage and devastation, were but little disposed to listen to this evangelical preacher: besides, New Scotland lasted but for a short time; the Britons seeing themselves abandoned by the Romans, made an effort, and forced those robbers to return to Ireland, their country, as the venerable Bede, after Gildas, mentions on this occasion, "Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum." The little success which the preaching of St. Palladius produced in Ireland, should be attributed to the persecution raised against him by a prince of Leinster, which ended in the banishment of the saint, and to the want of a perfect knowledge of the language and manners of the country; the intercourse of the Dalriads of Ulster, who formed but an inconsiderable body of people, with those of Albania, and the different emigrations of the former into the latter country, could not derange the system of a nation where peace prevailed, and where the monarch was in perfect harmony with the provincial kings, as the latter were with each other. Such was the state of Ireland when St. Patrick landed on the eastern coast of Leinster, in a canton called "Crioch-Cuallan," and which Probus calls "Regio Evolenorum;" Jocelin and others, "Inbher-Dæ," that is, the port of the river Dæ, which falls into the sea, and is now called Kilmantan by the Irish, and Wicklow by the English. It was in 432, and the fourth year of the reign of Laogare, monarch of the island, that this apostle began his evangelical functions in the same province that St. Palladius had failed in the preceding year. He soon had the consolation of reaping the fruits of that ardent zeal with which he was inspired for the conversion and salvation of those islanders, since the time of his captivity; and the joy of seeing, that God, supporting his ardor and conducting his steps, co-operated in his labors by imparting his grace, and confirmed his doctrine by the signs and miracles which followed his discourses. The first he baptized was Sinell, grandson of Finchad, of the royal race of the kings of Leinster,* descended in the eighth degree from Cormac-Cucorb, king of that province.† This new convert advanced so much in sanctity, that he was afterwards placed in the catalogue of Irish saints.

Saint Patrick was vainly opposed by Nathi, son of Garchon, a prince of this country, who had expelled St. Palladius the preceding year. The apostle having advanced towards a castle called Raith-Inbheir, which Usher thinks was the same as Old-Court, on the sea-shore, near the mouth of the river Bray, was attacked by the pagans of that district, and obliged to return to sea. He set sail, after leaving some of those preachers who accompanied him, to comfort and strengthen the new Christians, and reached an island on the coast of the territory of Dublin, towards the north, called, after him,

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. p 840, et seq.
† Vie de St. Patr. au 17 Mars.
‡ Primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 15, p. 606.

* Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 846.
† Trias Thum. secund. Vit. not. 35

Inis-Phadruig, or the island of Patrick, where he and his crew rested from their fatigues. He left Inis-Phadruig, to repair to a district in the north of Ireland, called Ullagh or Ulidia, and after a few days arrived in the bay of Ibher-Slaing, at present the bay of Dundrum, in the county of Down. Dichu, son of Trichem, of the noble tribe of the Dalfiatachs, lord of the territory of Decale, now a barony, having been informed that pirates had entered his territory, issued forth with his armed vassals, to drive them back; but being struck with respect, on meeting St. Patrick, who announced to him the word of God, he believed, and was baptized, with all his family: this was the first conversion, under God, that was made in Ulster, through the preaching of this apostle. In gratitude for so great a benefit, the new convert consecrated to God the spot on which he had been converted: a church was built on it, two miles from the city of Down,* which was called Sigibol, or Sabhall-Phadruig, signifying the granary of Patrick, having been built on the same place that the lord of the district had a granary to preserve his corn. This church, built at the solicitation of Dichu, from north to south, according to the plan of the granary, was afterwards changed into a monastery of regular canons.

Our saint, by particular feelings of gratitude and compassion, added to his charity towards all men in general, undertook, among other conversions, that of his old master, Milcho, to whom he had been sold, and who had kept him, as his slave, in care of his flocks during the six years he had belonged to him.† With this intention he left Sabhall in the beginning of the year 433, and proceeded to Clanebois, in the territory of Dalaradie, where Milcho lived.‡ However, in this instance it pleased God to check the course of that grace which accompanied his words, and leave that man in his obduracy,§ who, ashamed of allowing himself to be persuaded in his old age to abandon the religion of his ancestors, by a man who had been his slave, threw himself into a fire, which had by some unknown accident broken out in his castle, and was unfortunately burned to death, with his whole family, except Guasact his son, and his two daughters, both called Emeria,‖ whom God in his mercy had chosen and reserved for baptism, which they afterwards received. Guasact became afterwards bishop of Granard, in the territory of Teafna, now the county of Longford;* and his two sisters took the veil in a monastery which St. Patrick had founded at Cluain-Broin, a few miles from that city.† St. Patrick was so much afflicted by this act of Milcho, that he remained several hours without speaking, and shed a flood of tears; he afterwards returned to Dichu, in the territory of Lecale, anciently called Magh-Inis, where he preached, and converted almost all the inhabitants of that district to the faith of Jesus Christ. We may infer from those facts, what a progress the divine word made in this country through his ministry. The harvest increasing every day, he was obliged to multiply his laborers; and in many places, ordained both bishops and priests.

After providing for the necessities of that portion of the rising church, Patrick took his leave of Dichu, and embarked on board his vessel, to return to Meath.‡ He landed in Colbdi, below Drogheda, where the Boyne falls into the sea, and left his little ship in care of Luman, his nephew, and a few sailors,§ with orders to wait for him for forty days, during which he would preach the gospel in the interior of the country.‖ His intention was to go and celebrate the festival of Easter in the plains of Magh-Breagh, where the city of Tara, the usual residence of the kings, was situated. He wished to be within reach of the court at the time of the assembly, which was to be held that year by the monarch, composed of the princes, druids, and pagan priests; well knowing, that whatever impression he might produce at court, would necessarily influence the provinces: with this view he armed himself with zeal, to take advantage of so favorable an opportunity.

Our saint having met on his way with Sesgnen, the lord of a territory in Meath, who invited him to partake of his hospitality, he entered his house announcing the word of God, and baptized him, with all his family. This lord had a son, to whom the holy bishop gave the name of Binen, or Benignus, at his baptism. This young convert became attached to the saint, accompanied him everywhere, and made so great a progress in piety and virtue, that he considered him worthy of being appointed to the see of Ardmach, which he surrendered to him.

* Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 846.
+ Idem, page 847.
‡ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 14, 36.
§ Trias Thaum. 2. Vit. S. Patr. pp. 14, 23.
‖ Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. lib. 1, c. 20, et lib. 2, c. 20.

* Ibid. lib. 2, cap. 137.
† Trias Thaum. 2. Tit. lib. 1, c. 29.
‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 847, et seq.
§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 1, et seq.
‖ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 39, et seq

After leaving the house of Sesgnen, the apostle proceeded towards Tara, and arrived the day before Easter at a place called Firta-Fir-Feic, now Slaine, on the left bank of the river Boyne, where he had a tent erected, to prepare for the ceremonies of the following day.

When the monarch convened an assembly, or held any festival at Tara, it was customary to make a bonfire on the preceding day; it was prohibited to have one in any other place, at the same time, in the territory of Breagh. Patrick, who was perhaps ignorant of, or despised so superstitious a practice, caused a large fire to be lighted before his tent, which was easily seen from Tara. The druids, alarmed at this attempt, carried their complaints before the monarch, and said to him, that, if he had not that fire immediately extinguished, he who had kindled it, and his successors, would hold the sovereignty of Ireland for ever; which prophecy has been fulfilled in a spiritual light.

The monarch sent an order to the stranger to appear before the assembly the day following,* in order to account for his conduct, and he forbid that any should rise through respect for him. Erc, son of Dego, was the first who disobeyed the orders of the monarch;† at the approach of the saint, that lord rose up, offered him his place, and having listened attentively to the word of God, embraced Christianity, and was afterwards nominated bishop of Slaine by that apostle. Patrick, always eager to do every thing that could tend to the salvation of mankind, presented himself the day following, with two of his disciples, before the assembly, where he preached the faith of Jesus Christ, in presence of the monarch and all his nobles, with a freedom which was truly apostolical. Dubtach, archpoet of Laogare, submitted to his preaching, and the talents which he had employed before his conversion in celebrating the praises of the false gods, were afterwards turned to glorify God and his saints.‡ Fiech, his disciple, followed his example, and afterwards became bishop of Sletty.

We may here mention the conversion of Fingar, son of Clito,§ whose life, written by St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was preserved through the care of John Picard,* a regular canon of St. Victor's in Paris, and published in that city in 1624, by Thomas Messingham.† Lastly, the queen and several nobles of that assembly embraced the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and though the monarch opposed it for some time, he received baptism in the end.‡

The preaching of this apostle was here supported by many miracles, mentioned by the authors of his life.§ There never was, in reality, a circumstance in which signs were more necessary, than in an assembly composed of the chiefs and learned men of the whole nation.

St. Patrick having completed his mission at the court of Tara, repaired to Tailton, where the military games, mentioned in the first chapter of the part of this history, were celebrated every year. He did not keep the talent which his master intrusted him with unemployed: he always sought large assemblies, in order to turn it to advantage.

The season of those military exercises, which was the last fifteen days of July, and the first fifteen days of August, being near, he repaired to Tailton,‖ where he preached the doctrine of Jesus Christ to Cairbre and Conall, brothers of Laogare the monarch, with different success: the former continued obdurate and unchanged; the latter, having attended to his instructions, was baptized, and in gratitude he conferred land on the saint, upon which he built a church. He spent the rest of that year in the territories of Meath and Leinster, where a great number were converted, among others the two princesses Ethne and Fedeline, daughters of Laogare, with the druids Mael and Cap-

* Usser. Primord. c. 17, page 849, et seq

† Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 41.

‡ "The hymns which he composed while young, in praise of his false gods, he now changed to a better purpose, viz., to the praises of God and his saints."—*Jocelin.*

§ Usser. Prim. c. 17, pages 861, 869.

* Florileg. in Pass. S. Guigneri, page 203

† "This young prince having been disinherited and banished by his father, through his hatred for the Christian religion, which he had received from St. Patrick, and obliged to leave his native country, united himself with several young men of rank, who went for his sake into voluntary exile; having set sail, they landed after some time in Brittany, where they remained till the death of Clito. Having no longer any thing to fear, this prince returned to Ireland, where he beheld, with joy, that Christianity was established everywhere. The desire of becoming perfect having induced him to renounce his claims, he left his country, accompanied by Piala, his sister, and seven hundred men, seven of whom were bishops, all converted by St. Patrick. However, after landing in Hull, in Cornwall, they were massacred by order of Theodoric, king of that country, for fear they should preach the gospel to his subjects."—*Usser. Primord.* cap. 17, pages 851, 869

‡ 2 Vit. S. Patr. ultimo.

§ Trias. Thaum. Passim.

‖ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 852, et sep.

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St. Patrick going to Tara.

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lait, to whom their education had been intrusted.*

St. Luman, whom St. Patrick had left at Colbdi, weary of his master's absence, proceeded up the river Boyne as far as Ath-Truim, which signifies the ford of Trim, where Feidhlim, son of the monarch Laogare, had a castle.† This prince sent for him, and asked why he came into that district: the saint answered, that he had come with Patrick to convert the Irish; then availing himself of this opportunity, he announced to him the faith of Jesus Christ, and baptized him, with the princess, his wife, daughter of a British king, Fortchern, his son, and all his family. This pious prince, in gratitude for so important a benefit, dedicated to the church all the lands he possessed on that side of the river, together with his son Fortchern, and passed with his household to the opposite side, where he fixed his residence. In concert with St. Patrick, the saint had a church built there, of which he was the first bishop, and was succeeded by Fortchern.

St. Patrick, calling to mind the vision he had in Britain on his return from his captivity in Ireland,‡ considered himself more particularly called upon to convert the inhabitants of Tir-Amalgaid: moved by this impulse, he proceeded to Connaught in the beginning of the year 434. On his way from Tara, he visited the southern Hy-Nialls, that is, the principalities belonging to the four princes, children of the monarch Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, brothers of Laogare, who was at that time monarch, and their descendants; they were called southern Hy-Nialls, from their settlement in the south of Meath, as the other brothers were called the northern Hy-Nialls, whereas they inhabited the north of Meath, with the principalities of Tyrone, Tirconnel, and other territories in Ulster.

The princes of the southern Hy-Nialls were, Laogare, Conall-Crimthine, Fiacha, and Maine.§ The holy apostle first addressed himself to Fiacha,‖ prince of a part of Westmeath, near Mount Usnach, called after him Kinel-Fiacha,¶ signifying the race of Fiacha.** But the prejudice of education, and the attachment of this prince to the superstition of his ancestors, made him deaf to the word of God.*

Saint Patrick was more successful with Eana: this prince, who was in possession of an extensive territory, called after him Kinel-Eana, or Kinel-Enda, extending from Kinaliach to the river Shannon, was more docile than his brother. After witnessing some miracles which the saint performed in his presence, he listened to the word of God, and received baptism with his whole family; and in acknowledgment for so great a favor, he presented to God and to the church a ninth of his property, together with his son Cormac, who was yet a child, and who became bishop of Athruim, and afterwards archbishop of Ardmach.

Our saint went from thence to the country of Teafana, called by the Latin authors Teffia; this territory comprised part of Westmeath, and extended into Analy, now the county of Longford; and was divided into northern and southern Teafna. Southern Teafna belonged to Maine; this prince was converted by the preaching of St Patrick, who founded in his district the episcopal see of Ardagh, which still exists and the first bishop of it was St. Mel, the disciple and nephew of that apostle, by his sister Darerca.† He afterwards proceeded to northern Teafna, sometimes called Cairbre-Guara, belonging to the children of Carbre, one of the four brothers of the northern Hy-Nialls, who had been always opposed to the gospel. But those young princes, more fortunate than their father, received the saint with respect, and granted him the territory of Granard, where he built a church, the care of which he confided to Guasact, son of Milcho his old master, and consecrated him bishop for that purpose. He then visited western Brefny, at present the county of Leitrim, where, after destroying the impious worship of the idol Crom-Cruach, in the plain of Moy-Slecht, he founded a church, called in the language of the country Domnach-Mor, to which he appointed St. Mauran, his kinsman, pastor.

* Vit. 4, Patr. apud Colgan, cap. 55.
† Colg. Act. Sant. Hib. 17, Feb.
‡ Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 434.
§ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 17, Feb. p. 358.
‖ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 100, notes 113, 114, 115.
¶ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 17, et seq. notes 50, 51, 52.
** "With the intention of building a church, the servant of Christ turns to a very celebrated place called Usneace; there were two brothers called Fiachus and Enda, who ruled in that place: from the former the neighboring mountain was called Kinel-Fiacha; to this day the posterity of Fiachus retain the nobility of their family, but not the power. The descendants of this Fiacha are the ancient tribes of MacGeoghegans of Kinallach, and the O'Molloys of Fearcail."
* Vit. 4, Sanctæ Brig. note 1, in lib. 2, page 564
† War. de Præsul. Hib.

After leaving Brefny, St. Patrick crossed the Shannon to enter Connaught.*

He first applied to Ono, a prince of the race of the Hy-Brunes, by Earca-Dearg, son of Brien, and lord of a considerable territory in Magherye-Connaught, called Hy-Onach. This prince, struck with the sanctity and miracles of Patrick, generously gave him the land of Imleach, since called Oilfinn, or Elphin, where he founded an episcopal see, which is still in being, and nominated Asicus, his disciple, first bishop of it. He afterwards visited Hua-Nolella, otherwise Tir-Oilill, in the county of Sligo, belonging to the descendants of Oilill, whose great-grandson, called Maine, he baptized, and afterwards nominated him bishop. He founded two churches there: the first was Sencheall Dumhaighe, where he left several of his disciples; the second, Tamnache, of which he made Carell, of the race of the kings of Ullagh, bishop. Having completed his mission in those districts, the holy apostle turned his thoughts towards the Hy-Brunes. On arriving in the territory of Moy-Seola, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, he met with some of the sons of Brien, who were all opposed to him except Duach, the youngest, from whom are descended the O'Connors, who was baptized. The saint foretold this prince that he and his descendants should possess the crown of the province, which was afterwards verified. The saint then founded the church of Domnach-Mor, or Domnach-Phadruig, on the border of Lake Sealgo, now Lough Hacket. He continued his route through Partrie and Umaille, in the western part of the province, which belonged to Conall-Oirioson, from whom the noble family of the O'Mailles, or O'Malys, derive their origin, where he founded the church of Achad-Fobhuir, the first bishop of which was St. Senach.

At the approach of Lent, St. Patrick withdrew to a high mountain, near the western coast of that province, formerly called Cruachan-Aichle, or Aichuill, now Creagh-Phadruig, in the barony of Morisk, in the county of Mayo, and there spent the Lent in contemplation and prayer.

The authors of his life say, he spent the forty days without taking any food.† Jocelin likewise adds,‡ that he collected all the serpents and venomous reptiles of the country upon this mountain, and cast them into the ocean,§ to which he ascribes the exemption of this island from all venomous reptiles.* However, Solinus, who had written some centuries before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, makes mention of this exemption; and after him Isidore, bishop of Seville, in the seventh century, and Bede, in the eighth, speak of it without assigning any cause. It appears that Jocelin is the first who gave this account; thus it is probable that it proceeds from the climate, or the nature of the soil, rather than from any supernatural cause.

Our saint having ended his retreat upon the mountain, came down to the plain towards the end of Lent, where, after preaching and converting a considerable number of people, he celebrated the Easter in the church of Achad-Febhuir, which he had founded before Lent in the territory of Umaille; he afterwards visited the country, as far as Tir-Amalgaid, where he met with the seven sons, or, according to others, the twelve sons of Amalgaid, assembled in council with the nobles of the province about the succession to their father's crown.

To Amalgaid, son of Fiachra, belonged the territory called after him Tir-Amalgaid, that is, the country of Amalgaid; the sceptre was at that time held by the tribe of the Hy-Fiachras. His brother Dathy, king of Connaught, having succeeded to the monarchy of the whole island on the death of Niall the Great, left him the crown of that province. The right of succeeding to the crown after his death, was the object of this assembly, where St. Patrick preached the gospel, and converted many. This account is variously related:† some authors say that the brothers, finding it impossible to agree about the succession, had chosen Laogare the monarch, and Eogan his brother, as arbitrators of their dispute; that Enda-Crom, the eldest of the brothers, being unable to accompany them to Tara, had intrusted this commission to his son Conall, a young man of great talent, but being opposed by the intrigues of his uncles, had recourse to the influence of St. Patrick, who was then at Tara, to gain admittance for him to plead the cause of his father. They add, that this prince, being indebted to the apostle for his successes at the court of Tara, induced him to go with him to Connaught, and preach the gospel to the inhabitants of this district. The saint accepted this proposal the more willingly, as he was thereby enabled to execute the design he had formed of visiting that people.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, cap 35, et seq. A. D. 434
† Vit. 4, c. 59.
‡ Jocelin, cap. 171.
§ Vit 5, lib. 2, c. 19, 20.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 63.
† Vit. Trip. cap. 77.

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However this be, the authors of this saint's life affirm, that in one day* he converted and baptized the seven princes, sons of Amalgaid, besides twelve thousand persons,† and that those conversions had been supported by many miracles, which God wrought in favor of that apostle, to confound the druids and pagan priests, who were opposed to his doctrine. He founded a church for the new Christians, of which he nominated Mancenus bishop, a very pious man, and well versed in the holy scriptures.‡

On leaving Tir-Amalgaid, he proceeded towards the north, along the river Moy, making converts everywhere as he passed. On the left bank of this river, where it discharges itself into the sea, he built a church called Kil-Aladh, at present Killala, an episcopal see, the first bishop of which was St. Muredach, the disciple of that apostle.§ It is said there were forty-seven churches in that province founded by him, among which was Cassioll-Irra, in the county of Sligo, the first bishop of which was St. Bron.‖

This apostolical man, after spending seven years in visiting the several parts of Connaught, and establishing the Christian religion in the most inaccessible places of the province, at length quitted it in 441, to visit Ulster, of which he had yet seen but a very small portion.

On leaving Connaught, St. Patrick proceeded on his way to Sligeach,¶ through Drumcliabh and Rossclogher, as far as Magh-Ean, a large plain, situated in the southern part of Tirconnel, between the bay of Donnagall and the rivers Earn and Drabhois, the latter of which has its source in ake Melve, and discharges itself into the bay of Donnagall, near Bundroose: he preached the gospel there for some time, and founded the church called Disert-Phadruig.

Having crossed the river Earne, between Eas-Ruad and the ocean, his preaching was everywhere attended with success. The country of Tirconnel belonged to Conal-Gulban, son of Niall the Great, brother to Laogare, the monarch who was then reigning, and chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Donnels. His brother Carbre was lord of a district on the banks of the river Earne. The former had already received baptism from the hands of St. Patrick, but the latter had persisted in his obduracy; so that the saint, in his passage through their country, had met with a very different reception from those two lords. Carbre was strongly opposed to his doctrine; but Conall received him with that respect due to the man who had drawn him from the darkness of idolatry and paganism. During his stay with Conall he resolved to go to Ailech-Neid, a castle in the peninsula of Inis-Eoguin, or Inis-Owen, and residence of Eoguin, another brother of the monarch, and Conall, chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Neills. He generally applied to the great, convinced that the people commonly follow the example of the prince: with this intention he proceeded towards Inis-Eoguin, through the extensive plains of Bearn-Mor, Tir-Aodhe and Magh-Ithe, a small territory on the borders of the river Finn. His time was always well employed; he gave instructions in every place, and at all times, even while he was travelling. On his way he founded a church which he called Domnach-Mor, in Magh-Ithe, and then continued his route to Inis-Eoguin.

Prince Eogan being informed of the arrival of the apostle in his territories,* went to meet him, and received him with all possible marks of honor and respect; and having attended with humility to the word of God, was converted, with all his household and vassals; the saint left Inis-Owen, and crossing the river Febhail or Fewal, at present Foyle, between the lake of that name and the city of Daire-Calgach, now Derry, he preached the gospel in the neighborhood of the river Fochmuine, at present Faughan, in the territory of Oireachty-Cahan, for nearly two months, and founded some churches there. He again returned to the peninsula of Inis-Owen, to complete a mission so happily begun: he remained in this place for the space of forty days, and founded two churches. The first at the request of Aidh, son of Coelbad, and grandson of prince Eogan, who made him a present of land for that purpose; this church, the first bishop of which was Mac-Carthan, the disciple of St. Patrick, was called Domnach-Mor-Muige-Tochuir. The second, which he called Domnach-Bile, was situated near the river Bredach. He afterwards crossed the strait through which lake Foyle discharges itself into the ocean, and coasted along this lake, through the territories of Dagard, Mag-Dola, and Duncruthen, as far

* Jocelin, Vit. Patr. c. 59.
† Usser. Primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 17, page 854.
‡ Conf. Pat. page 19.
§ War. de Præsul. Hib.
‖ Trias. Thaum. pag. 270, et seq.
¶ Vit Trip. lib. 2, c. 108, et not. in Vit. Tripart. 154.

* Vit. Trip. lib. 2, cap. 118, et seq.

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as the small river now called Roewater. Several churches were established in this district, among others Dun Srutehn, the care of which was confided to St. Beoadh or Beatus, who was the first bishop of it. The apostle passed through the territory of Kiennacte, where he made several converts, and built many churches. Sedna, one of the lords of that country, having presented himself before him, received baptism, with his wife, his children, and his vassals.* Sedna was son of Trena, and grandson of Tigernach, of the race of Kiann, son of Oiliol-Olum, king of Munster. He had a son, called Kienan, whom he placed under the discipline of our saint, and was afterwards bishop of Damliag, now Duleek, in Meath.

St. Patrick having completed his mission in the districts bordering upon lake Foyle, crossed the river Bann to Cuilrathen, at present Coleraine. He preached the gospel for some time in the territory of Lea, on the right bank of the river Bann: he then proceeded through the country of Dalrieda, now Route, in the county of Antrim, to the castle of Dun-Sobhairche, in the northern part of that country, and on his way founded several churches and religious houses, to which he appointed bishops and priests; from thence he went to Dalaradie, an extensive territory, comprising the whole county of Down, and the southern part of the county Antrim. This country was, at that time, divided into twelve parts for the twelve sons of Caolbhach, the last monarch of Ireland of the race of the Clanna-Rorys. Caolbhach was son of Croin-Badhraoi, and grandson of Eachach,† from whom this country, which recently belonged to the Magennises, descendants of that prince, afterwards took the name of Iobh-Eachach, by corruption, Iveach. The chief of those brothers was Saran, from whom the Mac-Cartains are descended; but this unhappy prince brought on himself the malediction of St. Patrick, by his opposition to the gospel.‡ Conla, being more docile than his brother Saran, presented himself respectfully before the saint, and conferred on him a handsome tract of land, where he built the monastery of Mag-Commuir, in the diocese of Connor, for regular canons. He also founded several other churches in that country: among others those of Domnach-Mor, and Rath-Sithe, in the territory of Mag-Damorna, where he settled two of his disciples; those of Tulachen and Gluaire in the territory of Latharne, where the body of Mac-Lasse is deposited; Gleanne, Indeachta, and Imleach-Cluana, in the territory of Semne, which contains the remains of St. Coeman; and Rath-Easpuic-Innic, in the territory of Hua-Dereachein, barony of Antrim, the first bishop of which was St. Winnoc.

The holy apostle afterwards passed through the country of Hy-Tuirtre, on the borders of Lough Neagh, which was in the possession of two brothers named Carthen: he was repulsed by the elder, but the younger received him with respect, and embraced the Christian religion, with all his people. The saint founded some churches in this territory, where he left a pastor called Connedus, one of his disciples. He next preached in the territories of Hymeithe-Tire, and Imchlair: in the former, which belonged to the descendants of Colla-da-Crioch, he founded the bishopric of Teag-Talain, which he confided to the care of his disciple, Killen. In the second, situated in Tyrone, he settled the priest St. Columb, as pastor. At some distance from these he founded the episcopal see of Clogher,* of which he himself was first bishop;† he afterwards resigned this church to Mac-Carthen, his disciple, and the companion of his labors.‡

Our saint being intent on founding a metropolitan see, which would be head over the other churches in Ireland, proceeded from Clogher to Druim-Sailech,§ so called from the quantity of willow trees which grew there;‖ this place was, and is still called Ardmach, from its elevated situation,¶ or, according to others, from Macha, wife of Nievy,** who was buried there, as mentioned in the third chapter of the first part of this history. Whatever be the derivation of this name,†† Daire, surnamed Dearg, son of Finchad, grandson of Eogain, son of Niellain,‡‡ of the race of Colla-da-Crioch, lord of this territory, consecrated that spot to God, at the request of St. Patrick,§§ who laid in it the foundation of a city and church in 445. He caused monasteries to be built there, and founded schools, which after-

* Not. 191, in 2 part. Vit. Tripart.
† Not. 206, ad c. 131, 2 part. Vit. Tripart.
‡ Kea. Geneal.

* Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 143
† Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 856.
‡ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, cap. 123, not. in 2 lib
§ War. de Præsul. Hib
‖ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 165.
¶ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, page 857.
** War. de Præsul. Hib.
†† Vit. Trip. lib. 3, c. 68.
‡‡ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 161.
§§ Ogyg. part 2, cap. 76.

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wards became celebrated.* During this interval, St. Mochte, a Briton by birth, founded a church in the city of Lugha, or Ludha, at present Louth, of which he was bishop.

The harvest still continued great, and the laborers had become few, from the great number St. Patrick had placed, during fifteen years, in the different churches he had founded in Ulster, Meath, and Connaught. The number of foreign missionaries whom he had brought with him to Ireland not being sufficient, it was necessary to prepare some among the natives of the country, which was an undertaking difficult to be accomplished. This people had their peculiar language and characters, as has been proved in the second chapter of the first part of this history. Having been always free and independent of the empire of the Romans, they were unacquainted with the Roman language and its characters; there were, therefore, but two courses to adopt; either to translate the holy books into the language of the country, and celebrate the divine mysteries in it, which would have been contrary to the custom of the church, or to teach the characters of the Roman language to those who were to instruct others: the holy apostle adopted the latter course. We see in his life that he gave the alphabet to those whom he intended for holy orders, which gave rise to the error of Bollandus, who denies that the Irish people had the use of characters before the time of St. Patrick.

To supply the want of ministers to assist him in his mission, our saint, after completing his metropolitan city of Ardmach, went to Great Britain in 447, which he found to be infected with the heresies of the Pelagians, and Arianism. He opposed those errors for some time with success, and brought back a considerable number of his countrymen to the true faith. He met with many learned and pious ecclesiastics in that island, who were desirous of assisting him in his mission to Ireland, thirty of whom he appointed bishops. With this aid he embarked for Ireland; but on his voyage stopped at the Isle of Man, where he preached the gospel, and left Germain, one of his disciples, as bishop.†

The holy apostle returned to Ardmach in the beginning of the year 448, and having visited that church, held a synod with some bishops, among whom were Auxil and Isernin,‡ regular canons of St. John of Lateran, who had accompanied him from Rome.* The charity of Patrick would not allow him to neglect a single province or district in Ireland. He had not yet visited Munster, depending on the zeal of the holy missionaries, Declain, Ailbe, Kieran, and others, who labored in that vineyard for some years. He had been but in one district in Leinster, on his arrival in the island, and had made some converts in it; wherefore, having settled the affairs of the church of Ardmach,† he proceeded towards Leinster, through Meath, where he converted the people of Fera-Cuil and Hisegain, and founded the church of Bile-Tortan, near Ardbrecain,‡ which he confided to the care of Justin, a priest, his disciple, and great-grandson of Breasal, lord of the country. Having crossed the river of Finglass, he arrived at Bally-Ath-Cliath, "oppidum super crates,"§ a city so called from the hurdles which were used, either to secure the foundations of the houses, or to strengthen the roads on the marshy banks of the river Liffey, which waters it; this city has been since called Dubh-Lin, at present Dublin, from the black and muddy bottom of that river.

The high reputation of sanctity which St. Patrick had acquired, added to the number of miracles he wrought everywhere, having made him known and respected even by the pagans, the inhabitants of Dublin went out in crowds to meet him. These appearances were a happy omen of the faith they were about to receive from this saint. He baptized them all, with Alphin, son of Eochaid, who was at that time their king:‖ the ceremony was performed in a fountain near the city, called since that time the fountain of St. Patrick, and became an object of devotion to the faithful for many centuries, till it was filled up and enclosed within a private dwelling in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The saint had a church built near this fountain, which afterwards became a cathedral, bearing his name.

The authors of the life of St. Patrick mention some miracles wrought by God to confirm his mission, which had hastened the conversion of that city. It was, no doubt, the admiration which those miracles had inspired, that influenced the prince and his people to bind themselves and their heirs to

* Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 854.

† Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit cap. 15, pages 642, 643.

‡ Usser. Primord. c. 17, page 841

* The canons of this synod are among the works ascribed to St. Patrick, published by Sir James Ware.

† Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 68, 70, 71.

‡ Not. 23, 24, 25, ad lib 3, vit. Trip.

§ Camb. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 750.

‖ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, pp. 862, 863.

pay to that apostle and his successors for ever, in the see of Ardmach, three ounces of gold yearly.

Our saint spent the whole of that year preaching the faith in Leinster, where he founded a great number of churches.* He began his mission in that province by the conversion of two princes,† sons of Dunlainge, who held the principality of the northern part of the province,‡ on the banks of the river Liffey, the capital of which was Naas. He founded two churches in that part of the country; the first, which he intrusted to the care of the bishop Auxil, was called Kil-Ausaille, in Latin, "Cella Auxilii," by corruption, Kill-Ussi, in the plains of the river Liffey, near Kildare. The second was called Kill-Cuilinn, the first bishop of which was Issernin, and after him Maetal.

St. Patrick afterwards visited the districts of Leix, Ossory, and Hy-Kinseallagh,§ as far as the southern extremity of the province, working miracles, and making converts everywhere. Among others, he baptized Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinseallagh, of the race of Cahire-More, who was at that time king of Leinster. This prince was very pious, and a liberal benefactor to the church. He built seventy churches in Hy-Kinseallagh and in the eastern part of the province, which he liberally endowed. He granted the tract of land called Slebte, now Sletty, on the banks of the river Barrow, to Fiech, at the request of St. Patrick.‖ Fiech had a church built there, of which he was first bishop, with the title of arch-prelate of Leinster.¶ Criomthan was unfortunately killed by Aongus, or Euchodius, brother of St. Fiech, in revenge for having been banished with his brothers, by the king, from that province.**

Having established Christianity in Leinster on a solid basis,†† St. Patrick proceeded to Munster, where there were already some Christians, and a few churches founded by his precursors. He went directly towards Cashel, in the territory of Eoganach, the place where king Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, at that time resided. This prince being informed of the sanctity and virtues of the holy apostle, came forth to meet him in the plain of Femyn, which is a territory that surrounds Cashel, since called Gowlin-Vale, from a village of that name on the river Suire, and by corruption Golden-Vale; he received him with every mark of distinction and respect, and brought him to his city of Cashel, where he heard the word of God, and was converted, together with his whole court.*

A singular fact is related of the Christian fortitude and patience of Aongus, during the ceremony of his baptism. The holy bishop having leaned on his pastoral staff,† which was pointed with iron, it pierced the king's foot, who suffered the pain without complaining, till the ceremony was ended.‡ The apostle hearing of the accident, asked him why he had not complained; the king answered respectfully, that he thought it formed part of the ceremony. This prince was pious and firmly attached to the religion he had embraced: out of a great number of children of both sexes, he devoted one half to the service of God, and always supported in his palace two bishops, ten priests, and seventy-two religious persons, who served as his council in religious affairs.

The four precursors of Saint Patrick, namely, Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibar, having come to Cashel to see the saint, and to congratulate their king upon his conversion, assisted at the synod which that apostle had convoked. Some difference arose about the primacy, which those saints, who like him had received their mission from the holy see, would not acknowledge in St. Patrick However, their charity stifled every sentiment opposed to the cause of Jesus Christ Those saints were confirmed, at that synod in the possession of the churches they had founded; that of Imleach-Jobhuir, otherwise Emly, in Tipperary, founded by St. Ailbe, was made the metropolitan of the whole province: it was united to Cashel in the sixth century.§ That of Ardmore, in the territory of Desie, in the county of Waterford, was adjudged to St. Declan, by whom those people were converted; this church was afterwards annexed to Lismore. St. Kieran was confirmed in the see of Saigre, or Seir-Kieran, in the territory of Ely, which see was afterwards transferred to Aghavoe, and from thence to Kilkenny. Lastly, Ibar was appointed bishop of Beg-Erin, that is, Little Ireland, an island on the coast of Wexford.

Having settled with the other bishops the affairs of the church of Cashel, St Patrick

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, c. 18.
† Not. 39, 40, in 2 Vit.
‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, pp. 826, 827
§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 19, et seq.
‖ Usser. Primord. cap. 17. pp. 863, 864.
¶ Vit. Tripart. lib. cap. 24.
** Not. 47, in eundem lib.
†† Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 863.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 29.
† Idem. cap. 30.
‡ Usser. Primord cap. 17, page 863.
§ Ibid. page 866.

took leave of Aongus, and continued his mission through Muscraighe-Breogain, Aracliach, and Lumneach, as far as the river Shannon.*

The inhabitants of Thuomond showed as much zeal as those of the other districts, in hearing the word of God. Having learned that the holy apostle was in their neighborhood, they crossed the river to hear him preach, and were baptized, with Carthan Fionn, son of Bloid, their prince. This apostle continued to preach on the left bank of the river, and visited the country of Ciarruidh-Luachra, now Kerry, and all the southern part of the province; and having drawn many to the faith of Jesus Christ, and founded several churches, where he established pastors, he returned through Desie to Cashel, having spent several years in the conversion of that province.

The time of our saint's departure from Munster being near, the princes and great men of the province assembled, placed themselves under his protection,† and, in gratitude for the services he had rendered the province, they undertook to pay an annual tax to him and his successors in the see of Ardmach; which tax, called in the Irish language, Cain-Phadruic, was regularly paid for some centuries. The high veneration in which he was held in that province, made them carefully preserve a stone which he had used in celebrating the holy mysteries, or some other religious ceremonies: it was called Leach-Phadruic, and the succeeding kings of Cashel considered it an honor to sit on it during their coronation.‡

In the year 455 St. Patrick left Munster, to return to the north of the island. In passing through Leinster, he preached the gospel in the district of Hy-Failge, which belonged to the descendants of Rossa-Failge, and Daire-Barrach, brothers and sons of the monarch Cahire-More. The former, from whom are descended the O'Connors-Failge, listened to him with respect, and were baptized, but he was repulsed by the latter. He then continued his way towards Ulster, opposing everywhere the darkness of idolatry with the light of the gospel.

Our saint spent six years in visiting the churches of Ulster, consoling and confirming the new Christians, and converting those who had persevered in idolatry; and the better to watch over the churches in general, he resigned the see of Ardmach to St. Binen, or Benignus, his disciple and successor.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 43, 44.
† Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, c. 29, et 53.
‡ Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, page 29

The holy apostle having established the church of Ireland on a solid basis, and having ordained pastors for the several churches, set out for Rome, to give an account of his labors to the holy and learned Pope Leo surnamed the Great, to consult him on various matters, and to prove the doctrine he had taught to his people, by that of the first pastors of the church, in the centre of its unity, where the common oracle of the Christians resided. He obtained this pope's approval for his having made the church of Ardmach the metropolitan;* which was afterwards supported by the honor of the pallium, and the title of apostolical legate in Ireland, to him and his successors.

We cannot but admire the omnipotence of God, and power of his grace, in the rapid conversion of this idolatrous nation. So sudden a change can only be attributed to him who has the power of softening the most callous hearts; for it can be said with truth, that no other nation in the Christian world received with so much joy the knowledge of the kingdom of God, and the faith in Jesus Christ. Nothing can be found to equal the zeal with which the new converts lent their aid to St. Patrick, in breaking down their idols, demolishing their temples, and building churches. We may likewise add, that no other nation has preserved its faith with more fortitude and courage, during a persecution of two centuries.

CHAPTER X

While St. Patrick devoted his time and care to establish in Ireland the kingdom of Jesus Christ, peace was preserved in its temporal kingdom under the government of Laogare. Religion and the principles of Christianity, by correcting and softening the ferocious manners of the inhabitants, contributed largely to the happiness of the prince and the people. The subject learned, that as all power emanated from God, his first and most important obligation was, loyalty to his lawful prince; and the prince learned that he ought to govern his people, not as a tyrant, but like a true father. In order to preserve this harmony in the government, the monarch convened a general assembly of the states at Tara,† where Saint Patrick, together with other bishops, took their seats in place of the druids:‡ the customs and

* Jocelin, in Vit. S. Patr. c. 166.
† Keat. on the reign of Laogare.
‡ Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, p. 46.

laws of the country were reformed; every thing bordering on pagan superstition was abolished, or regulated according to the spirit of the gospel. The antiquarians submitted to the inspection of the holy apostle, the register of Tara, and other monuments respecting the history of the nation, and the genealogies of the principal families; which he declined, alleging as a reason, the slight knowledge he had of the antiquities of the nation, and requested them to follow the ancient custom in those kinds of inquiries. Accordingly, a committee of nine persons was appointed, three of whom were kings, three bishops, and three antiquarians. Those three kings were the monarch, and the kings of Ulster and Munster; the bishops were St. Patrick, St. Binen, that apostle's successor in the see of Ardmach, and Cairnach; and the antiquarians were Dubththach, Feargus, and Rosa. Having completed the inquiry, and cleared the monuments of every error, the deputies made their report to the assembly, and the monarch ordered that those monuments, which had been till then preserved in the archives of Tara, should be confided to the care of the bishops, who made several copies of them, to be deposited in the different churches in the kingdom, both for the convenience of individuals who might wish to consult them, and prevent the accidents that might occur either by fire or war. In this examination of the manuscripts of the Milesians, the holy apostle caused a great number of volumes to be burned, which treated of the superstitions of the pagan religion, which the Irish had till then professed.

The only war in which Laogare was engaged during his reign, was against the people of Leinster, about the Boroimhe or tribute which Tuathal Teachtmar, one of his predecessors, had imposed on them in the second century. They had often made ineffectual struggles to rid themselves of this burden, which furnished Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinseallagh, who was king of Leinster at that time, with a pretext to declare war against the monarch. Wars were but of short continuance in ancient times; one battle often sufficing to terminate the dispute. Both parties having come to an engagement at Ath-Dara, in the county of Kildare, Criomthan was victorious, and Laogare taken prisoner: he recovered his liberty only on condition of relinquishing his claim on that province, a promise which he afterwards considered as void, having been extorted by violence. He was killed some time afterwards by a thunderbolt at Grealach-Dabhuill, near the Liffey, in the county of Kildare. A. D. 463.*

It is morally impossible to discover the number of episcopal sees in the church of Ireland before the twelfth century. If the number equalled that of the bishops whom St. Patrick had consecrated, we should reckon 350 according to Jocelin, and according to Nennius 365; but it is very unlikely that the saint had consecrated that number of bishops for so many different sees.† Were it not that several succeeded each other in the same sees, we should admit that almost every village had its bishop. However great we may suppose the number to have been, it was considerably lessened before the twelfth century, several sees having been united together.

We have already seen, in the life of St. Patrick, that besides the churches founded by his four precursors, and erected into bishoprics at the synod of Cashel, the apostle, and after him his disciples, had founded a great number of churches and monasteries.

I here give an account only of the cathedral churches which still exist, though at present belonging to a different religion, and the religious houses suppressed in the latter ages by the supposed reformers; I shall place them under the different reigns, as far as I am acquainted with the time of their foundation.

The cathedral churches founded in the fifth century, that still exist, and the time of the foundation of which corresponds with the reigns of Laogare, Oilioll-Molt, and Lugha VII., are Ardmach—which, though not the most ancient, I mention first on account of its pre-eminence—Ossory, Emly, Ardach, Elphin, Killala, Clogher, Kildare, Down, and Connor.

Ardmach is the head of the churches in Ireland, and is styled the metropolitan.‡ St. Patrick having filled this see for the space of ten years, resigned it to Saint Binen, (Benignus,) his disciple, son of Sesgnen, a rich and powerful man in Meath, who was converted, with his family, by St. Patrick, whom he hospitably received when this saint was going to the court of Laogare. The latter resigned it in favor of Iarlath, and died three years afterwards at Ardmach. A. D.

* Vit. S. Patr. cap. 185.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 16.

‡ "He built a cathedral church in the same city, that it should be the metropolitan and mistress of all Ireland."—*Jocelin.*

He fortified the metropolitan church of Armagh, for the salvation of souls, and to protect the city and kingdom.

465, or, according to others, at Ferlingmor, in England,* from whence, it is said, his relics were removed in 1091, to the abbey of Glastonbury, in the county of Somerset; but the annals of Innis-Faill fix his death at Rome, in the year 467.

Iarlath, or Hierlath, disciple of St. Patrick,† successor to St. Binen, and third bishop of Ardmach, was son of Trena, or Trien, prince of Mudhorn, now the barony of Mourne, in the county of Down, of the race of the Dalfiatachs.‡ Although Trena lived sufficiently long to have heard the word of God from St. Patrick, still he died an obdurate pagan; his example was not followed by his two sons, Iarlath and Sedna, who conceived a particular regard for the holy apostle, and became zealous imitators of his virtues. Iarlath, although younger than most of the disciples of this apostle, was considered worthy, by his wisdom and piety, to be nominated to the principal see in the island, after Saint Binen. He died after an episcopacy of eighteen years, the eleventh of February, 482, though his decease is fixed a year sooner in the annals of Ulster, that is, in the year 481. "Quies Iarlathi, filii Trenæ, Episcopi Ardmachani:" "The decease of Iarlath, son of Trena, bishop of Ardmach;" and according to another copy: "The decease of Iarlath, son of Trena, third bishop of Ardmach:" "Tertia Episcopi Ardmachani."

Iarlath of Ardmach is not the same as Iarlath,§ founder and first bishop of Tuaim-da-Gualand, now Tuam, in Connaught.‖ The sees of Dublin and Cashel were not founded till some centuries after, and were made metropolitan churches, with Tuam, in the twelfth century.¶

After the death of Iarlath of Ardmach, St. Patrick appointed Cormac, bishop of Trim, to succeed him; so that this holy apostle lived to nominate three bishops, one after the other, to the see of Ardmach. Cormac, nephew of Laogare the monarch, by his brother Eana, to whom belonged, in the time of St. Patrick, the territory extending from Kinaliagh in West-Meath as far as the river Shannon, and who gave his son and the ninth part of his property to the holy apostle, was instructed by St. Patrick and his disciples for some years; and made a considerable progress in virtue, the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and theology. He was appointed by St. Patrick bishop of Athruim, in east Meath, from whence he was removed by the same saint to the see of Ardmach, vacant by the death of Iarlath He died the seventeenth of February, having been at the head of that church for fifteen years, and was interred at Trim, where his memory is held in high veneration, as well as at Ardmach. Dubtach, or Duach, succeeded Cormac; he is called, in the life of St. Tigernach, the venerable Duach, and celebrated archbishop of the see of St. Patrick. He died in 513, after an episcopacy of sixteen years.

Ailild, or Ailil, son of Trichen, of the royal race of the Dalfiatachs,* princes of Eastern Ulster, was archbishop of Ardmach during thirteen years; he died the 13th of January, 527. He was succeeded by another of the same name and family,† who governed that church till his death, which happened the 1st of July, 536, and was succeeded by Dubtach, or Duach the second, of the race of Colla-Huais, who died in 548.

The episcopal see of Ossory, founded in the beginning of the fifth century at Sayghir,‡ in the country of Ely, as has been already mentioned, by St. Kieran,§ one of the four precursors of St. Patrick in the mission of Ireland, is incontestably the most ancient in Ireland. St. Cartach the elder, (so called to distinguish him from Cartach, first bishop of Lismore.) son or grandson of Aongus, king of Munster, who had been converted by St. Patrick, succeeded St. Kieran in the see of Sayghir, having been his disciple,‖ and submitted to a penance of seven years in a foreign country, which that saint had imposed on him in expiation of a crime he had committed, by endeavoring to seduce a nun. On his return to his country, he gave such strong proofs of virtue, and the sincerity of his conversion, that he became the well-beloved of his master, St. Kieran, and was considered worthy of succeeding him. He died the 6th of March, in the year 540.

St. Sedna, or Sedonius, succeeded St. Cartach. He is expressly called bishop of Sayghir, in his life, mentioned in Colgan, on the 10th of March.¶

Among the number of those prelates are

* War. de Præsul. Armach.
† Ibidem.
‡ Colgan, Act. SS. Hib. ad 11 Febr
§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 46.
‖ War. de Præsul. Hib.
¶ Colg. Act. SS. Hib. ad 11 Feb

* Usser. Primord. p. 874.
† Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 526.
‡ War. de Præsul. Ossoriens.
§ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 5 Mart. in Vit. Kieran, p. 438, et seq.
‖ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 6 Mart. Vit. S. Cartach, p 473, et seq.
¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. de S. Sedna, page 572.

also reckoned St. Killen-Mac-Lubney,* who had assisted at the synod held in 695, by Flan-Febla, archbishop of Ardmach, the acts of which Colgan mentions to have seen; Cormac I., who died in 867, and Cormac II., in 997.

The bishopric of Emly is one of the most ancient in the kingdom. This see, situated in a delightful and fertile country, was founded by St. Ailbe, one of the four precursors of St. Patrick, mentioned by Usher.† This saint was looked upon as another St. Patrick, and a second patron of Munster.

Various opinions prevail on the time that St. Ailbe had preached the gospel in Ireland. Ware, on the authority of Tirechan, and the author of that saint's life, seems to favor the opinion of those who assert that St. Ailbe came after St. Patrick, or at least had received the order of priesthood from him; but Usher reckons St. Ailbe among the precursors of that apostle. The judicious Harris says that he does not mean to compare the authority of Tirechan with a number of ancient writers, who affirm that St. Ailbe had preached the gospel, and made several converts in Ireland, before the arrival of St. Patrick. That great saint died at an advanced age, according to Usher and the annals of Ulster and Innisfail, the 12th September, in the year 527. The successors of St. Ailbe in the bishopric of Emly, and before the time of the English, are mentioned by Ware in the account of the prelates of that see. Emly was finally united to the see of Cashel in the sixteenth century.

The cathedral of Ardagh, in the county of Longford, founded by St. Patrick, is also one of the most ancient churches in the island; the first bishop of which was Saint Mel, a native of Britain, and son of his sister Darerca. Some say that it was St. Mel himself who founded it. However this be, he was both bishop and abbot of that church, it having been customary in this country, in the first ages of Christianity, for the same person to be invested with the dignities of bishop and abbot; as bishop he governed the diocese, ordained priests, placed curates, and exercised his other episcopal functions, and, as abbot, was at the head of the monks. St. Mel, says Jocelin, lived by his labor, like St. Paul. He died the 6th of February, 488, five years before his uncle, St. Patrick, and was interred in his church of Ardagh. It is said that he wrote a book on the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick, who was living at that time.

St. Melucho, brother of St. Mel, succeeded him in the see of Ardagh; the other bishops were but little known before the time of the English.

Elphin, or Elfin, formerly called Imleach-Ona,* from Ono, grandson of Erca-Dearg, brother of Duach-Galach, chief of the Hy-Brunes, a fertile territory in Connaught, was given to St. Patrick by Ono, to whom it belonged.† The saint founded a church there, near a little river formed by two fountains in the neighborhood, the care of which he confided to Asicus, a man of an austere and penitent life, who was first bishop of it, and who founded a monastery there. Like St. Eloy, he wrought in gold, silver, and copper, and ornamented his church with his workmanship. He died at Rathcunge, in the country of Tirconnel, where he was interred. His festival is held the 27th of April, but the year of his death is unknown.

The bishopric of Kill-Aladh, now Killala, on the left bank of the river Moy, where it falls into the sea, was founded by St. Patrick before the middle of the fifth century. The first bishop of this see was Saint Muredach, son of Eochaid. His festival is celebrated the twelfth of August; the year of his death is unknown. His successors, before the time of the English, are unknown, except Kellack, great-grandson of Oiliol-Molt, the monarch, who filled that see in the sixth century, under the reign of Tuathal-Maolgarb. This prelate was assassinated, for which his assassins were afterwards torn asunder by four horses. O'Mælfogamair is also called bishop of Tir-Amalgaid and O'Fiachra in the twelfth century. The bishopric of Killala is so called, by the historians of the country, from the surrounding territories of Tir-Amalgaid, or Tyrawly and O'Fiachra Mui. Lastly, Imar O'Ruadan is called bishop of O'Fiachra, that is Killala, who died in 1177.

The church of Clogher, in Tir-Eogain, was founded by St. Patrick, before that of Ardmach.‡ The first bishop of this church, after St. Patrick, was St. Macarthen.§ This saint was known by three or four different names;‖ his first name, which was given him by his parents, was Aeb, or Aib·

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 5. Mart. App. ad Vit. S. Kiaran, c. 4, p. 475.

† Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, p. 781, et seq. cap. 17, p. 866.

* Vit. Trip. part 2, cap. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 79.

‡ Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 856

§ War. de Præsul. Hib.

‖ Colgan, Act. Sanct. Hib. page 737 et 740.

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his second name was Fer-Dachrioch, signifying the man of the two countries, having been successively abbot of Darinis, an island on the coast of Hy-Kinseallagh, near Wexford, and afterwards bishop of Clogher; Jocelin calls him Kerten, which is only a patronymic name, designating the son by the father; lastly, he was called Macartin, or Macaerthen, signifying the son of Caerthen. This saint belonged to the noble family of the Arads of Dalaradie, and was one of the oldest disciples of St. Patrick, and his companion in his apostolical labors and voyages into foreign countries; for which reason he was called the staff of the old age of that holy apostle. St. Macarthen founded, by order of St. Patrick, a monastery at Clogher, after which he died, the 6th of October, 506, and was interred in the cemetery of his church.

Tigernach, or Tierne, called legate of Ireland in the registry of Clogher, succeeded Macarthen; he made the church of Cluan his cathedral, from whence he was called bishop of Cluanois, or Clunes. He is perhaps the same as Tigernach of Clonmacnoisk. He founded an abbey at Clunes, in Monaghan, for regular canons, which he dedicated to the apostles St. Peter and Paul. Usher fixes his death on the fifth of April, 550,* others in 549, and the annals of the four masters in 548.†

Oilioll, surnamed Molt, son of Dathy, of the race of the Hy-Fiachras of Connaught, succeeded Laogare, A. D. 463. This monarch being intent on renewing the tributes which his predecessors had exacted from the people of Leinster, gave them battle at Tuma-Aichair: the action was bloody, but not decisive. The most disastrous war in which he was engaged was with Lugha, son of Laogare; this prince, who looked upon Oilioll as usurper of the supreme government of the island,‡ made an alliance with some other princes of the country, who furnished him with troops to support him in his right to the monarchy. Those princes were Mortough-Mac-Erca, Feargus-Kerbeoil, son of Conall-Crimthine, Fiachra-Lonn, son of Laogare, and king of Dalaradie, and Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinsealleagh, king of Leinster. Lugha, at the head of the confederate army, gave battle to the monarch t Ocha,§ in Meath, wherein the latter lost his life, in consequence of which the crown devolved to his rival, A. D. 483.*

Saint Patrick, whom we had left at Rome, having returned to Ireland, felt himself exhausted by the labors and fatigues he had undergone for the sake of Jesus Christ.† He had, in the whole, spent sixty years in his mission, the first thirty of which were occupied in continual labor; he was obliged, however, during the last thirty years, to lead a more tranquil life, which he spent, sometimes at Ardmach, and sometimes in his first monastery of Sabhall, where, not content with assisting his disciples and other ministers with his prayers and advice, he watched over the whole administration with equal vigilance and solicitude; he preached every day, and held his councils each year.

St. Patrick having gone with St. Olcan into the country of Dalrieda to visit the new Christians, he met with Feargus, the youngest of the twelve sons of Erc, son of Eocha Munravar, prince of that territory who complained of the injustice of his brothers that wished to deprive him of all share in the succession of their father Erc, who had lately died.‡ The holy prelate,§ moved with compassion for the young prince, and knowing the justice of his claims, used his influence for him, with his brothers, and prevailed on them to restore to him his right. Filled with gratitude for so signal a service, Feargus offered him the half of his inheritance for the use of the church, which offer the saint had too much delicacy to accept; he asked him only to confer some land on his companion Olcan, whereon to build a church: in consequence of this the prince gave him Airther-Muighe, one of the principal towns in the district, and its dependencies, where St. Olcan or Bolcan built the church of Dercon, of which he was the first bishop. Prince Feargus afterwards became first king of the Albanian Scots, according to the prophecy of St. Patrick.

Notwithstanding the labors of his apostleship, our saint relaxed in none of the austerities or spiritual exercises which he practised. He always travelled on foot; slept on the bare ground; recited the Psalter, besides a number of hymns and prayers every day; at length, rich in virtue, and happy to witness the prosperous state in which he had placed the kingdom of Jesus Christ in Ireland, he went to receive, in

* Primord. cap. 17, p. 856.
† In. Indice, Chron. p. 1140.
‡ Trias Thaum Vit. 4. S. Brig. lib. 2, cap. 12, et seq. cum. notis.
§ Trias Thaum. not. 8, in lib. 2. Vit. S. Brigid.

* Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 1118.
† Baillet, Vie des Saints, au 17 Mars.
‡ Colgan. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Olcan.
§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 135.

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heaven, the reward of his labors, after having, it is said, built three hundred and sixty-five churches, consecrated almost as many bishops, and ordained nearly three thousand priests. The piety of the faithful contributed largely to those holy works, by resigning a tenth part, not only of their lands, fruits, and flocks, in order to found churches and monasteries, but also a portion of their children, both male and female, to make of them monks and nuns.*

The saint died in 493, aged 120 years, in the reign of the monarch Lugha VII., and the pontificate of Saint Gesalius.† He was interred, not in his monastery of Sabhall, where he died, nor in his church of Ardmach, where he wished to die, but in that of the city of Down, in the diocese of which was Sabhall. His body remained in it for a long time, known and honored by the people on account of the miracles and graces granted by God through his intercession.

In the time of Lugha VII., son of Laogare, who began his reign after the battle of Ocha, A. D. 483, a dreadful war broke out between the different provinces of the kingdom.‡ Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, having reigned thirty-six years in Munster, was killed, with his queen, Eithne-Vathach, daughter of Criomthan, last king of Leinster, and grand-daughter of Eana-Kinseallagh, at the battle of Kill-Osnach, in the plain of Moy-Fea, near Leighlin in the county of Carlow.

Duach-Galach, son of Brien, and grandson of Eocha-Moy-Veagon, king of Connaught, was killed at the battle of Seaghsa. Fraoch, son of Fionchad, king of Leinster, lost his life at the battle of Graine.

The principal belligerents, besides the provincial kings, were, Mortough-Mac-Earca, who became monarch after Lugha; Oilioll, son of Dunluin, prince of Leinster; and Cairbre, son of Niall the Great, with his son Eochad. Those wars were followed by an open rupture between the Hy-Nialls and the people of Leinster, which terminated in the battle of Loch-Moighe, in which a great number of lives were lost.

All the ancient monuments of the Milesians mention the last expedition of the Dalriads of Ulster to Albania, to have taken place in the time of Lugha VII. They were headed by the six sons of Erc, namely, the two Laornes, the two Aonguses, and the two Fearguses.*

Giraldus Cambrensis affirms that this expedition was commanded by the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, under the reign of Niall the Great; however, it is impossible that those princes could have been capable of leading a colony to Albania in the reign of their great-grandfather, their father being son of Eogan, and grandson of that great monarch. This anachronism arises from the inaccuracy of the author, who has confounded both time and persons.

The Scots of Albania, as has been observed in the first part of this history, whose first founder, in the third century, was Cairbre, otherwise Eocha-Riada, whom Bede calls Reude, were obliged to quit their settlements in Cantyre and Argyle, two territories in Albania called Dalrieda, from Reuda, their first chief, and to return to Ireland in the beginning of the reign of Laogare. "Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum,"† says Bede. Their chief, at that time, was Eocha-Munramar, descended in the seventh degree from Cairbre-Riada, and in the third from Fergus Ulidian, who led part of the tribe that had remained in Munster to the north of Ireland, where he formed a settlement called Dalrieda, which he erected into a kingdom, with the good will of the monarch. Those two people, namely, the Dalriads of Albania, and those of Ulster, considered themselves as kinsmen; and, though separated by an arm of the sea, formed but one tribe, commanded by the same chief.

Eocha-Munramar having died in Ulster, left two sons, Erc and Olcu; from the latter were descended the Dalriads, who remained in that province; and the former, being desirous of retrieving the fortunes of those of the tribe who had left Albania under the command of his father Eocha, led them back to their ancient possessions, about the year 439. Marianus Scotus fixes the permanent establishment of the Dalriads in Albania in the year 445; to which the venerable Bede alludes when he says of them, as well as of the Picts, that they had rested there for the first time: "Tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt."

After this expedition, Erc, whom Usher calls the father of the kings of Scotland

* "Making monks therefore of all the males, and holy nuns of all the females, he built a number of monasteries, and assigned for their support a tenth part of his lands and flocks."—*Henricus Antissidorus*, c. 174.

† Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 17, p. 880, et seq.

‡ Trias Thaum. Vit. 4. S. Brigid. lib. 2, cap. 12. et seq. cum notis.

* Usser. Primord. p. 1029.

† Usser. Prim. cap. 15, p. 608, et seq.

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returned to Ulster, with the title of chief of the Dalriads ; this he retained till his death, which happened in 474. About 29 years afterwards, that is, in 503, six of his children, as we have already observed, led, under the reign of Lugha, a new colony to Albania,* where Feargus the youngest was elevated to the dignity of king, and solemnly crowned some time afterwards.†

Although the Christian religion was universally established in Ireland in the time of Saint Patrick, and both the princes and the people worshipped the true God, it appears that the monarch had apostatized ; as we are informed in history, that his death was caused by a thunderbolt at Achacharca, in Meath, and his descendants were excluded from the throne, as St. Patrick had foretold : such were the chastisements for his impiety and opposition to the gospel.

The recollection of a miracle which God had wrought through the intercession of St. Patrick, to restore this unhappy prince to life, was not capable of changing his heart. St. Patrick and some other bishops being at dinner with the queen, mother of Lugha, the young prince became so suddenly ill at table that they believed him to be dead ; the queen, filled with despair on seeing her son in that state, implored the intercession of the holy apostle with God, for his recovery ; the saint ordered the body to be carried into an adjoining hall, where he prayed till the child was restored to life. Transported with joy and gratitude, the queen ordered that a part of what was daily served at her table should be given to the poor. As this miracle was wrought on St. Michael's day, it gave rise to a custom, which has since prevailed, and is still practised among old Irish families, of killing a sheep on St. Michael's day, the greater part of which is given to the poor. This offering is called, in the language of the country, *Cuid-Mihil*, signifying the share of Michael ; others call it *Coiro-Mihil*, or Michael's sheep : so true is it that those ancient customs, which, for want of knowing the cause of them, appear extraordinary, and even ridiculous, have been founded on some motive of piety.

In this reign were founded the bishoprics of Kildare, Down, and Connor.

Kildare, one of the most ancient bishoprics in Leinster, derives its name from Kill, signifying cell or church, and Daire, which signifies oak, as the first foundation was laid there by St. Bridget, near a wood of oak.

* Usser. Ind. Chron. page 1117.
† Usser. Ind. Chron. page 1122.

St. Conloeth, Conlaidh, or Conlain, was founder and first bishop of this see.* Cogitosus, in the life of St. Bridget, makes mention of Conlait, whom he calls archbishop and high priest.† He died the third of May, in the year 519, and was interred in his church of Kildare, near the great altar, his relics were enshrined in the year 800, in a shrine of silver gilt, ornamented with precious stones. St. Aed, surnamed Dubh, that is, the Black, is the first bishop of Kildare, after St. Conlath, of whom we have any knowledge.‡ According to Colgan, he took the monastic habit, after having been king of Leinster, and became abbot ; he was afterwards made bishop of that see. He is in accordance with the annals of the Four Masters on this subject. Cogitosus, who lived before the year 590, asserts that the succession had remained uninterrupted till his time.§ Walsh makes mention of Mælcoba, bishop of Kildare, under the year 610 ;‖ probably confounding him with another of the same name who was bishop of Clogher, having, according to Gratianus Lucius, abdicated the throne of Ireland.¶

The bishoprics of Down and Connor were founded towards the end of the fifth century ; the former by St. Cailan, and the latter by St. Ængus Macnise.

The first bishop of Down, in Latin Dunum, so called from its being situated on a hill, and formerly called Aras-Cealtair, and sometimes Dun-da-Leghlas, capital of Dalradia, was Cailan or Coelan, abbot of Nendrum.** Allemand having confounded, in his Monastic History of Ireland,†† this abbey with that of Neddrum, founded in the twelfth century, asserts that Usher errs against chronology, by saying that Cailan, first bishop of Down, in the fifth century, was abbot of a monastery, six hundred years before its foundation : however, Allemand forgets that Usher calls the abbey of St. Cailan sometimes Noendrum, and Nendrum, names very different from Neddrum.‡‡ The mistake is too obvious to be attributed to so great a man.

* War. de Præsul. Hib.
† Note 7, in Prolog. cap. 29, note 14.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Aed. ad 4 Jan.
§ "How, without intermission, the archbishop of the Irish bishops, rules over them by perpetual succession and custom."—*Colgan's Life of St. Bridget*, p. 518.
‖ Prosp. page 224.
¶ Cambren. Evers. p. 302.
** War. de Episc. Dunens.
†† Page 156.
‡‡ Usser. Prim. page 954, et 1065.

St. Feargus succeeded St Cailan in this see; he was son of Ængus, of royal blood, being descended from Caolvach, last monarch of the island of the race of Irc. He had been, it is said, abbot and founder of the monastery of Kill-Bian; he died the 30th March, 583.

The succession of prelates of the bishopric of Down, was interrupted till the twelfth century, and the episcopacy of St. Malachi O'Morgair, whose life has been written by St. Bernard.

Ængus Macnise, as we have already observed, was founder and first bishop of Connor, a city in the county of Antrim. His father was called Fobrec, and contrary to general custom, he took his surname from his mother, and was simply called St. Macnise. His death is fixed on the 3d September, 507, or according to others 514. His successors are but little known till the arrival of the English, or at least till the episcopacy of St. Malachi O'Morgair, who was appointed to this see in 1124, from whence he was removed to Ardmach, which he resigned some time after in favor of Gelasius, to retire to Down. Those churches had each a chapter, consisting of a dean, archdeacon, chorister, treasurer, chancellor, and of some prebendaries. Those sees were reunited in 1442 by Pope Eugene IV., at the request of John, then bishop of Connor; in consequence of which there were letters patent from King Henry VI., in the year 1438, wherein this union was approved of.

Monks were established almost as early as the Christian religion in Ireland. The monastic state, says Camden, although in its beginning, had attained a high degree of perfection in that country. The monks desired to be in reality what they appeared; their piety was neither affected nor disguised; if they erred in any thing, it was more through simplicity than obstinacy or bad intention.*

It is not easy to decide to what order these monks belonged in the first ages of Christianity. That of St. Benedict, and the regular canons of St. Augustin, as they are at present, were not then known; it is therefore probable that the monks in Ireland had made certain regulations for themselves, or that they had brought the rules of St. Anthony, St. Pacomius, or St. Basil, from the Levant; or perhaps those of the celebrated hermits of Mount-Carmel or Thebais; which is not without some appearance of truth. St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Kieran, and others, had really travelled in Italy; and St. Patrick himself, after being a regular canon of St. John of Lateran, had visited the islands in the Mediterranean, as far as the Archipelago, where several of those regulations were established, not only at that time, but long before. Those regulations were perhaps afterwards blended with those of St. Augustin, and St. Benedict, which had prevailed throughout the west.

In those early ages, thirteen orders, or particular rules, prevailed in Ireland, namely, those of St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Patrick, St. Columb, St. Carthach, St. Molua or Lugidus, St. Moctee, St. Finian, St. Columbanus, St. Kieran, St. Brendan, and the order instituted by St. Bridget for females.

All those orders differed not only in their dress, tonsure, food, and retirement, but likewise in those who had been their founders, and also the abbeys and monasteries connected with them: and as the union of all those particular orders with those of St. Augustin and St. Benedict, is very ancient, we cannot exactly determine to what rule in particular each convent formerly belonged.

The order of St. Columbanus was the only one among the thirteen which submitted to that of St. Benedict; the others professed the order of the regular canons of St. Augustin, which has been the most considerable in Ireland, the Benedictines not having appeared till the seventh century.

In the fifth century there were many holy abbots in Ireland, who founded abbeys.* The most eminent were St. Endee, St. Moctee, St. Senan, St. Riochc, St. Canoc, and the great St. Bridget, who was abbess and the foundress of several monasteries.

The sixth century was not less fruitful in saints who founded monasteries, and some of whom introduced particular orders.† The most celebrated were, the great St. Columb, the two St. Finians, the two St. Brendans, the Saints Colman, St. Colmanelle, St. Brogan, St. Coman, St. Congall, St. Edan, or Maidoc, St. Fachnan, St. Carthach, St. Cronan, St. Laserian, or Molaisse, St. Sinelle, and many others.

We also discover in the seventh century, several abbots, celebrated for the sanctity of their lives, as St. Dubhan, St. Fechin, St. Columbanus, St Munchin, and St. Rodan.

There were likewise many saints in the

* "The monks, although recently established, and their order new, wished to be in accordance with their character. They acted without disguise or pretence. They possessed simplicity, but nothing bordering on obstinacy or malice."—*Camden*, page 730.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. note 7, ad Vit. S. Fursei.
† Usser. Primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 17, page 909

eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the course of this history.

This island was called, by way of pre-eminence, from the number of saints it had produced, the island of saints. "Insula Sanctorum." The number indeed was so great, that Colgan observed, not without reason, in the preface to his life of the Irish saints, that what is at present said of them is scarcely credible.*

Besides, Ireland can, in comparison with the rest of Europe,† boast of having been at that time a seminary of sanctity, whither the Christians of other nations came in crowds, to learn the practice of Christian virtue,‡ and from whence a considerable number of saints went forth daily and dispersed themselves throughout the different parts of Europe,§ where they founded famous abbeys, the glorious monuments of which are still to be seen,‖ so that Ireland might be called in that golden age, "In aureis illis seminatæ Fidei primordiis," the Thebaid of the west.¶ It even appears, says Allemand, that at that time it was sufficient to be an Irishman, or to have been in Ireland, to be considered holy, and become the immediate founder of some abbey.** While the rest of Europe was a prey to the most dreadful catastrophes, and astonishing revolutions, Divine Providence bestowed upon this peaceful island graces and blessings, which strangers went thither to be partakers of.

There were a great number of monasteries founded on the first establishment of Christianity in Ireland, some of which have been mentioned in the life of St. Patrick; several of these monasteries were, at the same time, bishopries and abbeys, and the dignities of bishop and abbot were frequently united in the same person; which, according to Père Mabillon, was practised in several cathedrals in Europe, in which there were friars; there was a bishop and abbot at the same time, and sometimes the bishop was abbot. Some of these monasteries were also changed into cathedrals, and others into parish churches.

The first monasteries deserving of our consideration in the fifth century, are those founded by the four precursors of Saint Patrick, namely, the monastery of Saighir-Kieran, in the territory of Ely, founded by St. Kieran; this saint was not only the first of the Irish apostles, but was also called, by way of distinction, the first-born of the saints of this island: "Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniæ." It is said that this saint established a bishopric there in 402, the see of which was afterwards transferred to Aghavoe, and from thence to Kilkenny. Some authors affirm that St. Kieran had lived three centuries: although Colgan proves the possibility of it, still he does not appear to attach credit to it himself; he says that this error arises from this saint having been born towards the end of the fourth century, having lived the whole of the fifth, and died in the beginning of the sixth, which has made some authors say that he lived three hundred years.

The monasteries of Emly, in the county of Tipperary, and Ardmore in the territory of Desie, in the county of Waterford, which were afterwards made bishoprics, were founded by St. Ailbe and St. Declan.

Beg-Erin, or little Ireland, an island on the coast of Kinseallagh, now Wexford, was celebrated for an abbey which St. Ibar, or Ibhuir, had founded there, and the schools he had established in it,* where he was abbot and professor of all the sciences;† he was not only a saint, but so learned that some authors call him the doctor of Beg-Erin: "Doctor Begerensis;" and his abbey was not less celebrated for the college or university he had established there, which produced so many learned men, than for the great number of saints who had left it.

Sgibol or Sabhall-Phadruig, that is, the granary of Patrick, was a celebrated abbey

* "The foreign reader will wonder, perhaps, (who is not well conversant in our history,) that so great a number of saints are represented to go forth from one island, and that so many apostles of nations could go from one nation, who were of the same name, and cotemporaries, and frequently from the same convent, and from the same master, and to gain a place among the saints."—*Preface of the Acts of Ireland.*

† Bede, Hist. Eccles. passim; et Cambd. Brit. page 730.

‡ Usser. Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, 17.

§ War. de Præsul. Hib.

‖ Colgan, Act. Sanct. Hib. et in Triad. Thaum.

¶ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

** Allemand is mistaken in saying that the territory of Elia-Carolina was so called from Charles V., husband of Mary, queen of England and Ireland. First, it was not Charles V., but his son Philip, that had been married to Mary. Second, this territory was called, in the Scotic language, Ele-Hy-Carrouil, from the O'Carrols, to whom it formerly belonged, long before the invasion of the English; and Latin authors have called it Elia-Carolina. See Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 24

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. Ind. Chron. ad an 420, et pages 714, 1061, 1063.

† Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Ireland, pages 16, 54.

founded by St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, towards the middle of the fifth century, in the peninsula of Lecale, in the county of Down. The land was given him by Dichu, lord of that district, whom he had converted some time before. This house was afterwards occupied by regular canons of the order of St. Augustin.

At Trim, in East Meath, there was a monastery and bishopric founded, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by St. Loman, in the time of St. Patrick. This monastery was long afterwards converted into an abbey of regular canons of St. Augustin, by the Danes.

At Damliagh, now Duleek, in the same county, there was a house of regular canons of St. Augustin, founded by a bishop of Damliagh, who is thought to be St. Kianan, first bishop of it in the fifth century.

St. Patrick founded also a great number of monasteries in this island, besides those that had the title of bishopric.

The most considerable are, the monastery of Slane, in East Meath; the abbey of Druim-Lias, in the territory of Calrigia, county of Sligo; the monastery of Rath-Muighe, in the territory of Dalrieda, county of Antrim; the monastery of Coleraine, in the territory of Arachty-Cahan, county of Derry; the monastery of Druim-Inis Gluin, in the diocese of Ardmach; the abbey of St. Peter and Paul at Ardmach; the monastery of Kil-Auxille, or Kil-Ussail, in the plain of Kildare, founded by St. Auxille, and the monastery of Mungarret, in the county of Limerick.*

There were also many other monasteries founded in the same century, by different persons.

The priory of the blessed Virgin at Louth, founded by St. Moctee; the abbey of Nendrum in Dalaradie, now Down, by St. Cailan; the priory of Lough-Derg, or Lough-Gerg, in Tirconnel, (where the celebrated purgatory of St. Patrick is situated,) by St. Daboec, or, as some say, by St. Patrick;† the abbey of our Lady, of Clogher, in the territory of Tyrone, by St. Macarthen, bishop of Clogher; the monastery of Cluain-Daimh, in the plain of Kildare, by St. Sinchelle, or St. Ailbhe; the monastery of Ahad-Abla, in the territory of Kinseallagh, county of Wexford, founded by St. Finian;‡ the priory of Inis-More, in lake Gauna, in the territory of Conmacne-Analy, at present Longford, by St. Columb; the abbey of Inis-Bo-Fin, in Lake Ree, in the same country, by St. Rioche; the abbey of Inis-Cloghran, in the same lake and country, by St. Dermod; the priory of Iniscath, an island in the river Shannon, in the county of Limerick, by St. Senan; the priory of Inis-Lua, an island in the river Shannon, in the territory of Thuomond, by St. Senan;* the monastery of Aran, or Arn-Na-Næmh, signifying the island of saints, was founded in 480 for regular canons, by St. Endee, who was first abbot of it.† This island, which is situated on the confines of the provinces of Munster and Connaught, was given to St. Endee by Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, king of Munster; the monastery of Cluain-Fois in the county of Galway, founded by St. Iarlath, who founded another at Tuaim-da-Gauland, in the same country, of which he was afterwards bishop; the abbey of Kil-Chonail, in the same country, founded by St. Conal; the priory of Inchmore, in lake Ree, in the county of Roscommon, founded by St. Liberius;‡ the priory of Gallen, or Galin, on the banks of the river Brosnagh, in the territory of Dealbhna-Mac-Coghlan, founded in 491 for regular canons, by St. Canoc, or Mochonoc, son of Bracan, of the royal race of Leinster, and Dina, daughter of a Saxon prince.§

The number of monasteries for females in Ireland is so inferior to that of the convents for men, that it is likely the acts of some of their foundations have been lost, or they have not been transmitted to us, through the inaccuracy of historians; particularly as the devout sex has always discovered as much zeal and fervor for a religious life as the men.

The first nunnery that we discover in Ireland in the fifth century, is that of Kill-Liadan, founded by St. Kieran for his mother Liadan, near his monastery of Saire, in the territory of Ely.

St. Patrick founded some; among others, those of Cluain-Bronach and Druimcheo, in the country of Analy, (Longford.) At Ardmach he founded the monasteries called Temple-Bride, and Temple-Na-Fearta, that is, the Temple of Miracles, of which his sister Lupita was first abbess; he also founded the monastery of Kilaracht, in the territory of Roscommon, for his sister Athracta; and lastly, the monastery of Cluain-Dubhain, in the country of Tyrone.

* Act. Sanct. Vit. St. Auxil. ad 19 Mart.
† Act. Sanct. Hib not. 22, Vit. S. Canoc. ad 11 Febr.
‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Finian. ad 23 Febr

* War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
† Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 11 Febr.
§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

The abbey of Lin, near Carrick-Fergus, in the territory of Dalrieda, (county of Antrim,) was founded by Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, of which she was the first abbess. The monasteries of Ross-Oirthir in the county of Fermanagh, and Ross-Benchuir in Thuomond, were founded, the one by St. Fanchea, sister of St. Endee, and the latter by St. Conchea.

Lastly, St. Bridget founded at Kildare, in 480, the celebrated abbey of which she was abbess. This holy virgin was born in a village called Fochart, in the territory of Conal-Murthumne, now the county of Louth, towards the middle of the fifth century ;* her father was Dubthach, a powerful lord in Leinster, of the race of Eocha-Fionn, brother of the monarch Conn-Keadcaha, whose tribe settled in this province.†

Although Bridget was the fruit of a criminal intercourse of Dubthach with Brotseach, God, who can draw the most heroic virtues from crime itself, compensated for the sinfulness of her birth, by such abundant graces, that she became a vessel of election, and a rare model of perfection.

Having received the veil, with several of her companions, from the hands of Machilenus, a bishop and disciple of St. Patrick, St. Bridget retired into a territory in Leinster, where, in a forest of oak, she founded a monastery, which was head of its order, and where she established particular rules. This place has been since called Kil-Dare, "Cella roborum," signifying the church in the oaks. It was there that this holy virgin displayed all those virtues that she possessed in so eminent a degree, of which the love of God and our neighbor formed the basis of every other. This divine love with which her heart was inflamed, was represented by a natural fire, which she caused to be kept up for the relief of the poor; it was afterwards called inextinguishable, from its having lasted for many ages; and though from its beginning a large quantity of wood and other combustible materials had been used to feed it, it is extraordinary that the ashes never increased.‡ This miracle is elegantly expressed by Edme O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick.* She died, and was interred in her abbey of Kildare, from whence her body was transferred, some time afterwards, to Down, in Ulster, where it was deposited with the bodies of St. Patrick and St. Columb-Kill.†

The eminent charity, and the great number of miracles which God had wrought through her intercession, caused her to be placed, immediately after her death, among the most illustrious saints. Parents were emulous to give her name to their female children. The church erected altars, and dedicated temples to her, which honors were surpassed by those which she received from posterity. Ireland considered her as her patroness; and her reputation soon spread itself beyond the narrow limits of that island. All Europe participated in this devotion. Her name is invoked at Seville, Lisbon, Placentia, Tours, Besançon; at Namur, in the abbey of Fulda, in which are some of her relics; at Cologne, where one of the principal churches in the city is dedicated to her ;‡ and lastly, in London, where there is still a church that bears her name.

This devotion was strengthened by an office of nine lessons, in honor of this saint, which is to be met with in several Breviaries in Europe; in an ancient Roman one printed at Venice, in 1522; in that of Gien, (in Breviario Giennensi,) in Italy; in that of the regular canons of Lateran; in an ancient Breviary of Quimper in Armorica; in a church bearing her name at Cologne, of which she is patroness; and finally, in a chapel dedicated to her in the territory of Fosse, diocess of Maestricht. We find an office to St. Bridget in the Breviaries and Missals of Maestricht, Mayence, Treves, Wirtsburg, Constance, Strasburg, and other towns of Germany.

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, pp. 627, 705, et 706.

† Trias. Thaum. Vit. S. Brigid. ad 1 Febr.

‡ "Kildare, a city of Leinster, the glorious Bridget hath rendered illustrious by her many miracles, which are worthy of being recorded; and among the first is Bridget's fire. This, they say, was inextinguishable, not because it could not be extinguished, but the nuns and holy women anxiously supplied the material for the fire, so that during so many years, the fire continued without becoming extinct; and notwithstanding the heaps of wood consumed for so long a period, the ashes had never been increased."—*Giraldus Cambrensis, Topog.* c. 24.

* "The hearth burns with Bridget's incessant fire, but the ashes is not increased thereby. What means that burning pile? Is it the emblem of an ardent soul? Is living love marked by the living flame? If this flame, while Bridget feeds her fires, continue without becoming extinct, it will not die."

† In Burgo Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.
"In Down, Bridget, Patrick, and St. Columb-Kill, are buried in one tomb."

‡ "The fifth is the parish church, dedicated to the holy Virgin Bridget. This parish being joined to that of St. Martin the elder, on one side it is joined to Lank-Gasin-street; it was erected in honor of the aforesaid Bridget who was a Scot, and a holy virgin. Her festival is on the first of February."—*Erhardus Winheim*

Mortough, otherwise Murchertach Mac-Earcha, succeeded Lugha VII :* his father was Muiredach, son of Eogan, and grandson of the monarch Niall the Great.† He was called Mac-Earca,‡ that is, son of Earca, from the name of his mother, who was daughter of Loarne, the eldest of the six brothers who had led the colony to Albania.§ In the reign of this monarch, Oilioll, son of Mortough, reigned in Leinster, and Cormac, descended in the eighth degree from Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan-More, in Munster.

This prince was not less remarkable for his Christian piety, than for his valor as a warrior.‖ He afforded particular protection to religion, as well as his wife, Sabina, who died with a high reputation for sanctity.

In the beginning of Christianity there were several bishoprics in Meath, namely, those of Cluan-Araird, or Clonard, Damliag, or Duleek, Ceannanus, now Kells, Trim, Ardbreccan, Donseaghlin, Slane, Foure, and others. All those sees, except Duleek and Kells, were united towards the beginning of the twelfth century, to form the see of Clonard : Duleek and Kells afterwards shared the same fate.

St. Finian, or Finan, sometimes also called Finbar,¶ son of Fintan, a subtle philosopher, and profound theologian, was first bishop of Clonard ; he was of the noble race of the Clanna-Rorys, and his piety added new lustre to his birth. Having been baptized by St. Abhan, he was placed under the guidance of St. Fortkern, bishop of Trim, where he remained till the age of thirty years, continually profiting by the instructions of this holy bishop. He afterwards went into Britain, and became attached to St. David, bishop of Menevia, in Wales, by whom he was particularly beloved for his piety and learning ;** he remained thirty years in Britain, where he founded three churches.††

Having returned to his own country, and being consecrated bishop in 520, he established his see at Clonard, on the river Boyne in Meath, where he founded a school, or university, celebrated for the great concourse of students, amounting sometimes to three thousand, among whom were a great number of subjects celebrated for their sanctity and learning. Of this number the two St. Kierans, the two Brendans, the two Columbs, namely, Columb-Kill, and Columb, son of Crimthan, Laserian, son of Nathfrach, Cainec, Moveus, and Ruadan ; and as this school was called "a wonderful sanctuary of wisdom," by the author of his life, "totius sapientiæ admirabile sacrarium," so this saint was called Finian the Wise.

It appears from the registry of the church of Meath, quoted by Usher, that the territory of Clonard was given to St. Finian and his successors, by St. Kieran the younger, to whom it belonged.*

Usher discovers some difficulty respecting St. Kiaran-Saighir, who is said to have assisted at the school of St. Finian ; according to his calculation he was born in 352.† We should then suppose that he lived to the age of 168 years : this would not have been impossible, as many instances of the same occurred in after ages. Whatever might have been the time of his birth, Ware fixes his death in 549, and Usher himself in 552.‡ Besides, according to the author of St. Kieran's life, he was humble, and fond of hearing the holy Scriptures expounded ; so that neither his old age, nor his great learning, not even the episcopal dignity, made him ashamed of being called a pupil of St. Finian.§

According to some, St. Finian died the 12th of December, 552, and according to others, in 563, and was interred in his church of Clonard. The annals of the four masters fix his death in 548. Usher, who calls him the first of the saints of the second order in

* Keat. History of Ireland.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 93.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4; et Usser. passim ; et Bruodin, Propug. lib. 5, cap. 13.

§ Colg. Vit. S. Brigid. Præf. ad lectorem.

‖ "A man renowned in war, he routed the enemy in 17 battles, notwithstanding which he practised piety, and adorned by holy works the Christian faith which he had received."—*Grat. Luc.* c. 9.

¶ Colg. Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 23 Febr.

** Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 912.

†† "Finianus having left Ireland, his country, went to Britain, to David, with whom, the writer of his life says, that he had found two other holy men, Gildas and Cathmaius ; that he spent 30 years in it, and had founded three churches."—*Usher, C. Hist. ad ann.* 491.

* "St. Kieran gave to his teacher, St. Finian, and to his successors, the lordship of Clonard, and small farms annexed to it."—*Usher, C. Hist.* c. 17, p. 909.

† Primord. Eccles. cap. 16, page 788.

‡ De Episc. Ossor. et Ind. Chron. page 1140, ad ann. 552.

§ "St. Kiaranus was very humble in all things ; he loved to hear and learn the divine Scripture, till he became enfeebled by old age. It is said of him, that he went, with other saints of his time, to the holy and wise Finianus, abbot of the monastery of Clonard, and in his old age read the divine writings in his holy school. After this the holy Kieranus is called, as well as other saints in Ireland, the disciple of Saint Finianus. Though he himself was old, wise, and a learned bishop, still he took pleasure to learn at the feet of another, for the sake of humility and his love of wisdom."—*Usher, C Hist.* c. 17, p. 909.

Ireland, says that he died in 552 ; but he apparently forgets what he says in another place, of the penance which St. Finian had imposed on St. Columb-Kill, for having been accessary to the battle of Cuildreimne, which took place between Dermod the monarch, and the tribes of the Conalls, on the confines of Ulster and Connaught, in 561.*

The church of Duleek was founded in the time of St. Patrick, by St. Kenan, or Cianan, who was first bishop of it.† He was of the royal race of the kings of Munster, having been descended in the sixth degree from Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum. He was baptized by St. Patrick, who had adopted him for his son, and having instructed him in divine literature, and in virtue, he became a man of rare sanctity. The author of this saint's life, quoted by Usher, gives a different account of him ;‡ he says he was a pupil of the monk Nathan, and adds, that in his youth he had been one of the five hostages the princes of the country had sent to the monarch Laogare : and that having been delivered from tyranny through the intercession of St. Kieran, he went to France, where he remained for some time in the abbey of St. Martin of Tours, and had himself instructed in the monastic discipline. On his return to his country, he converted several to the Christian religion in Connaught and Leinster, and founded a church in the latter province, in a place called after him Coll-Cianan, which signifies the wood of Kenan. He afterwards visited the country of Tyrone, which belonged to Eogan, uncle of his mother Ethne ; in this territory he broke an idol, and in the place where the altar stood, which was dedicated to it, he founded a church, to which he appointed his well-beloved disciple, Congall. It is mentioned in a manuscript in the library of Cambridge which contains the office of this saint, that he had built a stone church at Damleagh, which signifies, in the Scotic language, a house of stone. Our saint died the 24th of November, 488 or 489, the day on which his festival is celebrated at Duleek.

It is not exactly known at what time Ceannanus, or Kells, was made a bishopric, nor who was first bishop of it ; it was probably after the building of a celebrated abbey which St. Columb-Kill had founded in 550, on the ground which Dermod, son of Kerveoil, and monarch of the island, had given him for that purpose. The city of Kells was formerly considered one of the first in the kingdom,* and celebrated both for the abbey of Saint Columb-Kill, and for having been the birthplace of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Landisfarne, in England, as appears by his life, which is preserved in the Cottonian library at Oxford.† The abbey of Foure, founded by St. Fechin in the seventh century, was afterwards made a cathedral church.‡ The first bishop was St. Suarlech, who died the 24th of March, 745. We discover but one successor to this prelate, who was Aidgene, who died the first of May, 766. It is likely that this church remained without a bishop, with the title of abbey as before.

The churches of Trim and Donseaghlin, were founded by the nephews of St. Patrick; the former by St. Luman, the latter by St. Secundin, or Sechnall ; those of Slane and Ardbraccan, by St. Erc and St. Ultan, the former of whom died in 513, and the latter in 657. As these saints had founded those churches, they were also their first bishops. All those sees were afterwards united, and have formed for a long time but one bishopric, which is that of Meath, first suffragan of Ardmach.

Ross, formerly Ross-Ailithsi, on the seashore,§ in the territory of Carbury, in the county of Cork, was celebrated in the sixth century for the monastery which St. Fachnan,‖ a wise and moral man, "Vir sapiens et probus," had founded there, and the famous school he established.¶ In the Scotic language, Ross signifies a verdant plain, and Ailithri a pilgrimage ; from whence is derived the name of this place, which was formerly much frequented by pilgrims. There is some doubt respecting the time of the foundation of the cathedral of

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, page 694, et cap. 17, pages 902—904, 1035, 1026.

† Trias Thaum. Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. page 146, cap. 126, note 191.

‡ Primord. Eccles. p. 1070, Idem Ind Chron. ad ann. 450.

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 17, page 945.

† War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, Act. SS. Hib. Vit. S. Cuthbert, ad 20 Mar.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fech. ad 20 Jan.

§ War. de Episc. Rossens.

‖ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Mochoem, ad 13 Mar. et note 7, et 8.

¶ "There was another excellent establishment for literature at Ross, in Carbry, which was anciently called Ross-Ailithri, and was founded in the 6th century by Saint Fachnanus, of whom the biographer of St. Mocoemogus thus speaks: 'Saint Fachnanus lived in the southern part of Ireland, near the sea, in his own monastery, which had been founded by him ; a city sprang up there, in which scholastic studies flourished—it was called Ross-Ailithri.' "—*Ware's Antiquities*, c 15

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this bishopric, and the name of the first bishop; it is, however, likely that it was founded by St. Fachnan, as he is called bishop in an ancient martyrology on the 14th of August, the day on which his memory is honored at Ross-Ailithri, and at Dar-Inis, where he had been abbot; but the year of his death is not known.

The episcopal see of Ardfert is situated in the county of Kerry: formerly called Ciarruid:* this was the native country of St. Brendan, abbot of Clonfert, to whom the church of Ardfert is dedicated. St. Brendan made his first studies in his own country under the bishop Ert; he afterwards went, with the consent of his parents and master, to Connaught, where he applied himself closely to the study of theology, under St. Jarleth, bishop of Tuam.

It is not sufficiently ascertained that Ert was bishop of that see; still, his sojourn in the country is a strong ground for supposing it, particularly as no opinion is opposed to it. According to the historians and public registries of the country, the bishops of that see were sometimes called bishops of Kerry, and sometimes of Iarmuin, which signifies western Munster. Ardfert means a marvellous elevation, or the height of miracles. That place is at present called Ardart.

The bishopric of Tuam, anciently called Tuam-Da-Gualand, in Connaught, had for its founder and first bishop, in the beginning of the sixth century, St. Jarlath, son of Loga, a descendant of Conmacne, son of Feargus-Roigh, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys, and of Maude, queen of Connaught, some time before the Christian era.† He was a native of the territory anciently called Conmacne of Kinel Dubhain, and afterwards Conmacne of Dunmor, where Tuam is situated, in the county of Galway, the country of his ancestors.‡ He was disciple of St. Binen, who succeeded St. Patrick in he see of Ardmach, from whom he received holy orders about the end of the fifth century. Jarlath was a man of such profound learning, and his piety at the same time so great, that it is difficult to determine in which of them he excelled.

Having left his master St. Binen, he withdrew to Cluanfois, near Tuam, in the territory of Conmacne of Kinel Dubhain, his native country, where he founded a monastery and established a school, which became celebrated for the great number who received their education in it; among others, St Brendan, founder and first abbot of the abbey of Clonfert, and St. Colman, founder and first bishop of Cloyne. He also founded the cathedral of Tuam, which was afterwards dedicated to his memory, and called in the language of the country, Tempull-Jarlath, which signifies the temple of Iarlath. After governing the church of Tuam for a long time, this saint ended his days, at an advanced age, the 26th of December, or, as some assert, the 11th of February; the year of his death is not so well known; according to Colgan, it took place about the year 540. His relics were enshrined long after his death, in a silver shrine, and deposited in a church in Tuam. The sees of Mayo, or Magio, and Enaghdune, were united to Tuam in the latter ages.

The bishopric of Achonry, otherwise Achad, or Achad-Conair,* in the territory of Luigny, now the barony of Leny, in the county Sligo in Connaught. was founded about the year 530, by St. Finian, bishop of Clonard.† The lord of the district, one of the ancestors of the noble family of the O'Haras, having granted him a suitable portion of land, he built a cathedral church upon it, which he soon afterwards resigned to his disciple Nathy, a man commendable for his sanctity.‡ St. Nathy was also called Comragh or Cruimthir. The author of the life of St. Finian gives him only the title of priest; but he who wrote the life of St. Fechin, calls him prelate of Achad-Conair.§ His festival is celebrated the 9th of August, and the cathedral church acknowledges him as its patron.

St. Moinenn, or Moenenn, is looked upon as the founder and first bishop of Clonfert, situated in Connaught, at some distance from the river Shannon.‖ According to Colgan, St. Brendan was the founder of this bishopric, which he afterwards resigned to St. Moinenn, who was bishop after him.¶

However this be, it is always admitted that Brendan, son of Finloga, who was pupil, in his youth, of bishop Ert, in the county of Kerry, of which he was a native, and contemporary and fellow-student of St.

* War. de Episc. Ardfertens.

† War. de Præsul. Tuamens.; Usser. Prim. Eccles. c. 16, p. 914; Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Jarlath, ad 11 Feb.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 46.

* War. de Præsul. Achadens.

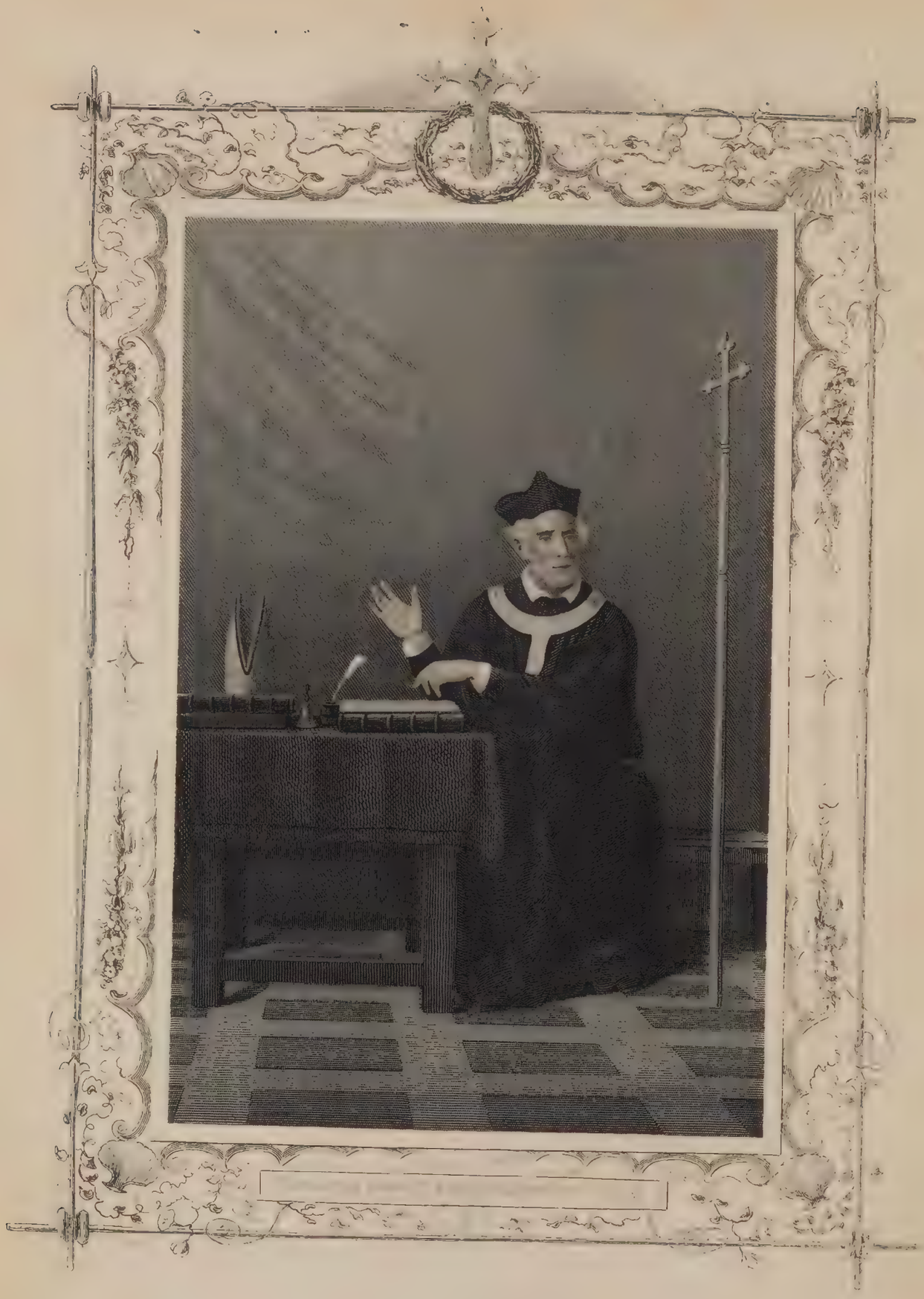
† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fechin, ed. 20 Jan not. 7.

‡ Act. Sanc. Hib. Vit. S. Finian, ad 23 Feb. c 26, not. 29.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. 2, Vit. S. Fechin, ad 20 Jan cap. 7.

‖ War. de Præsul. Clonferteus.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moen. ad 1 Mart.



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Brendan of Birr, was founder of an abbey at Clonfert, near the river Shannon, in 558, of which he was abbot. It is also well known that he died the 16th of May, 577, at Enaghdune, aged 93 years, and that his body was removed from thence and interred in his abbey of Clonfert.* His life, which was written in verse, is preserved in the Cottonian library at Westminster.

The annals of the country make mention of St. Moenenn, bishop of Cluain-Ferta, and fix his death on the 1st of March, 570, during the lifetime of St. Brendan, who died, according to the same annals, in 576 or 577.† The real name of our saint was Nennius, or Nennio, but he was commonly called Mo-Nenn. The monosyllable *Mo*, signifies *My;* and it was often added by the ancient Irish, from regard or respect, "observantiæ causa," to the names of the saints whom they held in greatest veneration.

The following monasteries were founded during the reign of Mortough Mac-Earca.

The abbey of Lismore, or Kilmore, county of Ardmach, was founded by St. Moctec. It is said that he established a particular order in it.‡

The abbey of Kilcomain in the territory of Hy-Failge, in the county of Kildare, which is now but a parish called Gesille, was founded by St. Colman, son of Brecan, a prince of the royal race of Ireland, and of Dina, daughter of a Saxon prince. Colgan observes that there were two churches of this name which were not convents; one in the islands of Arran, diocese of Tuam, and the other in ancient Dalrieda in Ulster.§

The monastery of Eadardruim, in the territory of Tuath-Ainlighe, in the diocese of Elphin, county of Roscommon, was founded by St. Diradius, son of Bracan, brother of St. Coeman, and of several other saints of both sexes, one of whom was mother of St. David, bishop of Menevia in Wales.‖

The abbey of Clune, otherwise Cluan-Eois, or Clonish, in the territory of Monaghan, was founded and dedicated to the apostles St. Peter and Paul, by St. Tigernac, a bishop.¶

The priory of Ross-Ailithri, or Ross-Cairbre, situated in a territory of that name in the county of Cork, was founded for regular canons by St. Fachnan, who was first abbot of it.* That place was celebrated for learning, as we have already observed: "Magno florebat honore, ob antiquam ibi Musarum sedem."

The abbey of Inis-Muighe-Samh, in an island in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Nennidius.†

The abbeys of Ross-Tuirck, and Cluain-Imurchir, in the territory of Ossory, were founded by St. Brecan, or Brocan.‡

St. Abban, son of Cormac, king of Leinster, founded during this reign the abbeys of Druim-Chaoin, Camross, Maghere-Muidhe, Fion-Magh, Disert-Cheanan, &c., in the county of Wexford; the abbey of Kil-Abbain, in Meath; Kil-Abbain, in Clenmalire; the abbeys of Cluain-Ard, Cluin-Find-Glaise, and Killachuid-Conch, in the territory of Cork.

The monastery of Kil-Na-Marbhan, which signifies the church of the Dead, in the territory of Nandesi, and county of Waterford:§ the monastery of Cluain-Combruin, in the territory of Mac-Femhin, county of Tipperary.

Lastly, this saint founded two monasteries for females; namely, that of Kil-Aillbe, in Meath, and Burneach, in the territory of Muscraige, or Muskeri-Mitine, in the diocese of Cork, of which St. Gobnata was first abbess.‖

The abbey of Cluain-Eraraid, now Clonard, on the left bank of the river Boyne, in Meath, was founded by St. Finian. This abbey was rich, and celebrated for the school or university which this saint, who is called the master of most of the Irish saints, (the most considerable of whom have been his disciples,) had established there.

The monasteries of Kilboedan, afterwards Kiloscoba, was founded by St. Boedan, son of Eugene, and descended in the fifth degree from Oilioll-Flan-Beg, great-grandson of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster:¶ he was sixth son of Eugene; he and his five brothers, namely, Becan, Culan, Emin, or Evin, Dermod, Corbmac, and Boedan, were all remarkable for their contempt of worldly greatness, and the number of monasteries they had founded in the different provinces of Ireland.

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, p. 955, et Idem, Ind. Chron. ad an. 577.
† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moinenn. ad Mart. not. 1.
‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Moct. ad 24 Mart.
§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Canoc. ad 11 Feb.
‖ Ibidem, et Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.
¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moinen. ad 1 Mart. et Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 856.

* War. de Antiq. cap. 26.
† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Nennid. ad 18 Jan.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Abban. ad 16 Mart. not. 40.
§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. p. 56.
‖ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Gobn. ad 11 Feb.
¶ Act. Sanct. Vit. Boedan. ad 23 Mart.

Tuathal II., surnamed Maolgarbh, great-grandson of Niall the Great, by Cairbre, succeeded Mortough, A. D. 533.

Although the greater part of this monarch's reign was peaceful, the people of Leinster made war against prince Earca, son of Oilioll-Molt, and chief of the tribe of the Firearcas, who lost his life at the famous battle of Tortan.* The battle of Sligo was fought, some time afterwards, between the two princes Feargus and Domhnall, sons of Mortough Mac-Earca, and Eogan Beal, king of Connaught, who was unhappily slain in it.

After a reign of eleven years, Tuathal was killed by Maolmor, foster-brother of Dermod, for whom this regicide wished to open the way to the throne; he did not, however, triumph in his crime, having been pierced by the blows of the king's attendants.†

The founding of the following abbeys can be traced to the reign of Tuathal II.

The abbey of All Saints, in an island in lake Ree, territory of Longford, founded by St. Kieran the Younger.‡ Colgan observes that this abbey was called "Monasterium Inisense, or Insulense;" and that there was a regular canon of this house, called Augustin Magraidin, who was a celebrated writer of the lives of the Irish saints, and that he had composed a chronicle of Ireland, down to 1405, when he died.

The abbey of Angine, which is another island in the same lake, called holy or sacred from the great number of monks who inhabited those islands, was founded by the same St. Kieran.

Allemand here reproaches Usher with an anachronism, who says that this abbey was founded by St. Kieran in the middle of the sixth century, that is, in 554, and agrees in another place that St. Kieran was born in the island of Clare, at the entrance of the bay of Baltimore, in 352; therefore, continues he, if St. Kieran had built an abbey, it would follow that this saint lived nearly two centuries, &c.

However, this pretended anachronism is founded only on an error of fact on the part of this critic, who makes no distinction, as Usher does, between St. Kieran, surnamed Saighir, born towards the end of the fourth century, and St. Kieran the younger, surnamed Itheir, who was born in the beginning of the sixth, and who was founder of the above-mentioned abbey.

* Usser. Passim.

† Triad. Thaum. lib. 2, et Vit. S. Patr. c. 27, 28, et Grat. Luc. c. 9.

‡ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 48.

The abbey of Cluain-Inis, in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Sinelle, who flourished in 540.*

The abbey of Ireland's Eye, an island north of the bay of Dublin, was founded about this time by St. Nessan, who spent his life there in fasting and prayer.†

CHAPTER XI.

Dermod succeeded to the monarchy after the death of Tuathal, A. D. 544: "Totius Scotiæ regnator Deo autore ordinatus est."‡ This prince was descended from Niall the Great, by Conall Crimthine and Feargus Kerveoil. He began his reign by pious donations; he founded the church of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, gave St. Kieran the younger some land near Mount-Usnach in West Meath, and to St. Columb, the territory of Keannanus, in East Meath. He frequently assembled the states at Tara, where he made very useful laws for the state, which he caused to be executed with great rigor, as he condemned his own son Breasal to death for having violated them.

In the reign of this monarch, Oilioll, son of Mortough, reigned in Leinster, and Cormac, descended in the eighth degree from Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan-More, in Munster.§

The quarrel between the two princes Feargus and Domhnall, children of Murtough Mac-Earca, and the princes of Connaught, still continued, and was not ended till after a second action, called the battle of Cuill-Connaire, in which Oilioll was killed, with his brother Aodh-Fortamhail.

A love of justice engaged this monarch in a war with Guaire, king of the Hy-Fiachras of Connaught, about some act of injustice of which that prince had been guilty towards him. The monarch having marched with his army towards the river Shannon, Guaire assembled his troops, with some allies of the province of Munster, to meet them. The two armies having encamped on both banks of the river, disputed its passage; the monarch's army, however, being superior in numbers and strength, put the provincial troops to flight, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. After this defeat Guaire, having made submission to the monarch, was restored to favor, and thus the war ended.

* Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 106.

† Idem, page 8.

‡ Cambr. Evers. cap. 9.

§ Colgan, Vit. S. Brigid. Præfat. ad lect.

Dermod was not so fortunate in the other wars in which he was engaged;* the battle of Cuildreimne, which he fought with the two princes Feargus and Domhnall, was fatal to him: he lost the flower of his army, and was obliged to save his life by flight.† The cause of this battle was the death of a nobleman who had been killed at Tara, during the assembly, by Conman-Mac-Hugue: the murderer, dreading the indignation of Dermod, sought safety with the princes Feargus and Domhnall, who were at that time powerful in Ulster, and received him under their protection; he found the same protection from Columb-Kill, who was then celebrated for his sanctity and illustrious birth. The monarch, always active in the distribution of justice, caused the culprit to be arrested, and condemned him to death, which gave rise to the war between him and those princes.‡ After this war, the monarch perished unfortunately at Rathbeg, in a house which had taken fire; it is asserted by some that he was killed by Hugue Dubh, son of Suibhne, prince of Dalaradie. It is affirmed by Gratianus Lucius, after O'Duvegan, that he was the greatest, handsomest, most powerful, and skilful legislator of all the Christian kings of Ireland.§

St. Kieran, or Cieran, the pupil of St. Finian in the schools of Clonard, and surnamed the Younger to distinguish him from St. Kieran Saighir, who was called the ancient, with respect to time and the length of his life, founded the abbey of Cluan-Mac-Noisk in 548, in a territory on the banks of the river Shannon, formerly called Tipraic, or Druim-Tipraid, which Dermod the monarch had granted him for that purpose. He was of the race of the Arads, and son of Boenand, who was called the Carpenter,‖ having exercised that trade, rather through taste than to earn a livelihood: he was known by the name of Kieran-Mac-Itheir, signifying son of the artisan. This saint died in the flower of his age in the reputation of sanctity, having governed his abbey for one year, and lived thirty-three.

The church of this abbey was afterwards made a cathedral, but the exact time is unknown. If it be true, as some believe, that St. Kieran was a bishop, there is no doubt respecting the origin of this see. Besides the cathedral, the kings and princes caused nine other churches to be built afterwards to serve as sepulchres: O'Meolaghlin, king of Meath, O'Connor Don, king of Connaught, O'Kelly, Macarty-More, Mac-Dermot, and others, had each their churches in it. All those, together with the cathedral, covered a space only of about seven acres.

This cathedral was formerly very rich, and was celebrated likewise for its burial-place; also for the tombs of the nobility and bishops, and a number of monuments and inscriptions on marble in the Scotic and Hebrew languages.

In the Synod held by cardinal Paparo, lagate in 1152, this see was placed among the number of the suffragans of Tuam; but after many disputations between the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam about this see, the court of Rome adjudged it to the province of Ardmach: it was at length united to the see of Meath, in the sixth century.

The number of churches founded during this reign, denotes both the piety of the faithful and the liberality of the prince.

St. Columb, surnamed Kill, signifying Church, founded more than a hundred churches and religious houses.* This saint was of the royal race, having been descended in the fourth degree from the monarch Niall the Great, by his son Conall Gulban, prince of Tirconnel, and chief of the noble tribe of the O'Donnels.† The noble birth of this saint received additional lustre from the austerity of his life, his humility, and the great number of temples which his piety induced him to raise in honor of God;‡ but that which heightened his glory was the title of apostle of the Picts, which the conversion of that barbarous nation had gained him.§ Having been obliged to leave his country to perform the penance which Saint Finian of Clonard, his old superior, and St. Molaisse, prior of Dam-Inis,‖ had imposed on him for having been accessary to the battle of Cuildreimne,¶ in which many lives were lost, he went with twelve disciples to Britain, where he preached the gospel with great success to the northern Picts,** who were separated from those of the south by steep and frightful mountains.††

* Keating on the reign of this monarch.
† Grat. Luc. c. 9, and Walsh, Prosp. d'Irl. sect. 3.
‡ Caput 9.
§ War. de Præsul. Clonmacnois, and Usser. Prim. cap. 17, pp. 909, 956.
‖ Idem, Ind. Chron. pp. 1126, 1140.

* Trias Thaum. Vit. S. Columb.
† Usser. Primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 15, page 639.
‡ Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 563.
§ Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 15, page 687. et seq.
‖ Act. Sanct. page 406.
¶ Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 903, 904.
** Trias Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb, lib. 2, c. 5
†† "In the year of our Lord 565, a presbyter and

This people, filled with gratitude for the graces which God had bestowed upon them through the ministry of St. Columb, gave him the island of Hy to build a monastery for himself and his fellow-laborers in that mission.* This island, which is one of the Hebrides, situated on the western coast of Scotland, is known to geographers under the name of Hy, Iona, and Y Columb-Kill.

This saint founded a celebrated abbey in Hy, governed by a rector or abbot, who should be a priest having jurisdiction over the whole province, and, by an unusual order, says Bede, over the bishops themselves. He was succeeded in it by men who were remarkable for their chastity, divine love, and the regularity of their conduct.†

Before St. Columb left Ireland, he founded several monasteries, the principal of which was the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, at Durrough, or Dearmagh, in Latin, "campus roboris," in Clenmalire. Ware affirms that they preserved in this monastery a version of the four gospels by St. Jerome, the cover of which was ornamented with large silver plates, and that the Latin inscription was written by St. Columb himself; but Usher maintains that this version was by St. Columb, and that it was preserved in the abbey which this saint had founded at Keannanus, now Kells, in Meath, to which the priory of Drumlahan, in the county of Cavan, belonged.

St. Columb also founded a celebrated abbey at Daire Calgac, at present Derry, in the county of that name.‡ This place was sometimes called Daire-Maig, from the word Daire, which, in the Scotic language, signifies oak, of which there was a considerable quantity in that district. Bede calls it the noble monastery. The monasteries of Dearmach and Hy, he adds, were nurseries from whence a great number of monasteries, founded by his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland, were peopled; but the monastery of Hy, in which his remains are deposited, holds the first rank.*

St. Columb also founded the priory of Inchmacnerin, formerly called Easmac-Neire, in an island in lake Alyne, through which the Shannon passes near its source, some miles from the abbey of Boyle.† Ware says, that this monastery was situated in an island called Loughke, in the county of Sligo, and that Alyne is in the territory of Leitrim. Lastly, he founded the abbey of Swords, four miles from Dublin, called "Monasterium Surdense," over which he appointed St. Finian, surnamed Sobhar, or the Leprous, to preside. This saint, worn out with the fatigues of the apostleship, and a life of mortification, ended his days in his abbey of Hy, in 597, aged 77 years.

The celebrated abbey of St. Peter and Paul was founded in a valley called Glen-da-Loch, in the territory of Kilmentain, now the county of Wicklow, by St. Keivin, or Coemgene.‡

The abbey of Cluain-Damh, which signifies a meadow for oxen, on the banks of the river Liffey, in the plain of Kildare, was founded by St. Senchella, or Sinell.§ There are several abbeys in Ireland called Cluain, which signifies valley or retired place; as those situated in the woods were called Daire, that is, oak. The priory of Holy Cross of Killeighe, in the King's county, was founded for regular canons by the same saint.‖

The priory of Dam-Inis, or Devenish, which signifies the island of the ox, in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Laserian, or Moelasse, who was not the same as St. Laserian of Laghlin.¶ It is said that he established a particular order: but his successors followed that of the regular canons of St. Augustin.**

abbot, remarkable for his life and habit as a monk, whose name was Columbanus, came from Ireland to preach the word of God to the northern provinces of the Picts, who are separated from the southern by mountains, the tops of which are lofty and terrific."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 4.

* "From whom he received the aforesaid island, for the purpose of raising a monastery in it. It is not large, and according to the English, but 5 miles in extent."—*Bede.*

† "The island was always accustomed to be under the guidance of an abbot, and an elder, to whose rule the entire province and the bishops, a thing so unusual, should be subject. This we have as certain, concerning him, that he left his successors remarkable for their chastity, divine love, and the regularity of their institutions."—*Bede.*

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allem. Hist. d'Irlande, p. 95.

* "But before he would come to Britain, he made a noble monastery in Ireland: it was called, from the quantity of oak contained in it, Dearmach, which, in the Irish language, signifies the field of oaks. From this, several monasteries were founded by his disciples both in Ireland and Britain. In all which that insulated monastery in which his body reposes, holds the chief rank."—*Bede.*

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 86.

‡ Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, p 956.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Senchel. ad 26 Mart.

‖ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 29.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Aid. ad 28 Feb. cap 37, and Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 17, p. 962.

** War de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

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The abbey of Druim-Mac-Ubla, on the frontiers of Leinster and Ulster, was founded by St. Sidonius.*

The abbey of Kil-Managh-Drochid, "Cella Monachorum," in the county of Kilkenny, was founded by St. Natalis.† There was another of the same name founded by St. Fechin, in the county of Sligo.

The abbey of Movilla, or Maigevile, in the district of the Dalfiatachs, county of Down, was founded for canons of the order of St. Augustin, by St. Finian, of the royal race of the Dalfiatachs of Ulster.‡ This saint, who was known by the names of Finnian, Fridian, Frigian, Frigidion, and Findbarry, was head and founder of one of the most ancient congregations of regular canons of St. Augustin, called the congregation of St. Frigidian, whose principal house was St. Frigidian of Lucca, in Italy, of which place this saint was bishop.§ It was he who reformed the congregation of the regular canons of St. John of Lateran, and founded also the abbey of Maghile in Derry, of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

The monastery of Birr, in the territory of Ely, King's county, was founded by St. Brendan the elder, son of Luaigne.‖

The abbeys of Dromore and Machavie Lyn, in the territory of Dalaradie, were founded by St. Colman, of the noble family of the Hy-Guala or Gaille-Fine, in Ulster; the former was afterwards made a bishopric and the latter a parish church.

The abbey of Dairmore, which signifies a large forest, in the territory of Ferkeal in Westmeath, was founded by St. Colman.¶ This place is probably the same as Land-Elo, or Linall, mentioned by Usher.

The abbey of Muckmore, in the county of Antrim, was founded and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by Saint Colman-Elo.**

The abbey of Roscommon was founded by St. Coman, disciple of St. Finian of Clonard.††

The monastery of Ard-Finan, in the county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Finian, surnamed Lobhar, that is, the Leprous, from a disorder to which he was subject.* He was of the noble race of Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster, and disciple of St. Columb-Kill, who appointed him to the abbey of Swords, near Dublin.†

The abbey of Kil-Modain, in the county of Longford, was founded by St. Modan, bishop of Carnfurbhuide in Connaught.‡

The abbey of Beanchuir, otherwise Banchor, or Bangor,§ formerly called the valley of Angels, situated on the southern shore of Carrick-Feargus bay, in a territory called Ardes, was founded according to Ware in 555, and four years later according to Usher, for regular canons, by St. Congal, who was first abbot of it, and who lived to see more than four thousand monks of his order.‖ This abbey was the principal one of the order, and one of the most celebrated in Ireland, and perhaps of the western church, to which St. Bernard bears a glorious testimony in the life of St. Malachi.¶ "There was, (says he,) under the first St. Congall, a very noble monastery, inhabited by several thousand monks, and head of several other abbeys; a place truly sanctified, and so fruitful in saints, yielding abundantly to God, that St. Luanus, or Evanus, son of that holy congregation, had, himself alone, founded one hundred monasteries."** In another place, still speaking of this abbey, he adds: "Its disciples not only filled Ireland and Scotia, but swarms of its saints spread themselves through foreign countries, among the number of whom was St. Columbanus, who went to France, where he founded the monastery of Luxen.††

St. Finian had also founded the priory of Inis-Fallen, or Inis-Fathlen, in an island

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 8.
† Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Senam, ad 8 Mart. et Vit. S. Natalis, 17 Jan.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Brigid. ad 18 Mart. et War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 191, and Trias. Thaum. note in 1 Vit. S. Columbæ.
‖ Usser. Prim. Ind. Chron. page 1145.
¶ Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 960.
** War. de Antiq. Hibern. c. 26.
†† Act. Sanct. Hib. page 405 and War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Finan, ad 16 Mart.
† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 65.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Modan, ad 4 Febr.
§ Usser. Prim. cap. 6, p. 132, et c. 13, pp. 441, 911, 917, 919, 956, 958, Ind. Chron. ad an. 559.
‖ Act. Sanct. Hib. pp. 192, 233, 234, 352, 354, 405, 413, 791.
¶ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allem Hist. Monast. p. 89.
** "There stood a most noble monastery, under the first father Congellus, inhabited by many thousand monks, and the head of many monasteries. The place was truly sanctified, abounding in saints, abundantly fruitful to God; so that one of the sons of this holy congregation, Luanus, or Evanus, was said to be the founder of an hundred monasteries."
†† "Its disciples not only filled Ireland and Scotia, but swarms poured like a torrent into foreign countries, and from among them St. Columbanus hath visited our shores of Gaul, where he founded the monastery of Luxen."—*St. Bernard, in his Life of Malachy.*

in Lake Lene, in the territory of Desmond, for regular canons.*

The abbey of Congbail at Gleann-Suilige in the district of Tirconnel, was founded by St. Fiacre, disciple of St. Finian of Clonard.†

Botchonais, an ancient monastery of regular canons, situated in the diocese of Derry, was founded by St. Congal.

The monastery of Clonfert, on the banks of the river Shannon, in the county Galway, called "de portu puro," was founded about the year 558, by St. Brendan, son of Findloge, who was the first abbot of it ;‡ he established a particular order, in which there were three thousand monks, both in this house, which was apparently the principal one of the order, and in the others which he had founded. Those monks were a burden to none, as they subsisted themselves by their labor. This same saint likewise founded the monastery of Inis-Mac-Huacuinn, in an island in lake Oirbsen.§

The monastery of Inis-Kealtre, an island in lake Derg, in the river Shannon, was founded towards the middle of the sixth century, by St. Camin, of the race of Eana-Kinseallagh, king of Leinster, and brother by his mother, of Guaire, king of Connaught.‖ Colgan says that St. Camin flourished in 640 : he also affirms that he was brother of Guaire ; but as the historians of the country say that Guaire was contemporary of Dermod the monarch, who reigned about the middle of the sixth century, we should, of course, fix the foundation of that monastery in the reign of this monarch.

The abbey of Clonenagh, or Cluain-Ednach, in the district of Hy-Regan, founded by St. Fintan, was afterwards made a parish church ;¶ this saint also founded, in the same country, the abbey of Achad-Ardglais, otherwise called Achad-Finglass.

St. Fola was abbot of the abbey of Ardbrecain ; he is probably the same that Colgan calls bishop of Ardbrecain, who, according to him, died in 593. He likewise mentions another St. Fola, who died in 793.

The abbey of Macbile, in the peninsula called Inis-Eoguin, or Inis-Owen, was founded by St. Frigidian, who had founded another of the same name, of which we have already spoken.

The priory of Lurchoe, or Lothra, a small town near Lough Derg, in the river Shannon, and county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Ruadan, who was the first abbot of it, and had one hundred and fifty monks under him.* This house was called from his name, Ruadan-Lothra : he died there in 584.†

A monastery for females, called Kill-Chere, Kill-Creidhe, or Kilchree, in the territory of Muscraige, and county of Cork, was founded by St. Cera, descended from Conare II., monarch of Ireland in the second century.‡

The monastery of Kill-Rignaigh, in Clenmalire, was founded by St. Regnacia, sister to St. Finian of Clonard.§

Feargus III., and Domhnall I., powerful princes in Ulster, and, as we have observed, descended from Niall the Great, succeeded Dermod,‖ A. D. 565. These princes were warlike, as appears by the wars they had to maintain against the princes of Connaught, and the monarch himself, over whom they were always victorious. After their accession to the throne, they were engaged in a war with the people of Leinster, which terminated in the famous battle of Gabhra-Liffe, in the territory of Kilmantain, now Wicklow, in which the provincialists lost a great number of men, and were defeated. Those two princes died a short time afterwards, having reigned about one year.¶

Eocha XIII., son of Domhnall I., succeeded his father and uncle, A. D. 566 ; he made his uncle Baodan partner in the government. These princes, after a reign together of nearly three years, were killed at the battle of Glingevin, by Cronan, son of Tigernach, prince of Kiennachte.

In the time of this monarch, the monastery of Enach-Dune, in the territory of Hua-Bruin, county of Galway, was founded and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin by St. Brendan of Clonfert, for his sister Brige, who was the first abbess of it.**

Ainmire, descended in the fourth degree from Niall the Great, was chosen monarch, A. D. 568. He was strongly attached to religion, and very strict in causing its rites and

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Finan, ad 16 Mart. and War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
† Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 58, and Act. Sanct. page 406.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26, and Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 69.
§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moen, ad 26 Feb.
‖ Ibid. Vit. S. Camin. ad 24 Mart.
¶ Act. Sanc. Vit. S. Fintan. Abbat. ad 17 Feb.

* Act. SS. Vit. S. Finian, ad 23 Feb. c. 24, et War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.
† Allem. Monast. Hist. d'Irlande, p. 63.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Ceræ, ad 5 Jan.
§ Ibid. Vit. S. Finian, ad 23 Feb.
‖ Keat. History of Ireland, lib. 1.
¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 9.
** Usser. Primord. p. 955.

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discipline to be observed. After a reign of three years, he was killed by Feargus-Mac-Neill, at Corrig-Leime-an-Eich; his death was revenged the year following by his son Aodh.

In this reign the abbey of Seamboth, in Hy-Kinseallagh, was founded by St. Colman O'Fiachra.

St. Comgan, of the noble race of the Dalcaiss, was abbot of Glean-Ussen; it is not certain that he was founder of this abbey.* Allemand says that Dermitus was abbot of it, and afterwards St. Comgan.

The priory of the Blessed Virgin, at Drumlahan, in Brefny, at present the county of Cavan, was founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by St. Edan, or Maidoc, who was afterwards archbishop of Ferns.†

The abbey of Roscrea, in the territory of Ele, county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Cronan.‡

The monastery of Cluain-Credhail, near mount Luachra, in Meath, was founded for females by St. Ita, of the race of Fiacha-Suidhe, brother of Con, surnamed Keadcaha, whose tribe had settled in the territory of Deasie.§

Baodan, son of Nineadha, and cousin-german to the last of that name, succeeded to the throne A. D. 571; his reign was short, having died after one year, of a violent death.

Hugue II., otherwise Aodh, son of Ainmire, succeeded Baodan, A. D. 572. This prince was a liberal benefactor to the church; he granted to Columb-Kill the territory of Doire, now Derry, to build a monastery, which he generously endowed for the support of the monks.

The reiterated complaints which were urged against the poets, or fileas, the great number of whom had become a burden to the people, obliged this monarch to convene a general assembly of the states at Dromkeat, in the territory of Doire, A. D. 516, to endeavor to remedy an evil which affected the state in general and every individual in particular. In this there were no allusions made to those bards, or fileas, who were employed by the state to preserve its annals, to whom great privileges were granted, and whose writings were submitted to investigation: it was intended only to suppress a number of idle men, who, strolling through he country, and exacting contributions from all who had the weakness to dread their satirical attacks, assumed to themselves the title of bards. Another object of the assembly was, to consider the measures necessary to be adopted in order to make the Dalraids of Albania pay that homage and tribute, called Eiric, which were due to the crown of Ireland; it was intended, also, that they would propose that Scanlan-More, son of Kean-Faoladh, prince of Ossory, should be deposed for having failed in payment of the tribute due by his principality to the monarch, and to place his son Jollan in his stead. The assembly was grand and numerously attended: among the princes present were Criomthan-Cear, king of Leinster, and Finghin, or Florence, son of Hugue Dubh and grandson of Criomthan, king of Munster, besides many other princes from the different provinces. Columb-Kill, abbot of Hy, attended by several bishops and other ecclesiastics, repaired thither with Aidan, who was at that time king of the Dalraids of Albania.* The first subject of deliberation was, the necessity of banishing the bards, the number of whom had become burdensome to the state; but St. Columb and St. Colman, who took an active part in the deliberations of the assembly, proposed that it would be more prudent to reduce them to a limited number, than to deprive the state of so many subjects, some of whom might become useful: which wise counsel was adopted by the assembly, and regulations were made to confine them to the exercise of their profession.

The claims of Aidan upon the Dalraids of Ulster, formed the subject of another matter of debate. It has been already observed that the Dalraids of Albania and those of Ulster, having been descended from Cairbre-Rieda, considered themselves as one family and one tribe, governed by the same chief, at the pleasure of the monarch of Ireland. An intercourse of friendship subsisted between them that was founded on the ties of consanguinity, which in appearance ceased when Albania was made a kingdom. It was with the view of renewing this right over the Dalraids of Ulster, that Aidan, as chief of both people, presented himself before the assembly of Dromkeath, as well as to dispel a storm which threatened him, on the part of the monarch, who intended sending troops to Albania to oblige him to pay the contributions which he required. After much debate, it was determined that the Dalraids of Ulster, being subjects of the

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Itæ, ad 15 Jan. not. 12, p. 418, et ibid. Vit. S. Comgan, ad 27 Feb.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, et Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 109.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Cron.

§ Ibid. Vit. Itæ, ad 15 Jan.

* Trias. Thaum. Vit. S. Columb. lib. 3.

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monarch, should pay to him, and to no other, the taxes and imposts due by subjects to their natural prince; but as those two people (namely, those of Albania and Ulster) were connected by blood, they should also contribute to the penalties which were imposed for murder; which, according to the laws established among them, condemned the family of the person who would kill or mutilate any person, except in self-defence, "cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ," to pay to the injured party a sum of money proportionate to the offence.

With respect to the monarch's claim on Albania, St. Columb influenced him to abandon it, and the two princes separated in peace; he was, however, inexorable about Scanlan-More, whom he detained in a dungeon, notwithstanding the solicitations of the saint, who left him with displeasure, and obtained by prayer the liberty of that prince in a miraculous manner. Thus ended this celebrated assembly of Dromkeat, after having lasted for fourteen months.

In the time of Brandubh, king of Leinster, of the race of Cahire-More, by Feidhlim, son of Eana-Kinseallagh, from whom the noble tribes of the O'Murphys and the O'Dowlings are descended, the monarch endeavored to exact the *boirive*, or tribute, which had been imposed upon that province. He marched with his army towards Wexford, and coming up with the provincialists at Beallachduin, or Duinbolg, he gave them battle, in which he lost his life, the ninth of January, A. D. 599, aged sixty-six years, having reigned twenty-seven. He was succeeded by Hugue III., surnamed Slaine.

Many abbeys were founded during this reign. That of Teagh-Mun, in the territory of Loughgarme, at present Wexford, was founded by St. Munnu.*

The monastery of Leighlin was founded by St. Gobban, although some authors say that St. Lasrean was its founder; he was indeed the first bishop of it; and his life even proves that St. Gobban was abbot of it, before he settled there.† It is true, that in the time of St. Lasrean, this monastery acquired so great celebrity that he was said to have founded it: the celebrated assembly of the clergy which was held there in 620, concerning the observance of the Easter, contributed largely to the renown of that monastery

The abbey of Cluainferta-Molua was founded by St. Lugidus, or St. Molua, who is said by St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachi, to have been founder of a hundred abbeys, as well as St. Columb-Kill.* There was another abbey of this name founded by St. Brendan in the same city; the latter was on the right bank of the river Shannon, in Connaught, and the former on the left bank, in Leinster.

The abbey of Liath, or Liath-More, or Liathan-Ele, and the monastery of Inis-Lannaught, in the county of Tipperary, were founded by St. Pulcherius, or Mochomocus.†

The abbey of Annatrim, or Enachtruim, at the foot of the mountain, called in the Scotic language Slieve-Bladhma, in the district of Hy-Regan, was founded by St. Coeman, and afterwards converted into a parish church.‡

The monastery of Achad-Ur, in the territory of Ossory, was founded by St. Lactin.§

The monastery of Rath-Aodha, or Rath-Edha, now the parish of Rahugh, in the territory of Kinel-Fiacha, in West Meath, was founded by St. Aodh, or Aidus, of the race of Fiacha, son of the monarch Niall the Great, on a piece of ground, which with a castle, was given him by the lord of the place,‖ of the same race of Fiacha, and one of the ancestors of the tribe of the Moelmoys and the Mac-Eochagains.¶

The abbey of Rathene,** in the territory of Fearcal, which belonged to the tribe of the O'Molloys, of the race of Fiacha, son of Niall the Great, was founded by St. Carthagh, descended, by his father Findall, from Kiar, son of Feargus, from whom the noble tribe of the O'Connors Kerry derive their origin. His mother, whose name was Meadh, was descended from the lords of Corcoduibhne, in the county of Kerry. This abbey, situated in the neighborhood of the monastery of Land-Elo, founded by St. Colman, and eight miles from the abbey of

* Act. Sanct. page 272, cap. 32.

† Ibid. Vit. S. Gobban, ad 62 Mart. and Allemand, Monast Hist. d'Irl. p. 20.

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. Ind. Chron. page 1155, Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 30.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 12 Mart. page 855.

‡ Ibid. Vit. S. Gild. Badon, ad 29 Jan. note 13, page 192.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Lactin, ad 19, et Mart. Vit. Mochoem. ad 13 Mart. note 13.

‖ Vit. S. Aid. ad 28 Feb. cap. 39, note 3, et seq. and Allem. Hist Mon. page 39.

¶ "From this Fiachus, son of Neill, that part of Meath which is called Kinel-Fiacha, received its name; from his seed two noble families, called O'Molloys and M'Geoghegans, were descended."-*Usher, Church Hist.* c. 17, p. 910.

** Allem. Hist. Monast. p. 43.

Dearmach, founded by St. Columb-Kill, was celebrated for its sanctity, and the number of its monks, amounting sometimes to nine hundred. But as virtue frequently becomes the object of envy, our saint was forced to leave Rathene, where he had lived for forty years, and retire to Lismore, where he founded a cathedral, of which he was the first bishop. Colgan says that he took with him more than eight hundred monks, who lived similarly to those of La Trappe, living upon herbs and vegetables, which they cultivated with their own hands. After the death of their holy founder, most of them dispersed throughout Ireland, England, and Scotland, where they founded several religious houses under the order of St. Carthach, which afterwards submitted to that of the regular canons of St. Augustin.

Cambos, a monastery founded on the left bank of the river Bann, at its outlet from Lough Neagh, by St. Congal, was afterwards converted into a parish church.*

The abbey of Cluain-Fiachal, five miles from Ardmach, was founded by St. Lugadius, of the race of Niall the Great.†

The monastery of Rathmat, near lake Orbsen in the county of Galway, founded by St. Fursee of Peronne, of the race of Lugha-Laige, brother of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster, was changed into a parish church under the name of Kilfursa.‡

The monastery of Kill-Cuanna, in the district of Tir-Bruin, in the diocese of Tuam, was founded by St. Cuanna, brother by his mother of St. Carthagh of Rathene, and son of Midarn, of the royal race of Niall the Great, by his son Eana.§

The monastery of Rachlin, an island on the northern side of Dalriada, in the county of Antrim, was founded by Lugaid-Laithir, a disciple of St. Columb-Kill.‖

The abbey of Cnodain, near Eas-Ruaidh, on the banks of the river Erne, in the territory of Tirconnel, was founded by St. Conan, who was afterwards bishop.¶

The abbey of Disert-Nairbre, in the territory of Desie, and district of Portlargi, at present Waterford, was founded by St. Maidoc of Ferns.**

The abbey of Dar-Inis in the same country, was founded in an island of that name, by St. Molanfide.*

The abbey of Cluain-Choirphte, county of Roscommon, was founded by St. Berach, disciple of St. Coemgene of Glen-Daloch.†

The monastery of Cluain-Claidheach, in the territory of Hua-Conaill, county of Lomneach, (Limerick,) was founded by St Maidoc, archbishop of Ferns.‡

The abbey of Druim-Thuoma, now the parish of Drumhone, in the territory of Tirconnel, diocese of Raphoe, was founded by St. Erman, of the race of Niall the Great, by his son, Conall-Gulban.§

The abbey of Rosglas, formerly Ross Mic-Treoin, near the river Barrow, in Hy-Kinseallagh, was founded by St. Evin, one of the six sons of Eugene, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster.‖

The abbey of Inbher-Dagan, on the coast of Wexford, was founded by St. Dagan.¶

The abbey of Fedh-Duin, in the county of Tipperary, was founded, according to Colgan, by St. Maidoc, or Momoedoc, of the royal race of Leinster, and son of the queen, St. Radagunda.**

The abbey of Teagh-Moiling, otherwise St. Mullens, territory of Carlow, was founded by St. Moling, who was abbot of it.

The abbey of Disert-Moholmoc in East Meath, was founded by St. Colman.

The monastery of Mothil, county of Waterford, was founded by St. Brogan, who was first abbot of it; he was succeeded by St. Coan, or Coanus.††

The monastery of Enach-Midhbreuin, county of Tipperary, was founded by Mac-Briccius.

The bishopric of Dromore in Dalaradie, at present the county of Down, was founded by St. Colman, of the race of the Arads, first abbot of Muckmore, in the county of Antrim, and afterwards first bishop of Dromore.‡‡ He is called Colmanel by Jocelin in the life of St. Patrick, in which he mentions a prophecy of that apostle respecting him.§§ He is also called Mocholmoc, by the

* Ibid. p. 93.
† Act. Sanct. Hib. pp. 193, 606, et id. in Vit. S. Lugad. ad 2 Mart.
‡ Ibid. Vit. S. Fuersi ad 16 Jan. et 26 Mart. page 749.
§ Ibid. Vit. S. Cuan. ad 4 Feb.
‖ Usser. Prim. p. 958, et Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 193.
¶ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Conan, ad 8 Mart.
** Ibid. Vit. S. Maidoc, ad 31 Jan. c. 22, not 23.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 83.
† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. Berach, ad 15 Feb.
‡ Ibid. Vit. Sanct. Maid. ad 31 Jan.
§ Ibid. Vit. S. Ernan. ad 1 Jan.
‖ Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 215, not. 1, and Allemand, page 15.
¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Dagan, ad 12 Mart not. 14.
** Allemand, Histoire Monast. d'Irlande, p. 1
†† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
‡‡ War. de Episc. Dromor. and Usser. Primord. p. 1065.
§§ Caput 96.

scholiast of the Ængusian martyrology.* Colman lived in the sixth century; he died the sixth of June, but the year is not known; some say it was in 610, others in 600.† The successors of St. Colman, before the arrival of the English, are not known, except Malbrigid Mac-Cathasaige, who died in 972, and Rigan, who is said to have died in 1101.‡ It is probable that this see remained without a bishop for some centuries, and that during that time it was governed by the metropolitan.§

Saint Colman, son of Lenin, disciple of St. Finbarr, bishop of Cork, a learned and pious man, was founder and first bishop of the church of Cloyne towards the end of the sixth century or in the beginning of the seventh; he died the fourth of November, 604. Cloyne, situated in the county of Cork, was formerly called Cluain-Vanian, or Cluain-Vama, which signifies a cell or place of retreat.

The church of Ferns acknowledges St. Edan, otherwise called Moedoc, as its patron and first founder;‖ he was son of Sedna, descended in the eighth degree from Colla-Huais, monarch of the island about the beginning of the fourth century.¶ His mother Ethne was descended from Amalgaid, king of Connaught in the time of St. Patrick. He was born at Inis-Breagmuin, in Brefny, now the county of Cavan; in his youth he formed a strict friendship with St. Laserian, abbot of Daminis, or Devenish, in lake Erne. According to some authors, he was, before his voyage to Britain, one of the hostages whom the princes of Brefny had given to Ainmire, monarch of Ireland, which is at variance with chronology; St. David, with whom our saint had spent some time,** died in 544, and the monarch Ainmire began only to reign, according to Colgan, in 566, or according to others in 568; so that we should refer the captivity of this saint to the reign of Tuathal II., surnamed Maolbarg, who was cotemporary of Saint David, and died the same year as he. However this be, it is admitted by all that Saint Edan went to Britain, where he spent some time to perfect himself with St. David; after which he returned to his own country and was kindly received by Brandubh, king of Leinster, who gave him the city of Ferns, to found a bishopric in it.

After the foundation of the church of Ferns, Brandubh, king of the province, convened a synod, at which it was decreed that the metropolitan dignity of Leinster should be always continued to the see of St. Moedoc, in consequence of which that saint was declared archbishop of Leinster.*

In the early ages of Christianity, the title of archbishop in Ireland, except that of Ardmach, was not attached to any particular see; this title belonged sometimes to one city, sometimes to another, according to the merit of the bishop, and his reputation for sanctity; it was thus that St. Fiech, bishop of Sletty, was called archbishop of Leinster by St. Patrick; which dignity was successively conferred on Kildare and Ferns. In like manner, Saint Ailbe, bishop of Emly, was called archbishop of Munster; and the bishops of Tuam were called, in the annals of the country, archbishops of Connaught, long before the distribution of the palliums by cardinal Paparo.

The see of Ferns was filled for fifty years by St. Edan, or Maidoc, who, having founded several other churches, and wrought many miracles, was transferred to a happier life, the 31st of January, 632, the day on which his festival is celebrated, and was buried in his church of Ferns.

The bishopric of Kil-Mac-Duach, in Connaught,† was founded by St. Colman, son of Duach, of the noble race of the Hy-Fiachras, who was descended, in the eighth degree, from the monarch Eocha-Moy-Veagon, by his son Fiachra.‡ The surname of Mac-Duach was given him as a distinction from several of his cotemporaries, who, like him, bore the name of Colman. As he was attached to a pious and secluded life, he spent seven years with one companion alone, in solitude, from whence he was taken and invested with the episcopal dignity. He then chose a suitable place to build a cathedral church upon it, which was called, after him, Kil-Mac-Duach, that is, the church of the son of Duach. Being nearly related to Guaire, who was at that time king of Connaught, his church was considerably enriched by the bounty of that prince. Our saint lived towards the end of the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh; we can therefore nearly determine the time of the foundation of his church. The year of his

* Not. 106.
† Usser. Primord. Eccles. p. 1126.
‡ War. de Script. Hib. et Annal. 4, Magistr. de an. 972.
§ Colg. Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 387.
‖ War. de Episc. Fernens.
¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Maid. ad 31 Jan.
** Colgan, not. 7, in Vit. S. Edan, p. 216.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Maidoc, ad 31 Jan p. 211, not. 29.
† War. de Præsul. Duacens.
‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Colm. ad 3 Feb.

death is not known ; but his festival is held the third of February. His successors for many ages are unknown. We discover in the beginning of the ninth century St. Indrect, bishop of Kil-Mac-Duach, and Rugnad O'Ruadan, who died in 1178.*

The bishopric of Fenabore, in the language of the country, Kil-Fenoragh,† situated in the territory of Corcumroe, in Thuomond, now the county of Clare, was the smallest and poorest of the Irish bishoprics ; it contained but thirteen parishes : neither the time of its foundation nor the name of its first founder is known, unless we ascribe it to St. Fachnan, patron of that cathedral. In the distribution of bishoprics by cardinal Paparo, this see was placed among the number of the suffragans of Cashil ; but since Charles II. it has been annexed to the archbishopric of Tuam.

Hugue Slaine, son of Dermod the monarch, made his kinsman, Colman Rimidh, son of Baodan, and grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, partner in the government, A. D. 599. Those princes having governed the island in peace during six years, were killed at a battle near Lochseimdighe.

The abbey of Fathen, situated near the borders of Inis-Owen, in that part of the diocese of Derry which extends into the territory of Donnegall, was founded, during the above reign, by St. Murus, or Muranus, in the Scotic language Mura, of the race of Niall the Great, and particular patron of the tribe of the O'Neills.‡

This monastery was held in high veneration, not only on account of the memory of St. Muran, its patron, but also for the valuable monuments of antiquity which were preserved in it for many centuries : among others, there was a small volume written in Scotic verse by St. Mura, and a large book of chronology, filled with many historical passages concerning the nation in general ; this work was much esteemed, and is frequently quoted by the antiquarians of the country ; there still remain some fragments of it, says Colgan, which have escaped the fury of the reformers of latter ages.

The monastery of Cluain-Dachrann, in the territory of Fearkeal, was founded by St. Cronan, or Mochua, son of Mellan, and disciple of St. Cartagh of Rathene.§

The monastery of Cluan-Fode, in the territory of Fertullach in Meath, was founded by St. Libren, son of Aidius, prince of Orgiell, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch *

Hugue IV., surnamed Variodnach, son of Domhnall, and grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, succeeded Hugue Slaine, A. D. 605. This prince was renowned for his justice, and deemed very brave, notwithstanding his delicate state of health. His reign was disturbed by the war in which he was engaged against prince Aongus, son of Colman, who was totally defeated with his army, at the battle of Odbha, in which Connall Laogbreag, son of Hugue Slaine, lost his life. This monarch died at Tara, after a reign of seven years.

Limerick, called Lumneach in the Scotic language, acknowledges as its first bishop, St. Munchin, son of Sedna, who founded a church there, to which he gave his own name ; it was formerly a cathedral, but afterwards made a parish church.† The time that this saint lived has been made the subject of much disputation among authors : some say that he lived in the time of St. Patrick, and was the same as Mancenus, whom that apostle placed in the district of Tirawly ; others assert that he was the same as Manchenus, who died in 651 ; that bishopric however, was restored by the Danes, and the cathedral rebuilt in the twelfth century, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick.

The priory of Moethel, now Mohill, in the district of Conmacne of Muinter-Eolas, the ancient patrimony of the Mac-Granvills, was founded in this reign by St. Manchene.‡ This saint also founded the abbey of Menedrochaid, in the territory of Loise, at present the Queen's county.§

Maolchaba, son of Hugue II., and grandson of Ainmire the monarch, ascended the throne A. D. 612 ; he reigned but three years, having been killed by his successor at the battle of Cath-Taod.

It is affirmed by some writers, that this monarch, having abdicated the throne, became a monk, and died bishop of Clogher.‖

St. Laserian (not St. Laserian, abbot of Daminis in Lake Erne) was first bishop of Leighlin, commonly called Old Laughlin, a town situated in the territory of Carlow, at a short distance from the river Barrow.

St. Laserian was sometimes called Molaisre :¶ he was son of Cairel and Blitha,

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Indrect, ad 5 Febr. not. 3.
† War. de Episc. Fenabor.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Muri, ad 12 Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 97.
§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Cron. ad 11 Feb.

* Ibid. Vit. S. Libran, ad 11 Mart.
† War. de Episc. Limmericens.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib Vit. S. Manch ad 14 Feb. Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 969.
§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
‖ Grat. Luc. c. 9.
¶ War. de Episc. Leighlin.

and brought up in his youth by the abbot St. Murin, to whom his mother, Blitha, daughter of a king of the Picts, had intrusted him. He went to Rome, where he remained fourteen years, during which time he attended particularly to the expounding of the holy Scriptures by St. Gregory, pope, from whom he received the order of priesthood, and returned to his own country. He visited Gobban, abbot of Leighlin, some time afterwards, who voluntarily resigned to him his monastery, and sought an establishment in another place for himself and his monks.

The monastery of Leighlin became celebrated under St. Laserian; there were monks in it to the number of 1500.* The celebration of Easter was, at that time, the subject of frequent debates; a synod was convened on the banks of the Barrow, between Laughlin and Sliev-Margey, to take it into consideration. This matter was debated between St. Laserian and Munnu, abbot of an abbey called Teach-Munnu, which he had founded in the territory of Kinseallagh. As each was inflexible in his own opinion, the synod terminated without deciding upon any thing; wherefore St. Laserian returned to Rome, where he was honorably received by Pope Honorius I., who consecrated him bishop and sent him back to Ireland in the capacity of legate, with instructions for the faithful respecting the Easter.† He succeeded so well in this mission, that he brought back the southern Scots to the observance of the true Easter.‡ He died the 18th of April, 638, and was interred in the church of Leighlin, which he had founded.

The bishopric of Cork was founded by St. Barr, or Finbar, called Lochan at his baptism; he was from the province of Connaught.§ This saint founded a cathedral church in the seventh century; and after being bishop of it for seventeen years, according to some but seven, he died at Cloyne, fifteen miles from his cathedral, on the 25th of September; the year, however, is unknown.‖ His body was brought to Cork and honorably interred in his church, where his relics were afterwards deposited, in a silver shrine.* In his time there was a celebrated school at Cork, which produced a great number of saints and learned men. According to Dempster, he was the author of the epistle on the ceremonies of baptism, which is generally ascribed to Alcuin.

Suibhne, surnamed Mean, son of Fiachra, and great-grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, succeeded Maolchaba, A. D. 615. He reigned thirteen years, and was killed by Congal, son of Scanlan, king of Ulster, at the battle of Traigbhrene, leaving the sceptre to Domhnall, brother of the monarch Maolchaba.

Domhnall II., brother of Maolchaba, and son of Hugue II., of the race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban, ascended the throne, A. D. 628. This monarch was both a good Christian and a wise king; he governed his subjects with much prudence, and gained several victories over his enemies. His humility was so great, that when he asked St. Fechin for the penance, and remission of a crime he had committed, he prostrated himself upon the earth, and allowed the saint to walk on him. The crime was, the revision which that monarch wished to make of the boundaries and dynasties belonging to the southern Hy-Nialls, and in consequence of which he made war against them.

Meath, which had been the domain of the monarchs of Ireland from the reign of Tuathal-Teachtmar in the second century, was divided into territories and dynasties in the reign of Niall, surnamed Noygiollach, at the end of the fourth century, and divided between his eight sons;† whose descendants, called the Hy-Nialls, were formed into two tribes, namely, the northern and southern Hy-Nialls, from the situation of their respective territories.

The northern Hy-Nialls, namely, the four sons of Niall, called Eogan, Conall-Gulban, Eana, and Carbre, with their followers, invaded Ulster, where they seized upon the vast districts of Tir-Eogan, Tirconnel, Tir-Eana, Carbre-Gaura, and the environs of Lough Erne.

It appears that those princes had preserved their possessions in Meath for some time: we discover that in the time of St. Patrick, Carbre was in possession of Tailton and the parts adjoining; that some lands in West-Meath and in Connaught, belonged

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, page 926.

† "Pope Honorius sent letters to the nation of the Scots, whom, in their observance of the Easter, he had found to be in error."—*Bede's C. Hist.* b. 2, c. 19.

‡ "Moreover, the Scots who inhabited the south of Ireland, had, long before this, paid attention to the pope's mandate, for their observance of the Easter."—*Bede.*

§ Usser. Ind. Chron. note ad an. 630. War. de Epist. Corcagiens.

‖ War. de Antiq. c. 29

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 14 Mart.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fechini, ad 20 Jan. c. 24, cum notis.

to Eana ; the same may be supposed of the other two.* Their great possessions, however. in Ulster, made them afterwards abandon those in Meath, which were not so considerable, and which became, by degrees, blended with the possessions of the southern Hy-Nialls.

As the monarchs were sometimes chosen from one of those tribes, and sometimes from another, the recovery of those ancient possessions, by placing the northern Hy-Nialls nearer to the court of Tara, where the elections took place, would have enabled them to secure the votes in the elections for a monarch. Those were the political motives which influenced Domhnall, and the secret cause which induced him to march an army into Meath, in order to oblige the southern Hy-Nialls to accede to his wishes. Alarmed at this step of the monarch, the southern Hy-Nialls assembled their vassals, made them take up arms, and prepared to defend themselves ; but on seeing that they were inferior in numbers to the royal army, they implored the mediation of St. Fechin, abbot of the abbey of Fouar, in Westmeath, of which he was the founder. This saint was of noble descent, but was still more celebrated for his virtues, and high reputation of sanctity. Having complied with their request, he went to meet the monarch, who was advancing with rapid strides at the head of his army, and reproached him with his rashness and injustice, in endeavoring to disturb a possession of two hundred years. The monarch was at first deaf to his remonstrances ; but the saint having recourse to prayer, God displayed such prodigies as moved the monarch, whose conscience was timid, and already under the influence of religion ; thus, seeing hereby that the elements appeared to vindicate the will of Heaven, he relinquished his enterprise, made peace with the southern Hy-Nialls, and humbly submitted to the penance which the saint imposed on him. He spent the remainder of his days in the practice of penance and virtue ; among other good works, he endowed the monastery of Cong, which St. Fechin had founded, and which Gratianus Lucius calls " Cænobium Congense."

This pious monarch died in the odor of sanctity, at Artfothad, since called Rath-Domhnall, in the district of Tyrconnel, after a reign of fourteen years, and an illness which confined him, for the space of eighteen months, to his bed, in which state the sacrament was administered to him every Sunday, A.D. 642.*

The bishopric of Lismore was founded about the beginning of the seventh century, by St. Carthagh, who was also called Machuda.† This saint was descended from Fergus, of the race of Ire, father of Kiar, from whom the county of Kerry derived its name.

Carthagh having left his native country in his youth, founded a monastery at Rath ene, in Westmeath : he was first abbot of it, and it is said that he was at the head of a great number of monks there for forty years, who at one time amounted to 867.‡ He established a particular and very rigid order for this house ; the monks lived by their labor, and on the vegetables which they cultivated with their own hands, like those of La Trappe. This order was afterwards blended with that of the regular canons of St. Augustin.

The high reputation for austerity and sanctity of the monks of Rathene, drew upon them the envy and displeasure of those of another monastery in the neighborhood, and obliged them to leave their establishment. Carthagh led them to the district of Desie, near Portlargi, (Waterford,) where he was received with respect by the prince of the territory, who assigned him a place called Dunsginne, and since Lismore. Having settled his monks there, he founded a cathedral, of which he was first bishop, and a celebrated school, which was much frequented, not only by the natives, but likewise by a number of foreigners, who applied themselves in it to the study of true philosophy.§

The historians of the country affirm, that St. Cataldus, afterwards bishop of Tarentum, had been for some time over the schools at Lismore ; Bartholomew Moron says the same thing in his life : St. Cataldus must therefore have lived in the seventh century, after St. Carthagh, who had founded the schools, rather than in the second, as Moron ad-

* Jocel'n, Vit. S. Patr. c. 53 et Vit. Trip. lib. 2, cap. 4.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4, Grat. Luc. c. 9

† War. de Episc. Lismor.

‡ Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 910. Act. Sanct. Hib. 10 Feb. in not. ad Vit. S. Cron.

§ " Lismore is a holy city, into the half of which, there being an asylum, no woman dare enter : it was filled with cells and holy monasteries, and a number of holy men are always in it. The religious flow to it from every part of Ireland, England, and Britain, anxious to emigrate to Christ ; and the city itself is situate on the southern bank of the river formerly called *Nem*, lately called *Aben-Mor*, i. e. a great river in the district of Nandesus."—*Allemand's Monastic History of Ireland.*

vances; no Christian schools having been as yet, either at Lismore, or in any other part of Ireland. The great number of Christians who (he says) had been in this country in the time of St. Cataldus, proves that he was mistaken respecting the age in which that saint lived.

Killaloe, situated in the county of Clare, on the right bank, and west of the river Shannon, near the famous cataract above Limerick, which interrupts the navigation of the river, derives its name from St. Molua, who had founded a church there in the beginning of the sixth century, of which he was abbot.* In the annals of Innisfail, and in most of the histories of the country, this place is called Kill-da-Lua, which signifies the church of Lua, which was the real name of that saint. St. Flannan, son of king Theodoric, and disciple of St. Molua, was consecrated first bishop of this see about the year 639, at Rome, by Pope John IV. During his episcopacy, Theodoric endowed this church liberally, and was interred in it by his son, the bishop having died at an advanced age.

The monastery of Achad-Garvan, now Dungarvan, in the territory of Desie, was founded by St. Garban, or Garvan, son of Finbarr, and disciple of the great St. Barr, bishop of Cork.†

The monastery of Teach-Molaige, or Tulach-Mhin, in the territory of Fera-Muighe, in the county of Cork, was founded by St. Molagga.‡

The abbey of Tirdaglass, diocese of Killaloe, on the river Shannon, was founded by St. Colman-Stellan.§

In this reign we may place the foundation of two monasteries for females by Saint Darerca, surnamed Mænen, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys, the first of which was that of Fochard, in the territory of Conall-Murthemne, in the county of Louth, in memory of St. Bridget, who was born in that place: there have been canonesses to the number of one hundred and fifty in that house.‖ The second was that of Kilsleve, or Kilslebe, in the territory of Ardmach, founded by the same saint, whom Colgan takes care not to confound with the abbess of Lin, who was sister of St. Patrick, and also called Darerca.

St. Aedan, or Aidus, surnamed Dubh, that is, the Black, king of Leinster, having abdicated the throne, became a monk, and founded a monastery for regular canons at Kildare, of which he was abbot, and afterwards bishop.*

St. Fechin, an abbot and anchorite, was celebrated for the retired life he led, and the great number of religious houses which he founded in this and the two following reigns. His father was Coelcharn, of the race of Eocha-Fion-Fuothairt, brother of Conn-Keadcaha; and his mother Lassar was descended from the kings of Munster.†

This saint founded the monasteries of Easdara, Bile-Fechin, Kill-Na-Manach, and Druim-Ratha, for regular canons, in the diocese of Achonry, where he was born; the abbey of Kill-Na-Garban, in the territory of Coistolo; the abbey of Cong, between the lakes Mask and Corrib, on the frontiers of the counties of Galway and Mayo.

This house was built and endowed by Domhnall II., who became monarch of the island four years afterwards. Cong was a celebrated place, for having been the residence of the kings of Connaught, and a number of fine churches, as may be discovered by the extensive ruins which remain.

The monasteries of Inaidh and Ard-Oilen, two islands in the river Shannon. He also founded the monastery of Tibraid, in the territory of Maine, that is, in southern Teafna, which comprised a part of Westmeath and Analy, now the county of Longford, and that of Tulach-Fobhair, near Naas, in the county of Kildare.

Lastly, St. Fechin founded the monastery of Foure, in the territory of Dealna-Mor, in a pleasant valley called Fobhair, or Fovar, in which there were 300 monks under the rigid order of that saint. Mortification was practised in it to a high degree. Cambrensis says that women were not allowed to enter the convent, nor even the mill belonging to it.‡

Saint Fechin died in 664, of a plague, called in the Scotic language, "Buidhe-Chonnaill," which had carried off a great number, both of the clergy and the people, without sparing even the crowned heads. Blathmac and Dermod II., who governed the island together, Cais, or Caius Gan-Mathuir,

* War. de Episc. Laonens.
† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Garvan, ad 26 Mart.
‡ Act. Hib. Vit. S. Molag. ad 20 Jan.
§ Ibid. pp. 12 et 14, 142 et 247.
‖ Usser. Prim. Eccles. Ind. Chron. ad an. 630.

* Trias. Thaum. App. 5, ad Vit. S. Brigid. p. 629.
† Act. Sanct Hib. Vit. S. Fechin, App. c. 2.
‡ "In Meath, at Fovar, there is a mill which holy Fechinus excavated with his own hands, out of the side of a rock. Neither into this, nor into the church of the saint, entered a woman; the mill was held in equal veneration by the natives, as one of the churches of the saint."—*Allemand's Monastic History of Ireland*, page 41.

king of Munster, and several other princes, fell victims to this contagion, which is mentioned by Bede, in accordance with the historians of the country.*

Conall, surnamed Claon, son of Maolchaba, of the race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban, succeeded Domhnall, A. D. 642. This prince, according to the general custom of the time, shared the government with his brother Kellach. They reigned in peace, but ended their lives differently; the former having been killed in a combat against Dermod, and the latter died a natural death at Brugh, on the river Boyne.

St. Sacer, otherwise Mosacer and Mosacra, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys, founded in the reign of these princes the monastery of Teach-Sacra, near Taulaght, within three miles of Dublin.†

The monastery of Glasmore, in the territory of Desies, was founded about the same time by St. Cronan, known by the name of St. Mochua, disciple of Saint Carthagh, for regular canons of St. Augustin. St. Cronan was killed in his abbey of Glasmore, with all his monks, by Danish or Norwegian pirates, who made a descent on the country in the seventh century.‡

We may also place about this time the foundation of a monastery in the territory of Hy-Cairbre, county of Lomneach, (Limerick,) called Kil-Mochelloe, or Kilmallock, from the name of St. Machelloc, of the race of Conare, monarch of the island, by whom it was founded.§

Blathmac and Dermod, surnamed Ruaidhnaigh, brothers, and children of Hugue III., ascended the throne, A. D. 854; and after a reign of ten years, were carried off, with a considerable number of their subjects, by a plague which ravaged the whole island, A. D. 665.‖

The abbey of Cluain-Dolchain, in the county of Dublin, near the frontiers of Meath, was founded in this reign by St. Machua.¶

The monastery of Inis-Bo-Fin, a maritime island on the western coast of Connaught, was founded in 664 by St. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarn, in England.*

The abbey of Mayo was first founded by St. Colman, for regular canon of St. Augustin, and afterwards finished by his disciple St. Gerald, abbot of Winton in England, who accompanied that bishop to Ireland, whom Ragallach, king of Connaught, supplied with funds for this purpose.† The same St. Gerald founded the abbey of Elytheria, or Templegerard, in the county of Mayo, for regular canons.‡

Lastly, St. Gerald founded a monastery at Mayo for nuns, of which his sister, St. Segresia, was abbess.

Seachnusach, son of Blathmac, succeeded his father and his uncle, and was killed, after a reign of six years, by Dubh Duin, of Kenel-Cairbre, A. D. 671.

Kionn-Faola, brother of Seachnusach, succeeded him on the throne, A. D. 671; he reigned but four years, having been killed at the famous battle of Kealtrach, in the territory of Thuomond, A. D. 675.

Fionachta, surnamed Fleadhach, which signifies hospitable, son of Dunchada, and grandson of Hugue III., surnamed Slaine, succeeded Kionn-Faola.§ This pious prince being desirous of renouncing the world, and of devoting himself to the service of God, retired into a monastery about the twelfth year of his reign; the affairs of state, however, joined to the solicitations of the great men, induced him to leave the convent before the end of his novitiate, and resume the reins of government.

This monarch gave battle to the people of Leinster, at Lochgabhair in Meath, near Kells, in which several of the provincial troops lost their lives; he then, at the request of St. Moling, suppressed the tribute called "Boiroimhe-Laighean," which the monarch Tuathal-Teacht-Mar, one of his ancestors, had imposed on that province in the second century, and which had caused so much blood to flow.‖

It was in the reign of this monarch that the English, by order of Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, made a descent upon Ireland. In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 684, (says Bede,) Ecgfrid, king of

* "In the 664th year of our redemption, on the 3d day of May, about the tenth hour, in which year there was a sudden pestilence, whereby the southern parts of Britain were depopulated, and also extended into the province of Northumberland. This plague spread itself still more widely, and destroyed in its ravages great numbers of people."—*Bede's Church History*, c. 27. b. 3.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Sac. ad 3 Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 8.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Cronan, ad 10 Feb. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 52.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Mochelloc, ad 26 Mart. Allem. page 60.

‖ Bed. lib. 3, c. 26, et Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 603.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Ferfugill. ad 10 Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. page 8.

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 4, c. 4.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. Gerald, ad 13 Mart. War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 78, et seq.

§ Grat. Luc. cap. 8. Keating's Hist. of Ireland.

‖ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4.

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the Northumbrians, having sent General Berte with an army to Ireland, plundered that unoffending people, (who had been always friendly and well-disposed towards the English,) without sparing either churches or monasteries; however, the Irish used all their efforts, and repelled force by force.* Thus, this attack of the Saxons was attended by no other result than the pillaging of some villages on the coasts of the island.

In the reign of this monarch, Cumasgach, king of the Picts, invaded this island with all his forces; but he was killed by the islanders at the battle of Rathmore, in Meath, in the barony of Lune, and his army cut to pieces.

After a reign of twenty years, Fionnachta lost his life, together with his crown, at the battle of Greallach-Dolling, A. D. 695, and is placed in the martyrology, on the 14th of November, the day on which he is honored as a saint.

In the reign of this pious monarch, some religious houses were founded; namely, the abbey of Lusk, in the county of Dublin, by St. Colga.†

The abbey of Achadh-Dubtuigh, in the district of Ly, on the banks of the river Bann, in the county of Antrim, was founded by Saint Guaire, or Goar, of the race of Colla-Huais.‡

The abbey of Both-Chonais, in the district of Inis-Owen, county of Donegal, was founded by St. Congellus, of the race of Eogan, son of Niall the Great, from whom the illustrious tribe of the O'Neills are descended. This saint is not the same as he who had founded the abbey of Beanchuir, in the county of Down.§

The priory of Inchenemeo, (an island of Lough-Derg, in the river Shannon,) which signifies the island of the living, called the priory of St. Hilary, was founded by Saint Donan. This house, which consisted of regular canons, was removed to Corball, or Kilbara, a small place on the borders of that lake.‖

The priory of Thome was founded in the same century, by the same St. Donan: this priory belonged to the house of Corball which we have just mentioned.

Loingseach, son of Aongus, grandson of Domhnall II., and great-grandson of Hugue II., surnamed Slaine, of the race of Heremon, succeeded Fionnachta-Fleadhach.

In the reign of that monarch the Britons and Saxons made an attempt upon Ireland, they laid waste the plain of Muirtheimne, at present the county of Louth; but they were repulsed by Loingseach, and forced to abandon their enterprise. They were afterwards totally defeated by the Ulster troops at Moigh-Cuillin, or Ire-Conaght, in the county of Galway.

There was in this reign a dreadful murrain among the cattle, followed by a famine, that lasted for three years. After a reign of nine years, this monarch was killed, with his three sons, Ardgall, Consac, and Flan, at the battle of Cormin, by Kellach, son of Ragallach, king of Connaught, A. D. 704.

Congall, surnamed Kionmaghair, son of Feargus-Fanuid, and descendant of Niall the Great, by Conall-Gulban, ascended the throne. He took delight to put away every year the hostages which the provinces were accustomed to give the monarchs, in order to reclaim them by arms. He was always at war with the people of Leinster to avenge the death of Hugh II., (son of Ainmire, his great-grandfather,) who had been killed by them at the battle of Beallach-Dunbolg. This unhappy prince became at length a persecutor of the church and clergy; but the divine vengeance arrested his career by a sudden death, A. D. 711.

Feargall, son of Maolduin, and great-grandson of Hugh IV., surnamed Vairionach, succeeded Congall. The inhabitants of Britain, who frequently made their attacks on Ireland for the sake of plunder, arrived, during the reign of this monarch, in Ulster, where, after a bloody engagement fought at Cloch-Mionuire, they were entirely routed by the Dalriads and other tribes of Ulster.

Although Fionachta forgave the people of Leinster the tribute which they were obliged to pay to the monarch, it appears that some of his successors still laid claim to it. Feargall, being irritated with the Leinster men, whether from their refusal to pay the tribute, or from some other motives of dissatisfaction, entered their country with an army of 21,000 men. Mourough-Mac-Broin, king of the province, at the head of but 9,000, met the monarch at Almhuine, at present Allen, in the county of Kildare. The disproportion of the two armies would seem, at first view,

* "In the year of our Lord 684, Egfridus, king of the Northumbrians, sent, under the command of Bertus, an army to devastate the country, and destroy an unoffending people, who had been most friendly to the English; neither churches nor monasteries were spared: they were repulsed by the natives."—*Bede.*

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Colg. ad 20 Feb.

‡ Ibid. in Vit. S. Maidoc. ad 30 Jan. Append. c. 2, page 223.

§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. page 94. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Christie, ad 3 Mart.

‖ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 67

to decide in favor of the monarch; but a panic spreading on a sudden through his soldiers, lost to him the victory and his life, besides one hundred and sixty lords, of his attendants. The historians of the country make the loss, on both sides, amount to 7,000 men, A. D. 722.

Fogartach, son of Niall, and grandson of Kearnagh, of the race of Niall the Great, by Conall-Creamthine, Dermod, and Hugh III., surnamed Slaine, obtained the supreme government of the island; but he saw, almost at the same time, the beginning and end of his reign, as, about the close of the year, he was killed at the battle of Delgan, or Kindelgin, A. D. 724.

Kionath, son of Jargallach, and descended from Niall the Great, by Conall-Creamthine, Dermod, and Hugh-Slaine, was successor to Fogartach.

This monarch fought a battle with prince Flahertach at Dromorcain, where his army was entirely defeated, and himself found among the slain.*

He was succeeded by Flahertach, A. D. 727: this prince was son of Loinseach the monarch, of the royal race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban. In the reign of this monarch, Hugue, surnamed Ollan, at the head of his vassals declared war against the Clanna-Nialls of Ulster, which was ended by the battle of Fotharta, in the territory of Muirthiemne, (Louth,) in which Hugue Roin, king of that province, lost his life. The cause of this war was the sacrilege committed by Hugh Roin in several churches in the diocese of Ardmach, which he had pillaged, and the complaints advanced against him by Congus, then archbishop and confessor of Hugue Ollan, in a poem which he had composed on that subject.†

Flahertach, regardless of the royal dignity and splendors of the world, withdrew, after a reign of seven years, to Ardmach, A. D. 734, where he embraced the monastic state, and spent the last thirty years of his life in the practice of austerities.‡ This circumstance occurred while Congus was archbishop of that see.

Flahertach was the last monarch of Ireland of the race of Conall-Gulban, son of Niall the Great; the O'Domhnaills, or O'Donneis, the eldest branch of that illustrious tribe, have always supported the splendor of hereditary princes of Tyrconnel. The present chief of that very ancient and noble family is O'Donnel, son of Hugue, a general officer in the service of her majesty, the empress queen, well known for his military exploits, not only in the last war against the Turks, but also in the present war with Prussia.

Hugue V., surnamed Ollan, son of Feargall the monarch, of the race of Niall by Eogan, took possession of the throne which had become vacant by the abdication of Flahertach This prince was learned, and a severe revenger of any injuries committed against the Church. He held an assembly at Tirda-Glass, in the district of Ormond, at which Cahall, son of Fionguine, king of Munster, and several other princes, were assembled respecting the payment of St. Patrick's tribute throughout the whole island. In the reign of this monarch a disastrous war broke out between the provinces of Munster and Leinster; the two armies having engaged at Beallach-Feile, in the King's county, the success was for a long time doubtful; but at length victory declared in favor of Cathal, king of Munster, and Keallach, prince of Ossory, was found among the slain. The battle of Athseanuigh, which was fought some time afterwards between the people of Leinster and the monarch, was more fatal to the Provincialists, having lost the greater part of their nobility, with Hugue, son of Colman their king, and about 9000 of their best troops.

Cahall, son of Fionguine, king of Munster, and Hugue Balve, king of Connaught, contemporaries of this monarch, both died in his reign. He himself ended his days, some time afterwards, at the battle of Keannanus, in Meath, which his successor had gained over him.

Domhnall III., son of Mourrough, descended in the eleventh degree from Niall the Great, by Conall Crimthine and Dermod the monarch, ascended the throne, A. D. 743; his reign was long and peaceful. In his time the Picts made incursions into Leinster; they were, however, totally defeated by the Leinster troops at Rath-Beathach, in the district of Ossory, where Cahasach, their king, was slain.

Domhnall being a prince endowed with the love of religion, was induced, through piety, to make a pilgrimage to the island of Hy-Columb-Kill, where he died in peace after a reign of 20 years, A. D. 763.

We may place in this reign the foundation of two religious houses, one for men and the other for females; namely, the abbey of Taulacht, three miles from Dublin, which Colgan calls "Monasterium Tamlac-

* Trias Thaum. 7, Vit. S. Part. cap. 7, p. 130.
† War. de Archiepisc. Armach.
Trias Thaum. page 294.

tense," founded by Saint Moelruan ;* and a monastery for females at Doire-Mell, in eastern Brefny, now Cavan, founded by St. Tigernach for his mother Saint Mell.†

Niall, surnamed Frassach, son of Feargall, and brother of Hugue V., succeeded Domhnall A. D. 763.

The peace which the kingdom enjoyed during his reign was embittered by a general famine and frequent earthquakes, which spread desolation throughout the land.

This prince, who ardently desired to lead a more perfect life than what is generally spent upon a throne, abdicated it, after a reign of seven years, and withdrew to the island of Hy, where he passed the last eight years of his life in the practices of penance, A. D. 770.

Donchada, son of Domhnall III., governed the island after Niall ; and after a reign of twenty-seven years, spent in peace and the practice of good works, he died a natural death, A. D. 797.

We may here introduce the foundation of the priory of Damliag, or Duleek, in the territory of Bregh in Meath, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, of which St. Cathmas was abbot in this reign.

The abbey of Clontuoskirt was founded about this time for regular canons of St. Augustin, by St. Boadan, who was first abbot of it.‡

CHAPTER XII.

As we have now come to the period of the invasion of Ireland by the Danes, we must interrupt the history of the succession of her kings to verify the real state of religion among the Irish at that time ; it will be found in the following chapter, together with the wars of those barbarians.

The church of Ireland was already well founded, from the time of the apostleship of St. Patrick, and the Christian religion well established in this country. There were bishops and pastors everywhere ; every canton had its church, and every church its pastor. It is probable that a diocese was not then considerable; whereas, in the time of St. Patrick, there were more than three hundred bishops in this island, where at present there are not forty.

Without speaking of the three first ages of Christianity—a period in which we find, in other parts of Europe, Scoto-Milesians who were eminent for the sanctity of their lives both as bishops and monks ; who had been fortunate enough to leave their own country, which was still in a state of idolatry ; unacquainted also with Christianity, except what they learned from the accounts of travellers—the fourth century gave birth to the four great precursors of St. Patrick, namely, St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Ibar, and St. Kieran. These holy men, who converted several districts in the island, founded some considerable abbeys, of which they themselves were abbots, and afterwards bishops

Usher, according to an ancient authentic manuscript, discriminates three different classes of saints in Ireland, which correspond with the fifth and sixth centuries.*

The first class, called very holy, existed in the time of St. Patrick, who, after Jesus Christ, was head of them; this class, composed of three hundred and fifty celebrated bishops, was filled with the holy spirit, and were all the founders of churches ; they had the same mass, the same liturgy, and the same tonsure from one ear to the other. They celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, after the vernal equinox. Whatever was excommunicated by one church, was the same by all : neither did they shun the assistance nor the conversation of women, because, being founded by Jesus Christ, as upon a firm rock, they never dreaded the breath of temptation. In fine, this class, which consisted of subjects from different nations, but principally Scoto-Milesians, lasted during the reigns of four monarchs successively, beginning with Laogare.

The second class consisted of priests to the number of three hundred, among whom there were some few bishops. They acknowledged but one head, namely, Jesus Christ ; they had different liturgies and different masses ; they celebrated the Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, as those of the first class ; they had likewise the same tonsure from ear to ear ; but they never spoke to women. This class continued also for four reigns, beginning with Tuathal.

The principal saints of this class were the two Finians, the two Brendans, Jarlath of Tuam, Congall, Coemgin, Kieran, Columb, Cannech, Lasren, Eugene Mac-Laisre, Luge Cormac, Colman, Nessan, Lasrea, Barrinde, Coeman, Conan, Ende, Aide, Berchan, and many others.

* Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Ænguss. ad 11 Mart.
† Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Mell, ad 31 Mart.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Allem. Hist Monast. d'Irlande, page 77

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, p. 913.

The third and last class comprised several holy priests, to the number of one hundred, among whom there were some bishops: they inhabited the woods and desert places, drinking nothing but water, and lived upon herbs, which they cultivated themselves, in nearly the same manner as the monks of La Trappe. They possessed no property; followed different rules and different liturgies; had different tonsures—some were shaved, and others wore their hair; they also differed in the celebration of the Easter, some observing it on the fourteenth day of the moon, others the thirteenth, and some on the sixteenth. This class likewise lasted during four reigns, till the time of Hugue III., surnamed Slaine, in the beginning of the seventh century.

The principal bishops of this class were Petran, Ultan, Colman, Edan, Loman, Senach, and others; the priests were Fechin, Foilan, Coman, Colman, Ernan, Cronan, and many others.

The sanctity of those three classes is characterized in the monument quoted by Usher. The first class, he says, was very holy, the second less so, and the third still less than the second.* However, those who composed the last class, though inferior to the others in perfection, would be looked upon in the present age as inimitable models of mortification and sanctity.

Usher quotes a second manuscript which he had seen, that mentioned those three classes or orders of saints in Ireland; the first order, according to this manuscript, was as brilliant as the meridian sun in all its force; the second pale like the moon, and the third shone like Aurora.†

Although it may be supposed that those three different classes of saints should belong to the two centuries which followed the preaching of St. Patrick, still, if we compare them with the vision of that apostle, quoted by Jocelin, we may apply them allegorically to the different states of religion in Ireland, from the preaching of the gospel till the twelfth century, and the arrival of the English in this island.‡

St. Patrick, says Jocelin, filled with apprehensions for the church he had founded, offered up a fervent prayer to God, to know what its destiny would be in future ages.

* "The first order was most holy, the second order more holy, and the third holy; the first was ardent as the sun, the second as the moon, and the third as a star"

† "The first, like the sun, was warmed by the fervor of its brightness, the second, pale as the moon; the third shone as Aurora."—*Usher.*

‡ Vit. S. Part. cap. 175.

The Lord having heard his prayer, first presneted to his view an island as if all on fire, and covered with a flame which raised itself to the skies; he afterwards beheld only the tops of the mountains burning. Those first visions may be applied to the four first ages of Christianity in that island, when religion was still in all its splendor. But the eclipse occasioned by the incursions of the barbarians of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries, is strongly represented by the darkness which, according to the vision, had succeeded to the light, and by the thinly-scattered sparks which the saint beheld in the valleys, and the still lighted coals which lay concealed beneath the ashes. The light which the apostle saw coming from the north, and which, after dispelling the darkness, lighted the whole island, implies the re-establishment of religion after the expulsion of the Danes; which that author ascribes to the zeal of the learned Celse, otherwise Celestine, Ceallach, or, in the language of the country, Kellach, who was archbishop of Armagh in the beginning of the twelfth century, and of his successor, St Malachi.* Jocelin here mentions, that the English claim the merit of having revived religion in that island; but the decision of it he leaves to the judgments of God; the vanity of their claim on that head we shall discover in the subsequent part of this history.

The difference which prevailed in the liturgy and tonsure, caused no schism in the church of Ireland.

The first and most ancient liturgy of this new church took its origin from St. Mark;† it was introduced into Provence, Languedoc, and some other provinces, by St. Cassian and St. Honoratius; St. Germain and St. Loup established it in Gaul; and St. Patrick brought it into Ireland, where it has been scrupulously observed by his disciples.

This liturgy afterwards underwent some changes, both in this and other private churches, in which we discover different rituals and ceremonies. There were many other rites in this as well as in the Greek or Eastern church, and that of the Romans; all these different liturgies continued in use for a considerable time, even till the end of the eleventh century, when Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate, wrote a treatise on the manner of celebrating the mass and the divine service according to

* War. de Archiepisc. Armach

† Usser Primord Eccles. cap. 17, page 916, et seq.

the Roman ritual, disapproving of every other.*

With respect to the tonsure, it is affirmed that it had been instituted by St. Patrick in order to distinguish ecclesiastics from people of the world, by bearing an image and likeness of the crown of thorns of our Saviour, or perhaps to afford them thereby the opportunity of practising humility, and rendering them contemptible in the eyes of the Romans, who considered those crowns as marks of bondage and slavery, because slaves were sold by having a crown on their heads, "sub coronâ vendere solebant," to indicate that the prince authorized the sale.

The tonsure of St. Peter and the western church, consisted in shaving the top of the head, as the bishops, priests, and Mandians do at present; while the tonsure of the eastern church, which was that of St. Paul and St. James, adopted by the Benedictines, Celestines, and Bernardines, consisted in shaving the whole head, leaving only a small circle all around.

Small tonsures were condemned by the council of Toledo as an abuse introduced into Spain by the heretics.† The Irish monks applied all those different tonsures, which are still in use among the monks and friars in Europe. There were also some who let their hair grow like the Nazarenes and modern Greek priests.

The difference which prevailed among the Scoto-Milesians respecting the celebration of the Easter, was of much greater importance than that of the liturgy and the tonsure. The question concerning the Easter, which was the subject of much debate in the time of popes St. Anicetus and St. Polycarp, and afterwards under pope St. Victor, was one of the reasons for convening the council of Nice, as the churches of Syria and Mesapotamia still followed the custom of the Jews in celebrating the Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, without considering whether it was Sunday or not; the other churches, particularly that of the west, celebrated Easter on Sunday. This affair having been duly weighed and examined into, the fathers of the council agreed to observe the Easter on the same day, and ordained that it should be fixed upon the Sunday immediately after the fourteenth of the moon which was nearest after the vernal equinox, as it is indubitable that our Lord arose from the dead on the Sunday nearest to the passover of the Jews.

The more easily to discover the first day of the moon, and consequently the fourteenth, the council ordained that the cycle of nineteen years should be made use of, as at the expiration of that time the new moons return on nearly the same days of the solar year. Notwithstanding this decision of the council, there still remained some Quarto-Decimans firmly attached to the celebration of Easter on the fourteenth; among others, the schismatic Audians in Mesapotamia.

In the west there were only the Scoto-Milesians, Picts, and a few Britons, who continued in error respecting the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. Their error was not concerning the day, but the week, as they always celebrated their Easter on a Sunday:* in this they were not Quarto-Decimans, although the Romans have been pleased, says Usher, to suspect them of it, upon false representations.†

The letters of Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Honorius, and John IV., one of his successors, quoted by the venerable Bede, prove the obstinacy of the Scoto-Milesians in that custom.

Laurence having succeeded St. Augustin, the apostle of England, his zeal was not confined to the English alone, whose chief pastor he was; he knew that the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and the Scots of Ireland, were in error respecting the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon; he wrote to them, in conjunction with the other bishops, a pastoral letter, exhorting them to preserve peace and unity of discipline with the universal church of Jesus Christ.‡

* "At the request and desire of many among you, O most illustrious brethren, I have endeavored to write a canonical rule for the hours and performing the office of the entire ecclesiastical system; desirous to obey not an arbitrary but a most pious injunction on your part, in order that the different and schismatical communities with whom almost the whole of Ireland abounds, may submit to the Roman Catholic discipline. What indeed can be named more indecorous or schismatical, than that the most learned of an order should become the idiot and layman of another church."—*Syllogisms*, No. 30, p. 54.

† Concil. Toletan. 4, can. 40.

* "Translated from line 13 to 17."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 3, c. 4.

† "And still the Romans were pleased to call this not only a heresy, but even a new one from the old. According to Bede, they suspected (regard being had to the old Quartodecimans whose opinion being renewed by the Scots) that they had been deceived by the reports of some."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 17, p. 940.

‡ "He applied his care not only to the new church among the English, but he likewise displayed a pastoral solicitude both for the old inhabitants of Britain, and to the Scots who inhabit

Pope Honorius exhorts them to follow the decisions and the decrees of the councils respecting Easter: he says that a small number of the faithful, in the most remote part of the earth, should not think themselves more wise than all the churches of the world.* John IV., successor to Severinus, supported by the apostolical authority with which he was invested, addressed to them a letter full of erudition, concerning the subject of the Easter; he strongly proves in it that, in conformity with the council of Nice, the Easter should be celebrated from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of the moon; he also upbraids them that the Pelagian heresy was springing up anew among them, and exhorts them to be guarded against its poisonous effects.†

It appears, however, that this error was new among the Irish, and that there were but some individuals among them that conformed to it;‡ among that number are reckoned some of their greatest saints, viz., St Columbanus, St. Columbus, St. Aidan, St. Finian, St. Colman, the monks of the abbey of Hy, and many others among the northern Scots; those of the south had already submitted to the authority of the sovereign pontiff.*

This species of schism did not break the link of charity between the saints and the other churches. Their conscience made them follow, in part, the example of St. John, who observed the law of Moses, without considering that, in the time of this apostle, the church still adhered in many things to the Jewish law, the apostles not being able to reject at once all the observances of a law which God himself had given. The different cycles that were in use at different periods, might otherwise have caused a change in the observance of the Easter, particularly in a distant church, and not having the opportunity to consider the customs of the mother church. Even at Rome the cycle of eighty-four years was a long time in use; the Scots had adopted it, with this difference, that they counted from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon, instead of which, the Romans calculated from the sixteenth to the twenty-second, whereby the one exceeded, perhaps, the bounds that were prescribed by the council of Nice, as well as that the other had taken precedence in it.

The custom of the Alexandrine cycle of nineteen years, as explained by Denis le Petit, (according to which they made their calculations from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of the moon,) being still new among the Romans, might not be known to the Scoto-Milesians, and therefore their opposition to it could not affect their sanctity.† They performed miracles; they drew a great number of souls to God, whom they loved without affectation, and with simplicity, accompanied with goodness of intention; and their hearts were so inflamed with the grace of charity, that they were worthy of being instructed upon that point of discipline.‡

Ireland, neighboring on Britain. If he knew that among the Scots in their own country, or the Britons in Britain itself, there were some who lived a less ecclesiastical life, particularly in their celebration of the Easter, when they practised its observance from the 14th of the moon to the 20th, as the Sunday of the resurrection of the Lord, he wrote, together with the other bishops, an epistolary exhortation to them, wherein he advises them to keep peace and unity in that Catholic Church which is spread over the world. The following is the beginning of his epistle:—'The bishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, servants of the servants of God, to their dearest brethren, the lords bishops and abbots throughout all Scotia.'"—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 4.

* "The same bishop Honorius sent letters to the nation of the Scots, whom he found in error in their observance of the holy festival of Easter, exhorting them not to consider the paucity of their numbers, settled in a remote corner of the world, more wise than the ancient or modern churches of Christ which were spread over the world, and to celebrate no other Easter than that approved of and practised according to the synods of the popes."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

† "The same John who succeeded Severinus, after being elected to the popedom, (in order to correct the same error,) sent letters full of authority and erudition, plainly pointing out that the Sunday of Easter should be from the 15th to the 21st of the moon, according to the council of Nice. Likewise that the heresy of Pelagius, which he understood had been revived among them, should be guarded against and rejected. Of that epistle the following is the beginning:—'To the dearest and most holy Thomianus, Columbanus, and the other doctors as well as abbots of the Scots, Hilarius, arch-presbyter, holding the place of the holy apostolical see, John Diaconus, and in the name of God being elected, &c.'"—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

‡ "In the beginning of this epistle, it is clearly pointed out, that, in very latter times, this heresy sprang up among them, and some of the whole nation had been implicated in that heresy."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

* "Moreover that the nation of the Scots, who inhabited the south of Ireland, had long since hearkened to the admonitions of the pope in their observance of celebrating Easter."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3.

† "Neither do I think that this observance of Easter could cause any obstruction to them, as long as none had come who could point out what decrees of a more perfect institution they might follow."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 25.

‡ "But as they had not laid aside their fervor in charity, they have merited that the knowledge of

Adamnan, a priest from Ireland, and priest and abbot of the abbey of Hy, was one of those whom God inspired to bring back his countrymen, the Scots, to the canonical observance of the Easter.* Having been sent by his country, says Bede, to Alfred, king of the Saxons, in Northumberland, he stopped for some time in the province, and had himself instructed in a matter which, at that time, had caused so much uneasiness.† The learned of the country whom he met with, advised him not to join in obstinacy with a few people in a distant corner of the earth, against the universal custom of the church, either in the observance of the Easter, or in any other matter which had been settled.

Adamnan being convinced from authority, (as he was wise and very learned in the holy Scriptures,) returned to his own monastery of Hy, with an intention of reclaiming the monks from their error; but meeting with some difficulty in the undertaking, he passed over to Ireland, where he was more successful. The northern Scots he reclaimed almost entirely, and brought back to the true observance of the Easter those religious houses which were not dependent on that of Hy. He then returned to his island, where he died soon afterwards, with deep regret for the continued obduracy of his monks.

The priest Ecgbert succeeded better: after having spent some time in Ireland, in the study of the holy Scriptures, he went to the isle of Hy,‡ where he was honorably received, and having made known there how the Easter should be observed, had the consolation of seeing the monks relinquish their unbending obduracy, and whose zeal might, in the words of the apostle, be termed divine. Thus matters were, says Bede, disposed of by Providence, that the very Saxons who had been indebted to the Scots for their knowledge of the true religion, found an opportunity of contributing in their turn a something to the happiness of their benefactors.

It is almost beyond conception how distinguished this nation had become both in religion and knowledge of the sciences, in those ages which immediately followed the apostleship of St. Patrick.§ If this portion of the history of Ireland rested exclusively upon the writers alone of the country itself, there would be cause sufficient to reject it, as of doubtful authority; but the united testimony of a crowd of foreign authors, ancient as well as modern, from the time of the venerable Bede down to the present age, furnishes proofs that raise it beyond all doubt.

Besides the number of monasteries that had been founded in Ireland, and which were peopled with saints and learned monks not inferior to the fathers of the deserts for the austerity of their lives and total abandonment of the world,* this country supplied all Europe, during these ages, with swarms of zealous missionaries, who announced the name of Jesus Christ among some nations, and among others caused it to revive: such have been St. Fridolin, St. Cataldus, Celius-Sedulius, St. Columb-Kill, St. Columbanus, St. Gal, St. Fiacre, St. Fursey, St. Arbogast, St. Maildulphus, St. Aidan, St. Colman, St. Ultan, St. Foilan, St. Kilian, St. Virgil, and others. Camden says, on this head, that Christianity made so rapid a progress under the disciples of St. Patrick, the country was called, in succeeding ages, the island of saints.†

By following the chronology of Usher and Ware, we may refer the apostleship of St. Cataldus, at Tarentum, in Pouille, and the history of the great Sedulius, to the fifth century.

this should be made known."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 25.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 16.

† Usser. Primord. cap. 15, page 700, et cap. 16, pp. 729, 730; Idem, Ind. Chron. ad ann. 703.

‡ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5, c. 23. Usser. Prim. c. 15, pp. 701, 702, et Ind. Chron. ad an. 716.

§ "Ireland at that time was pre-eminent above every kingdom of Europe, for her pursuits in religion and learning."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 17, p. 899.

* "So great was their contempt at that time for riches and the things of the world, that they never sought them, but even rejected them when offered, even though their inheritance. Columbanus himself, as the abbot Walafridus writes, replied to Sigebertus, king of the Franks, who made him large promises not to leave his kingdom, (the same thing as is mentioned by Eusebius concerning Thaddeus,) viz., that those who had given up their own possessions for the name of Christ, should not embrace riches which belonged to others."—*Camd.* p. 730.

† "The disciples of Patrick made so great a progress in Christianity, that, in the following age, Ireland was called the island of saints; and none could be more holy and learned than the Irish monks, both in their own country and Britain, who sent swarms of most holy men into all Europe. To them, Luxovium, in Burgundy, Bohiense, in Italy Hornipolis, in Franconia, S. Gallus, in Helvetia Malmesburia, in Lindefarn, and many other monasteries in Britain owe their origin. The following saints were from Ireland:—Celius Sedulius, presbyter, Columba, Columbanus, Colmanus, Aidanus, Gallus, Kilianus, Maidulphus, Brendanus, and many others, who were renowned for their sanctity and learning."—*Camd.* page 730.

The history of the life of St. Cataldus was written in prose, according to the ancient records of the church of Tarentum, by Bartholomew Moron, a native of that city; and in verse by his brother, Bonaventura, under the title of "Cataldiados libri sex," addressed to his fellow-citizens, the beginning of which is herein quoted;* both these works were printed at Rome in 1604.

The birth, life, and country of St. Cataldus are detailed in the above-mentioned history. He was born in Ireland; his parents were Euche and Achlene; he made his studies at Lismore in Munster, where he was the delight of the Gauls, English, Scots, Theutones, and other strangers who resorted thither to hear him.† Having performed the functions of bishop of Ratheny, or Rachuen, in the same province, for some years, he undertook a voyage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy sepulchre, and returning through Italy, he re-established the true religion among the Tarentines, who had already abandoned it and returned to the impious worship of idols.‡

This history is in perfect accordance with the legend of this saint,§ and the office which is sung in honor of him in the church of Tarentum,‖ in which it is affirmed, that when Drogon, archbishop of that city, had caused the tomb in which the body of the saint reposed, to be opened, a gold cross was found in it, with this inscription, "Cataldus Rachav," engraved on it, and that it was tied to the statue of silver, which the inhabitants of Tarentum had erected in honor of him.

A singular prophecy is ascribed to St. Cataldus, respecting the destruction of the kingdom of Naples.* Usher and Ware† mention it in the following manner, after Alexander ab Alexandro, who lived in 1500:—"It is true that in the reign of Ferdinand I., king of Naples, when the kingdom and city were enjoying the sweets of peace, Cataldus, a religious man, who was bishop of Tarentum a thousand years before, where he is still honored as the patron saint, having appeared during the night to a virtuous ecclesiastic who had lately received holy orders, commanded him to have a book sought for, (this was filled with divine mysteries, and written during his life, and was concealed in a certain place,) and to present it to the king; but the ecclesiastic paying no regard to this vision, which was frequently repeated, Cataldus again appeared in his pontifical robes, with the mitre on his head, in the morning, while he was alone in the church, and ordered him, under pain of punishment, to seek for the book of which he had already spoken to him, and to present it to the king; whereupon the ecclesiastic assembled the people the next day, and went in procession to the place pointed out, where he found the book enclosed in plates of lead, and fastened with iron clasps. This book contained a prophecy on the destruction of the kingdom of Naples, and the calamities and unfortunate period which we have unhappily lived to witness."‡

* "The icy Ierne bewails that so great an ornament of the west, second to none in piety, and celebrated in the ancient laws of Phalantus, should be sent to foreign nations: O muse, relate, and permit me to take from his paternal roof, a youth so flourishing, who beheld the borders of Judæa, and visited the monument of the holy sepulchre, to where the admonitions and commands of God, and his care for a falling people, bring, as their father, during every age to come."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 16, p. 751.

† "A youth, endowed with a liberal discipline, soon attained to that excellence in instructions, that the Gauls, English, Teutones, Scotch, and other neighboring people who came to Lismore, flocked to hear him."—*Usher.*

"Cataldus, bishop, from some part of Ireland, was son of Euchus and Athena."

‡ "In the 160th year of our Lord, the Tarentines, returning to their worship of idols, as a dog to the vomit, (Anicetus Syrus being pope,) the holy Cataldus, born in Ireland, brought them back to the ancient faith."—*Joannes Juvenis in Usher.*

§ "The holy Cataldus was from a part of Ireland which glories in her saints, as she glories in the Lord; she rejoices in her saints, in Catandus, a town of Eumenia. Cataldus was the son of Euchus and Athena."—*Usher.*

‖ "Rejoice, O happy Ireland, for being the country of so fair an offspring; but thou, Tarentum, rejoice still more, which enclosest (within a tomb) so great a treasure."—*Usher*

* Genialium dierum, lib. 3, c. 15, apud Usser. Prim. c. 16, p. 758.

† War. de Script. Hib. Col. Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 550.

‡ "While the kingdom of Naples was most flourishing under Ferdinand the First, king of Aragon, it appears that Cataldus, a holy man who had been a thousand years before archbishop of Tarentum, and whom the Tarentines worship as their patron saint, appeared, in the dead of night, to a certain minister who had been initiated and brought up in the sacred mysteries of religion, and commanded him to dig up and bring to the king a small book which had been written by him while living, and was secreted in a private place: that divine mysteries were contained in it. Little attention was paid at first to this vision, which appearing again more frequently in his sleep, and again while the minister was alone in the temple, very early in the morning, Cataldus himself, robed in the pontificals which he wore when living, and covered with a fillet, appeared and commanded him, as soon as possible on the next morning, to dig up the little

HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

This prophecy was discovered in 1492, and Ferdinand, after reading it, cast it into the fire.

Ferdinand, struck with terror on the approach of the French army, died suddenly. He was succeeded by his son Alphonso, who was no sooner in possession of the crown, than Charles VIII., at the head of a formidable army, laid waste his country, forced him to fly, and to pass the remainder of his days in exile; after this, Charles made a victorious and triumphal entry into Naples with his imperial ensigns.

Moron fixes the arrival of St. Cataldus at Tarentum in the year 170: however, if we observe all that is related of him during his stay in Ireland, the great number of Christians that were in his time in the island, and in the schools of Lismore, which were not known in the history of the country before the time of St. Patrick, we should place this event some centuries later; it is mentioned by Usher and Ware to have taken place in the fifth century, according to Anthony Caraccioli, who had promised, in his edition of the "Italian Chronologists," published at Rome in 1626, to write a treatise exclusively on that subject.

It is likely that the zeal of St. Cataldus was not confined to the city of Tarentum alone, as he had been honored, according to Volaterranus, at Geneva, on lake Leman, as bishop and professor; he must therefore have passed through that city, and made some stay in it on his voyage to the holy land.*

Dempster, who always endeavors to enrich his calendar at the expense of his neighbors, says that St. Cataldus was a native of Knapdale, and had been brought up in the monastery of St. Philan; that he was thought by some to have been an Irishman, because he was born in the mountains of Scotland, which were sometimes called Hibernia; but that it appears by a manuscript in the Ambrosian library, and the letters of Father Leslie, a capuchin, that he was born in the isle of Hy.

This claim of Dempster, says Usher, is imaginary, ridiculous, and contradictory.* If this saint was born in the mountains of Scotland, as he first says, how could he have been brought up in the supposed monastery of St. Philan, who lived some centuries after him?

Usher proves the absurdity of Dempster's system, by the ancient and modern offices of the saint, which mentioned his having been born in a town in the province of Munster, in Ireland, called Catande, at a short distance from Lismore, another town in that province, according to Bartholomew Moron. He adds also, that neither the mountains of Scotland, nor the isle of Hy, were ever called Hibernia.†

Abercromby, in order to maintain the system of Dempster, pretends that the Scots of Albania had been sometimes called Hiberni; the derivation of which he thinks to have discovered in the name of a territory in Albania, which was formerly called Ierne, at present Strathern.

To make this conjecture appear probable, he should have proved that Strathern formed part of Dalrieda, the ancient patrimony of the Scots, as a people are not generally named after a country which does not belong to them. But the different situation of those two cantons, one of which (Dalrieda) is on the western coasts of Albania, and the other towards the eastern shores of the same country, which the Picts were in possession of till the ninth century, is opposed to the above conjecture, otherwise, what analogy is there between Hibernia and Strathern? The one derives its name from Hibernia, a name which the Latins had always given to Ireland, and which has its root, as well as Juverna, Ierna, (the Ierne of the Greeks,) in the word Erin, a name always peculiar to that country.‡ The etymology of Strathern is naturally discoverable in the word *straithe*, which signifies valley, and Erin, the name of a river that

book which he had already told him of, which had been written and secreted by himself in a certain place, and to bring the same to the king without delay, threatening him with heavy punishment if it were not done. The day following, this minister, accompanied in solemn procession by the people, proceeded to the place where the little book lay concealed for so long a time, and found it sealed with tablets of lead, and locked with clasps. It foretold to the king that the destruction of the kingdom would happen; that the times were pregnant with sorrow, misery, and distress, which things soon after this came to pass. We have witnessed that to be largely rewarded, which furnished an experiment to men."

* Raphæl Mafæus Volateranus, Comment. Urban. lib. 3, 27, apud War. de Scriptor. Hib.

* Quæ partim commentitia sunt, partim ridicula et secum invicem pugnantia. Usser. Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, page 753.

† "To say nothing of the mountains of Scotia, who ever heard that Ireland was called the isle of Jonas?"—*Usher.*

‡ "Hibernia, Juverna, &c., have sprung from Ierna; but that Ierna, the same as Iris, Juerdhon, and Ireland, and Erin from the inhabitants."—*Camd.* p. 726.

waters it, and flows from thence with the Tay, and falls into the German ocean.*

Eumenius and Marcellinus use indiscriminately, in the fourth century, the terms Irish and Scots to designate the same people, but they say that they came from Ireland, "Scotorum à Circio:" they mention that they had been till then a wandering people, without any fixed dwelling in Britain, "c m anteà per incerta vagantes."†

Moron makes mention of St. Donatus, a bishop in Italy, who was brother of St. Cataldus, with whom he had led, for some time, a solitary life.‡

Ireland gave birth to Sedulius, so celebrated for his writings, which have gained him the attention of a great number of authors, both ancient and modern. Some writers—among others, Sigebert, a monk of the abbey of Gemblours in Brabant, in his treatise on Illustrious Men—place him in the fourth century, under Constans and Constantius: "Claruit tempore Constantis et Constantii, filiorum primi Constantini Imperatoris." Trithemius, with perhaps more reason, says he lived in the fifth century, under Theodosius the younger; Usher and Ware, for other motives, place him about the end of the same century, and distinguish him from another Sedulius from Ireland, whom they suppose to have been the author of the Annotations on the Epistles of St. Paul.

At whatever time Sedulius may have lived, we have the following history of his life by Trithemius: "Sedulius a priest, a Scot by birth, and from his most tender youth the disciple of Hildebert, archbishop of the Scots, was very learned in sacred and profane literature, and had a particular taste for prose and poetry. The desire of becoming perfect in his studies induced him to leave his country; he went to France, and from thence to Italy, Asia, Achaia, from whence he set out for Rome, where he shone by his astonishing erudition. He wrote several works in prose and verse, of which I have only been able to discover the following. There were other works of his, the knowledge of which has not reached me. He was at length, says Sigebert, ordained bishop, but he does not say of what see. He flourished under Theodosius, in the year of our Lord 430."*

If we can attach belief to the chronicle attributed to Dexter, under the year 428, Sedulius had been bishop of Oreta, in Spain,† and although Damian à Goez and Sebastian Munster, in the description of Spain, reckon Sedulius among the number of Spanish poets, Francis Bivarius says he was born in Ireland.‡ The testimony of Sedulius himself, who says he was a Scot, "Sedulius Scotigena," in the beginning of his epistles leaves no doubt on this subject; and the title of his annotations on the epistles of Saint Paul, published according to a very ancient copy in the abbey of Fulde, by John Sichard, in which he is called a Scot from Ireland, "Sedulii Scoti Hiberniensis in omnes Epistolas Pauli collectaneum," naturally

* "It is called Straith Ern, which, in the ancient language of the Britons, signifies the valley of Ern."—*Camden*, p. 765.

† Camd. Brit. Edit. Lond. Tit. Scot. p. 90.

‡ "Others think that Cataldus, before he would come to Tarentum in Japygia, travelled with Donatus, whom they make the first bishop of Lupa, and brother of St. Cataldus. At the same time, he led a most solitary life, near a little town which afterwards derived its name from St. Cataldus."—*Bartholomy Moron in Usher*, p 760.

* "Sedulius, presbyter, a native of Scotia, was disciple, from his earliest youth, of Heidebertus, archbishop of the Scots; he was conversant in divine learning, and very skilled in profane literature; he excelled in poetry and prose, and leaving Scotia (Ireland) for the sake of informing himself, he came to France; after this he traversed Italy, Asia, Achaia, from whence he proceeded to Rome, where he became illustrious for his erudition. He wrote several small works both in prose and verse, from among which I have discovered the following: to a work eminently written to the abbot of Macedonia, comprising a series of the gospel, he gave the title of 'paschal poem and paschal feasts, in 4 books;' '14 books in prose on the epistles of Paul;' 'apostolical words;' 'one book on the miracles of Christ;' 'From the East, 1 book to Theodosius emperor, while conductor of the famed Romulus:' 'book 1, on the larger volume of Priscianus;' 'book 1, on the second edition of Donatus;' 'book 1, exhortation to the faithful;' 'let us sing, O companions, to the Lord;' 'book 1, on many epistles to various people;' 'Sedulius an Irishman;' 'two books on the miracles of Christ, written in prose.' Besides these, there were some other works which have not come to be known. He was at length, as Sigebertus writes, made bishop, but of what city or place, it is not mentioned. He flourished under Theodosius, anno 438.'—*Trithemius in Usher*, c. 16, p. 769.

† "Isaac, a monk of Palestine, succeeded Fœtadius, archbishop of Toul; he kept him there and his friend Sedulius, also Bishop Orelanus, for the sake of preaching; the latter was eminent as a preacher, and composed many books."—*Usher*, p. 770.

‡ "After this we have Sedulius Oretanus, who was bishop in Spain, but he does not say that he had been born in Ireland, as many think. Isicius himself, who was bishop of Toul, had been a monk of Palestine, and there was also a monk Palestinus. But whether there were two Seduliuses who were renowned for poetry, or but one, we shall not contend it in this place."—*Usher*

indicates his country, which was Ireland; notwithstanding the surprise of Dempster that the theologians of Cologne should have added the word Hibernensis to Scotus, in the last edition of the library of the holy fathers,* the same title is at the head of the Basle edition of this author's works, and also of that which is in the library of ancient writers, edited in Paris.

The works of Sedulius were highly esteemed by the ancients; to which a council, composed of seventy bishops, assembled at Rome during the pontificate of Gelasius, bears a favorable testimony. We think highly, said the fathers of the council, of the paschal work written in heroic verse by the venerable Sedulius.†

Hildephonsus, archbishop of Toledo, says of our author that he was an **evan**gelical poet, an eloquent orator, and **a** Catholic writer: "Bonus ille Sedulius poëta evangelicus, orator facundus, Scriptor Catholicus."

Lastly, the church inserted, "A solis ortûs cardine," and "Hostis Herodes impie," (taken from the writings of Sedulius,) in the breviary of hymns; the first at the nativity of our Saviour, and the last at the Epiphany, with the "Salve, sancta parens, enixa puerpera Regem," which is used as an Introit at the masses of the blessed Virgin.

St. Fridolinus, son of an Irish king, having embraced a monastic life, left his country and travelled through several parts of Germany and France, about the end of the fifth century, and in the time of Clovis, first Christian king of the Franks; on which account he was called "Fridolinus the traveller," by Judocus, Coccius, Possevin, and others.‡ After preaching the gospel in different parts of Gaul, he withdrew for some time to the monastery of St. Hilary, at Poitiers, of which he was created superior. Having been encouraged by the monarch, he caused this monastery to be rebuilt, whither he removed the body of St. Hilary.

He afterwards founded several religious houses in Thuringia, Alsace, Strasbourg, and on the frontiers of Switzerland; Colgan reckons eight, six of which were dedicated to St. Hilary, for whom this saint had a particular devotion. Lastly, he founded a monastery for females in an island in the Rhine, called Secking, or Secane, where he was interred in 514. According to Baleus, he wrote some works of piety which have been lost.

Dempster ascribes other works to him; but as he is the only one who mentions them, his testimony must appear doubtful.

Modern Scotch writers place St. Fridolinus in their calendar. Some foreigners, and among others, Arnold Wion, Menard, and Wilson, have not doubted their integrity, but antiquity proves the contrary. Besides the Irish authors who claim him, but whose veracity might be disputed, Baltherus, a monk and canon of Secking, and the most ancient author of the life of St. Fridolinus, calls him a native of Ireland.* Gaspard Bruschius affirms that he was son of an Irish king.† Canisius affirms that ancient historians agree that Fridolinus was of royal blood in Scotia, which is called Ireland.‡ St. Fridolinus, says Guilliman, an Irishman by birth, of noble descent, and a monk by profession, having come to Switzerland, preached the gospel there and in the neighboring countries.§ Fridolinus, the traveller, says Possevin, a son of the king of the Irish Scots, wrote, it is said, some pious exhortations.‖ Gesnerus, Baleus, Hanmerus, and others, whose integrity cannot be questioned, say the same thing. To have a more copious detail of the life of St. Fridolinus, we must have recourse to the chronology of the Germanic monasteries, by Gaspard Bruschius, and an anonymous author published in 1606,

* "That Dempster may not feel surprise how theologians of the colonies have been placed in the last edition of the library of the Holy Fathers, and that the adjective Hiberniensis was added to Scotus."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 771.

† "A paschal work of the venerable Sedulius, written in heroic verse, is entitled to our praise."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 777.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fridolin, ad 6 Mart. War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 1. Serm. S Petr. Damian, de tranilat. S. Hilar.

* "It is not doubted that St. Fridolinus was born in a distant part of Scotia; the inhabitants of Hibernia (Ireland) are called Scotigenæ."—*Life of St. Fridolinus*, c. 1.

† "The convent of Secking was commenced by St. Fridolinus, who was son of a king of the Scots; he was eminent for his studies in philosophy."—*Bruschius on German Monasteries.*

‡ "Old historians are agreed in this, that Fridolinus was of royal descent—that he was born in lower Scotia, which is called Ireland."—*Peter Canisius, Life of St. Fridolinus.*

§ "Before these three, under Clovis, first Christian king of the Franks, Fridolinus, an Irishman by birth, and of royal lineage, spent a long time in Switzerland, and planted in it the name and faith of Christ, where he likewise performed many miracles. He converted the country of Claronensis, and the neighboring parts, some of which he strengthened in their faith."—*Guillimanus on Swiss Affairs.*

‖ "Fridolinus, the traveller, was son of a king of the Irish Scots: he is said to have written some pious exhortations; he lived anno 595."—*Possevinus*

among the Germanic writers, by Melchoir Goldastus.

St. Columb, surnamed Kill, of whom I have already spoken, after having converted the northern Picts, founded the abbey of Hy, or Jona, on the coasts of Great Britain,* celebrated both for the multitude of saints who received their education there, and for having been the burial-place of the kings of Scotland, who had chosen it through respect; and the great number of monuments of antiquity, written in the Scotic or Irish language, which were preserved there.

St. Columb composed several works in prose and verse; among others, a rule for monks, which still exists, commonly called the rule of Columb-Kill;† the life of St. Patrick; and a hymn in praise of St. Kieran, abbot of Clonmacnoisk.

He also composed three hymns, the first of which begins thus:

"Altus Prosator, vetustus dierum et ingenitus."

This hymn was presented to Pope St. Gregory, who thought it very fine, except that the author had spoken with too much reserve of the blessed Trinity; which gave rise to the following hymn, in which he is more explicit on that subject, and begins with—

"In te Christe, credentium."

St. Columb composed a third hymn, beginning with the words—

"Noli, Pater, indulgere."

There are also several works of piety and prophecies under the name of this saint, of which Colgan gives an account in his life.

St. Columb died in his abbey of Hy, the 9th of June, 597, where he was interred, leaving as his successor in that house, Baithen, who lived but two years. According to the Irish tradition, the relics of St. Columb were removed in the beginning of the ninth century to the monastery of Down, in Ireland, and deposited with those of St. Patrick and St. Bridget.‡

St. Columbanus, a native of the province of Leinster, applied himself in his youth to the study of grammar and the liberal arts, in which he made considerable progress; he afterwards attached himself to Senell, a venerable man, and ably conversant in the holy Scriptures.

Columbanus made such a rapid progress under this skilful master, that, though very young, he wrote an elegant explanation on the book of Psalms, and many other instructive works; he afterwards placed himself under the guidance of St. Congall, in the abbey of Beanchuir, or Bangor, from whence he departed, with twelve disciples, among the number of whom was St. Gall, to go to Britain, and from thence to Burgundy, where he arrived in the reign of Sigebert, then king of Austrasia and Burgundy, who received him with much honor and respect. The prince, perceiving his inclination for a retired life, gave him the choice of a suitable place in his states, and begged of him earnestly to select in his kingdom, instead of seeking an asylum in the neighboring countries.* This saint, filled with gratitude, withdrew with his companions into the deserts of Vosge, and stopped in a place called Anagrates, where there was one old ruined castle, in which he remained for some time; but his reputation for sanctity having attracted a number of persons who were desirous of living under his discipline, he was obliged to seek a more commodious habitation. Luxeu, in the same desert, at the foot of the mountains of Vosge, appearing to him a suitable place, he founded a celebrated monastery, where he established his order, and the perpetual psalmody, by different choirs, who relieved each other day and night. He was the first who established the monastic order among the French.† The order of St. Columbanus was then considered as the model of a retired life, and Luxeu as the centre of perfection. The number of persons, of every rank and condition, who wished to submit to the law of St. Columbanus, was so great, that, in order to lighten the burden on the house of Luxeu, he was obliged to found another at Fontaine, in the same country.

Columbanus had been, for nearly twenty years, at the head of the monastery of Luxeu, when he was expelled through the influence of Brunehaut. This ambitious queen shared the government of Burgundy with her grandson Thierry II., who was king. Fearing that the marriage of this prince would diminish her authority, she endeavored to dissuade him from it by procuring him illicit pleasures; which excited the zeal of St. Columbanus, who reproached him

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 44.

† Trias. Thaum. Vit. S. Columb. Append 3, part 2 et 3.

‡ Jonas Abbas. Vit. S. Columban. apud Messingh. War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Deicol. ad 18 Jan.

* Camd. Brit. page 730.

† Jonas, Vit. S. Columb. cap. 9, et Breviar. Parisiens, ad 21 Nov.

severely for the shameful life he led. The prince, who had a high opinion of the sanctity of St. Columbanus, heard him patiently, but the intrigues of Brunehaut, who had prejudiced all the nobles of the kingdom against him, forced him to yield to the storm, by leaving his monastery at Luxeu.

Notwithstanding this disgrace, our saint was favorably received by Clothaire II., king of Suissoins, to whom he foretold that in three years the French monarchy would be united in his person, which prophecy was afterwards accomplished; Theodebert II. having been defeated by his brother Thierry, and taken at Cologne, where he was assassinated by order of Brunehaut.* Thierry died of a dysentery, when going to make war against Clothaire, and Brunehaut was put to death by order of the latter.

St. Columbanus having preached the word of God in several provinces in France, and confirmed his doctrine by miracles too numerous to be introduced here, went to Italy, where, with the approbation of Aigilulph, king of the Lombards, he founded the abbey of Bobbio, in Milan, over which he presided but one year, having died there on the 21st of November, 615, and was succeeded by a native of Burgundy, called Attala.

The Augustine monks affirm that St. Columbanus was of their order; but Reyner says that he was a Benedictine.† It is, however, certain, that this saint had established a particular order, and introduced it into France;‡ his disciples afterwards conformed to the rule of St. Benedict, which had been established some years before at Glan-Feuille, by St. Maur, still preserving the statutes of their father Columbanus.

St. Columbanus wrote many works in Latin, which are quoted by Ware and others: namely, a book of commentaries on the Psalter; a work against the Arians, which Jonas calls, "a work of flowery erudition;" "Contra quos etiam libellum florentis scientiæ edidit;"§ thirteen homilies published by Messingham, according to an ancient manuscript in the abbey of Bobbio, epistles to different persons, some of which were published by Goldastus; "Carmen Monastichon," or a monastic poem, copied from an ancient manuscript of Freisingen, in Bavaria, by Henry Canisius; the monastic rule which this saint had introduced into France, published by Messingham, after the original manuscript in the abbey of Bobbio; a book of the daily penance of the monks; a manuscript in the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland; an epigram on the form and manner to be observed in the prescribing of penance on the seven deadly sins, and on the vanity and misery of human life, written in verse. Lastly, he wrote two epistles to Pope Boniface, which are still in being, and his apology respecting the celebration of the Easter, when he was summoned to attend the synod of Mâcon.

St. Gall, who was born of noble parents in Ireland, was placed at an early age, according to his life, written by Wallafridus Strabo, an author of the ninth century, under the guidance of St. Columbanus, with whom he made considerable progress in the study of the Holy Scriptures, the liberal arts, grammar, and poetry, and in the practice of regular discipline; having received the order of priesthood in obedience to his master's wishes, he was his constant companion in his travels through Britain, France, and Germany, when he was expelled from his monastery of Luxeu by the intrigues of Queen Brunehaut.* Having arrived in Germany, and being desirous of settling in a place called Tucconia, near Lake Turicin, or Tigurin, now called the lake of Zurich, in Switzerland, St. Gall, moved with zeal, set fire to a temple in which the pagans were sacrificing to demons, and caused their offerings to be thrown into the neighboring lake. The pagans, exasperated at the conduct of the saint, resolved to put him to death, but he had the good fortune to escape from their hands, with St. Columbanus, and to reach the castle of Arbona, or Arbon, situated on a river of that name which falls into the lake of Constance, where they were hospitably detained for seven days by the priest Willimar. During this interval, they sought a suitable place for a retreat; Willimar informed them of an old building, called Brigantium, in Rhætia, at present

* Abrégé Chron. de l'Histoire de France.

† Crusenius. Monast. Augustin. part 2, c. 11, Apostolat. Benedict. in Anglia, page 156.

‡ "The monks being therefore settled in these parts, he mixed in his turn among them, and filled with the holy spirit, he composed the regulations which they should keep."—*Abbot Jona's Life of St. Columb.* c. 9.

§ "This father of wonderful sanctity, labored among the most zealous: he shone gloriously among worldlings by his miracles, and taught by the holy spirit; he established monastic regulations, and was the first who delivered them to the Gauls."—*Odericus Vitale's Church Hist.* b. 8.

* Wallafrid. Strabo, Ab. Augiens, Vit. S. Coll, apud Messingh. Martyrol. Notkeri. Balbut. ibid. Petr. de Nata lib. de Gest. Sanct. lib 9, cap. 72, et War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

Bregent, in the country of the Grisons; he furnished them with a boat, and every thing necessary for their voyage, and a deacon to escort them. Having found in that place an ancient oratory dedicated to St. Aurelia, but apparently converted into a pagan temple, they broke in it three bronze idols, which formed the object of the worship of the people who frequented it, and to which they sacrificed, as the tutelary gods of the country. Those saints, having repaired this church, which had been profaned by the pagans, dedicated it anew to its former patron. St. Gall preached the gospel to the inhabitants of the canton, several of whom he converted; but the pagan party being too strong, he was obliged to abandon his undertaking.

The two saints then resolved to go together to Italy; but St. Gall having been prevented by a fever, they separated. St. Columbanus set out for Italy, and St. Gall returned to the priest Willimar, with whom he remained till he was perfectly recovered. The desire of leading a retired life, induced him to return to the desert; he chose a habitation on the banks of a small river, called Steinaha, now Stinace, near lake Constance, where he built a cell.

The bishopric of Constance being vacant, prince Gunzo wrote to our hermit, to beg of him to assist at a synod which was to be held for the election of a successor in that see. The saint repaired thither, attended by a deacon called John, who had been his disciple for three years, and another named Magnoald.

The great reputation for science and virtue which St. Gall had acquired, gained him the suffrages of the whole assembly, to fill the see of Constance; but his great humility not allowing him to accept of that dignity, he proposed in his stead his deacon John, who was received by the meeting, and consecrated bishop of Constance. St. Gall having spent seven days with the new prelate, returned to his cell, where he caused a monastery to be built for himself and twelve of his disciples, who were desirous of embracing the monastic state with him.

Eustachius, who succeeded St. Gall in the monastery of Luxeu, having died, the monks deputed six of their fraternity, all Irish, to St. Gall, to influence him to undertake the government of their house, with the title of abbot; but the saint declined this honor likewise. He afterwards died at priest Willimar's on the 16th of October, 635, aged 95 years; others say that he died in 625.

The cell of St. Gall became afterwards a celebrated abbey, from the renown of its patron and the liberality of Sigebert II., king of Austrasia, and some neighboring princes. A large and populous town, which still bears the name of St. Gall, was built in the same place.

The abbot of St. Gall is prince of the empire; he sits, with right of suffrage, in the general diet: his jurisdiction is very extensive, and his annual revenue estimated at 100,000 ducats: he has a mint, and when the Helvetic diet has need for his aid, can raise an army of 12,000 men.

The life of St. Gall has been written in verse by Notquer le Begue, part of which was published by Henry Canisius. Dempster, as was usual with him, numbers this saint among the Scots of Albania, but his assertion is opposed by Wallafridus, Strabo,* Notquer le Begue,† Petrus de Natalibus,‡ Vollateran and others, who maintain that he was an Irishman. We have some of St. Gall's works, viz., a sermon which he preached in the church of St. Stephen of Constance, at the ceremony of the consecration of St. John, bishop of that city—some epistles published by Henry Canisius—a discourse upon the church governmen', which he pronounced in presence of the bishop of Constance, the original manuscript of which is preserved, according to Possevinus, in the library of St. Gall; his Psalter, of which Joachim Vadiamus speaks, in his treatise of colleges and monasteries in Germany, and which he mentions to have been translated into German by Notquer le Begue.

Bollandus published, with notes, the life of St. Deicol, written, as he calculates, more than eight hundred years ago, according to memoirs in the monastery of Lure.§ This saint was a native of Ireland,‖ and called in

* "While this illustrious Saint Columbanus was engaged in Ireland, the noble parents of the sanctified Gallus offering their son in his early youth to God, with gifts placed him under his instruction."—*Wallafrid. in his Life of St. Gallus.*

† "On the same day, the anniversary of the death of the most holy Gallus, confessor, who was an Irishman, is celebrated among the Germans. Under an instinct of divine love, travelling with his master and abbot Columbanus through Gaul, he entered Germany."—*Martyrology of Notker Balbut.*

‡ "Gallus descended from illustrious parentage, in Ireland, and being placed under the instructions and guidance of St. Columbanus, was advanced from being a monk, to the order of priesthood."—*Petrus de Natalibus, St. G.*

§ Ad. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Deicol, ad 18 Jan.

‖ "Among these things, it is to be remarked that St. Deicolas was an Irishman, for he himself said to the pope that he was from that country,

the Irish or Scotic language, Dichuill, in Latin Dichullus and Deicola; he was half-brother of St. Gall, and, like him, a disciple of St. Columbanus. The infirmity of his health not allowing him to accompany Father Columbanus into Italy, he obtained permission from him to remain in Burgundy, where he founded, at a few leagues from Luxeu, the celebrated monastery of Lure, in Latin Lutra, or "Lutrense monasterium," the care of which he confided to St. Columbanus, his spiritual son and disciple, and caused an oratory to be built for himself near the convent; where, after spending the remainder of his life in meditation and penitential practices, he died at an advanced age, and was interred on the 15th of the calends of February, the day on which his memory is honored.*

Canisius quotes the life of St. Magnoald, or Magne, written by his cotemporary Theodore, a monk of St. Campden.† This saint, who had accompanied St. Gall to Ireland, of which he was a native,‡ shared with him the labors of the apostleship; after the death of St. Gall he founded two cells in Germany; one at Campden, or Campidana, the government of which he confided to his colleague, Theodore; and the other at Fuessen, in Latin "ad Fauces," at the foot of the Alps. Those cells having been richly endowed by King Pepin, became afterwards celebrated abbeys. This saint having been at the head of the latter for twenty-six years, died in the odor of sanctity, on the eighth of the ides of September, aged seventy-three years.

Among the disciples of Saint Columbanus, may be reckoned Jonas, abbot of Luxeu before the middle of the seventh century. According to Trithemius, Coccius-Sabellicus, Arnold Wion, Molanus, and others, who, in the old style call him Scot, "de veteri Scotiâ," that is, Irish, which he himself indicates in his preface to the life of St. Columbanus.*

Jonas wrote, in Latin, the life of St. Columbanus, to which he had been an eye witness: he also wrote the lives of Attala and Eustachius, both disciples and successors of St. Columbanus; the former at Bobbio, the latter at Luxeu. To him are also attributed some hymns, and the lives of Bertulph, successor to Attala in the monastery of Bobbio, and of Burgandeford; of these lives Bede is not the author, though published among his works. Lastly, Jonas wrote the life of John, founder and first abbot of a monastery in the diocese of Langres, at the solicitation of Hunn, who was abbot of it. This life was published in Paris in 1637, by Pierre Rouere

Fiacre, born of noble parents in Ireland, being desirous of devoting himself to God in solitude, left his country, and went to France accompanied by some disciples: he addressed himself to Faron, bishop of Meaux, who received him with kindness.† This holy prelate, observing that he was possessed of much mildness and simplicity, asked him his country, the intention of his voyage, and his name.‡ Fiacre answered that Ireland, the island of the Scots, was his country, and that of his ancestors; that, wishing to lead a secluded life, he had left his country and his friends, to seek a place suitable for that purpose; and that his name was Fiacre. The good bishop seeing the holy disposition of Fiacre, gave him the forest of Brodole, which belonged to him, with permission to settle there. Fiacre having thanked his benefactor, caused a part of the wood to be cleared, and founded a monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, where he led the life of a hermit.§ This saint was so celebrated

i. e. from the Scots who inhabited Ireland."—*Hugo Menardus.*

* "On the same day, the remains of St. Deicolas were deposited in the monastery of Lutra; of which he was first abbot, having been a disciple of St. Columbanus: he was renowned for his many virtues, and the splendor of his miracles; he gave up to the care of St. Columbanus, his solicitude for that place ordained, according to the will of God, for the sake of religion. He withdrew to a more secluded retreat, in order to devote himself to the contemplation of heavenly avocations, that he might breathe forth his soul to God with attention, and with prayer pass unto him: after his happy death, his splendid miracles attested his admission to Christ."—*Laussoius, the Gallican Martyrology.*

† Messing Florileg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Magni.

‡ "When St. Columbanus, together with St. Gallus, was passing from Ireland, a certain brother named Magnoaldus, descended from the aforesaid country, Hibernia, (Ireland.)"—*Life of St. Magnus.*

* Idem. Vit. S. Columban. War. de Script. Hib 3.

† Messing. Florilg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Fiacrii. War. de Script. Hib. c. 3.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Connan. ad 13 Jan. not. 10.

§ "St. Fiacrius, confessor, was born of very noble parents in Ireland, and of a sanctified character through life. At the time that St. Faro was archbishop of Meldi, St. Fiacrius and his companions sought his friendship, which the pious Faro freely gave. Viewing the simplicity of his countenance, he said, I pray, my dearest friend, that you tell me your origin, your country, and the object of your journey, and name. The holy Fiacrius replied, O most reverend father, I am from the country of the Scots, and my ancestors the same."—*Capgravius in his Legends.*

"Fiacrius was born of noble parents in Ireland, which is called Scotia by the ancients; from a desire to lead a secluded life, he came to St. Faro, to Meldi, together with some companions."—*Breviary of Paris in Messingham.*

for the austerity of his life, and the many miracles which God wrought through his intercession, both before and after his death, some of which are mentioned by Capgravius and Surius, that he became an object of veneration to the faithful, and an office of nine lessons in honor of him was inserted in most of the breviaries throughout France; it contains a hymn, the beginning of which is subjoined, as underneath.*

Hector Boetius and others affirm, that St. Fiacre was son of Eugene IV., king of Scotland: this opinion was adopted by some foreigners without examining into it. According to Dempster, our saint wrote to his sister Syra a treatise on the excellence of a monastic life, the original manuscript of which is preserved, it is said, at Meaux, and a book of meditations.

Aidan, a monk of the abbey of Hy, was the apostle of the kingdom of Northumberland in England.† King Oswald, who had embraced Christianity during his retreat among the Scots, being re-established on the throne, and desirous of having his subjects instructed in the religion that he professed, sent for St. Aidan, from the abbey of Hy, and was consecrated bishop for this mission. The saint preached the gospel everywhere with success, and as he was not well acquainted with the Saxon language, it was edifying to behold the prince, who was master of the Scotic, acting as interpreter between this missionary and the people.

St. Aidan first founded an episcopal see, of which he was first bishop, in an island on the eastern coast, called Lindisfarn, which that pious prince granted him for the purpose; he also founded several other churches and monasteries in different places, where he caused the people to be instructed in the Christian religion and ecclesiastical discipline. The life of Aidan, says Bede, was widely different from that negligence and inactivity which prevail at present. All who attended him, both monks and laity, were obliged to occupy themselves either in reading the Holy Scriptures, or learning psalms; such was his daily employment, and that of the brothers who accompanied him, in all the places where they went. He was never influenced, through fear, to spare the rich, but frequently rebuked them for their faults; and the money which he received from them was applied in relieving the poor, and in the ransom of slaves. He kept his passions in subjection, and entirely free from avarice, pride, or self-love: in fine, his life was an example of charity, chastity, humility, and every virtue. This celebrated doctor, having filled the see of Lindisfarn for nearly seventeen years, and having converted the Northumbrians to the faith of Jesus Christ, died on the 31st of August, 651; he was interred at first in the cemetery of the church at Lindisfarn, and when the church was rebuilt some time afterwards, his relics were deposited on the right of the altar. No doubt can be entertained respecting the country of Aidan; Colgan, after the Martyrologies of Dunagall, Taulaght, and Cashel, and the annals of Roscrea, says that he was a native of Ireland.* This opinion is supported by the authority of Edwald Mahew, an Englishman, who published the life of St. Aidan on the 31st of August; and by the author of the life of St. Oswald, on the fifth of the same month, in which, when speaking of St. Aidan, he says he was undoubtedly an Irishman, as in that age none but the Irish were called Scots. Besides, St. Aidan was a monk of the abbey of Hy, the members of which were Scots from Ireland, whereas the Picts had given that island to St. Columb-Kill, and to the Scotic monks who had preached the faith of Jesus Christ among them.† From that abbey, therefore, were the twelve disciples who had accompanied this apostle to Britain, as is remarked in his life, besides some others who had afterwards followed him from Ireland.‡

St. Finian, a native of Ireland and a monk of the abbey of Hy, succeeded St. Aidan in the episcopal see of Lindisfarn, and in the mission of the kingdom of Northumberland. He caused to be built in the Isle of Lindisfarn, says Bede, a church suitable for an episcopal see, not of stone but of oak, after the manner of the Scots;§ he labored perseveringly for the conversion of souls; he baptized Penda, king of the interior provinces, and Sigebert, king of the East-Angles,

"The holy Fiacrius, from a part of Ireland; after leaving his country, he came to Faro, bishop of Meaux, seeking his protection: he was illustrious for his innumerable virtues."

* "Ireland is dignified by the lustre of a new lamp: that island glitters, to the Meldi, by the presence of so great a light. The former sent Fiacrius; Meaux received the ray which was sent. The joy of both is in common; the latter possesses a father, the former a son."—*Bede's History of the Church.*

† Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, c. 3, et seq.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 677, not. 7.

† "Which island was a gift of the Picts, who inhabited those parts of Britain, to the monks of Ireland, who preached to them the faith of Christ."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 3.

‡ Trias Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb. lib 2.

§ Bede, Ecclesiast. lib. 3, cap. 25.

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with the lords of their retinue, and sent priests to instruct and baptize their subjects.* He consecrated Cedda, who had labored much in converting this people, bishop of the kingdom of the East-Angles. This holy prelate died at Lindisfarn, having been at the head of that church for ten years.

St. Colman, a native also of Ireland, succeeded St. Finian in the bishopric of Lindisfarn. Those three prelates were celebrated for the sanctity and purity of their morals, their zeal for the propagation of the faith, and the exercise of every virtue; it can be affirmed that the Saxons of the northern provinces were indebted to them for the knowledge of the true God; though they were in error respecting the celebration of the Easter, which was a matter of discipline. It appears that there was a degree of harshness with which bishop Colman was treated by Wilfrid, at the conference of Strenaeshalch; he was obliged to leave Britain, and withdraw to the isle of Inis-Bo-Fin, on the western coast of Ireland, where he founded a monastery.†

St. Fursey was descended from noble parents in Ireland, his father was Fintan, son of Finloge, prince of southern Munster, and brother of St. Brendan of Clonfert; his mother, Gelgesia, was daughter of Æd, or Hugue, surnamed Fin, that is, *white*, prince of the Hy-Brunes in Connaught, from whom the noble tribes of the O'Rourkes and the O'Reillys are descended.‡ Fursey was baptized and brought up in a religious life, by his uncle Brendan.§ Having attained the age of maturity, he founded, with the consent of his uncle, a monastery in an island called Rathmat, near lake Orbsen, in the county of Galway, which Colgan thinks is the present parish church of Kill-Fursa, in the diocese of Tuam.‖

St Fursey having labored in the conversion of souls in Ireland for the space of twelve years, went, about the year 637, with some disciples, to England, where he was kindly received by Sigebert, king of the east Saxons:¶ this saint, having rescued some of the Picts and Saxons, who had escaped the zeal of the preceding missionaries, from the superstitions of idolatry, and brought them to the worship of the true God, founded the abbey of Cnobersburgh, now Burgh-Castle, in the county of Suffolk, on some land which the king had given him; he afterwards induced this pious prince to abdicate the throne, and become a monk. This monastery was afterwards considerably enlarged by the liberality of Anna, who succeeded Sigebert, and some lords of the kingdom. The desire of leading a retired life made our saint relinquish the government of his monastery, which he confided to his brother Foilan, and to the priests Gobban and Dicull; he then withdrew to a place of solitude with his brother Ultan, where he spent a year in prayer and continence, living only on the fruits of the earth produced by his labor.

The troubles caused by the incursions of the Normans into England, and the dangers that threatened the monasteries, induced St. Fursey to go to France, where he was presented to Clovis II. by Erchinoald, or Hercenald, mayor of the palace. The king being informed by Erchinoald of the saint's intention, and wishing to encourage him to remain in his kingdom, gave him choice of a suitable place for building a monastery. St. Fursey availed himself of this offer, and settled at Latiniacum, (Lagny,) on the river Marne. six leagues from Paris; where he caused three chapels to be built, the first of which he dedicated to our Saviour, the second to St. Peter, and the third was called, when he died, after his own name, through the devotion of the faithful. Being afterwards joined by several monks, his disciples, who had followed him from Ireland, among others, Æmilianus, Euloquius, Mombulus, &c., and seconded by the liberality of the king and lords of the country, he founded a monastery which he himself governed.

His zeal was not confined to the interior of his convent; he labored with success in the conversion of souls at Brie and in its neighborhood, and his preaching was always accompanied by miracles.

St. Fursey was not forgetful of his brothers, nor the monastery he had founded in the country of the east Saxons: having formed the design of visiting them, he appointed his disciple Emilianus to govern the monastery of Lagny in his stead, and set out for England; but falling sick at Mezieres, he died the 16th of January, 648: his body was removed to Peronne by order of Herconvald, and placed in a gallery till the dedication of the church, which took place twenty-six days after. On the day of the ceremony, the body of the saint was placed in the choir, and found to be as whole and untainted as the day on which he died

* Bede, Ibid. cap. 22.
† Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 25.
‡ Messing. Floril. usul. Januar. Vit. S. Furs. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit S. Furs. ad 19 Januar. Ibid. ad 9 Febr. War. de Script. cap 3.
§ Act Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Furs. lib. 1, note 7.
‖ Ibid page 89, note 14.
¶ Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. 3, cap 19

Four years afterwards a chapel was built, to the east of the altar. in which the saint's body was deposited, and where it might be seen in the time of Bede, without stain or corruption. The festival of St. Fursey is kept to the 16th of January at Peronne, where he is honored as the patron saint. Dempster says that he composed a book on the monastic life, and a prophecy in the Scotic language. Colgan published, after Arnold Wion, some hymns which were written in his praise.

James Desmay, of the faculty in Paris. doctor in theology, and canon of the collegiate church of St. Fursey, wrote an ample history of the life of that saint in French; it was translated into Latin by the Rev. father Eugene O'Gallagher, a monk of the order of Louvain. This author supposes that St. Fursey had gone to Rome, from whence he returned through Austria, Flanders, Brabant, Liege, and Namur, before he founded the monastery of Lagny. He also mentions, after Bede and other ancient monuments, the visions of that saint, and miracles which he wrought.

Saint Arbogast, a native of Ireland, came, says Gaspard Bruschius, as a stranger and hermit to Alsace, where he built an oratory in nearly the same place where the present city of Hagueneau is built, and devoted himself to the service of God in fasting and prayer.* His charity made him sometimes leave his retreat, to instruct the people in the knowledge and fear of God, and to invoke the Father, and his divine Son Jesus Christ, to draw them from their idolatrous worship and superstition.† His conduct having attracted the notice of king Dagobert, this prince appointed him to succeed St. Amand in the see of Strasburg, in 646. Having filled that bishopric for twelve years, he died 658. He was interred, as he had requested, in the place of public execution called Mount Michel, being desirous of imitating Jesus Christ, who suffered without the walls of Jerusalem, in the place where criminals suffered; a monastery was founded long afterwards, where his tomb stood, and dedicated to his name, near which was built the great church of that city. It is said that he composed a book of homilies and learned commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul.‡

Maildulphus, an Irish monk, and very learned man, went to England in 676; he founded a monastery and established a school at Ingleborne in Wiltshire; this place was called after him, Maildulfesburgh, (Maildulfiurbs,) at present Malmsbury.* This school was celebrated for the great number of students, eminent for their learning and piety, who had received their education there, among others, St. Aldelm, who succeeded him, and was the first Saxon that wrote in the Latin tongue, either in prose or verse.†

This monastery became a celebrated abbey, through the liberality of king Athelstan, and other benefactors. St. Maildulphus wrote on the observance of the Easter, on the tonsure, on celibacy, and on rules for the arts and natural philosophy: he composed hymns, dialogues, epistles, and several other works which have been lost. This holy man died at an advanced age, in his convent of Malmsbury, where he was interred.

St. Cuthbert, son of an Irish prince, was born at Kenanuse, otherwise Kelis, in Meath, or, according to others, at Kilmacudrick, within four miles from Dublin.‡ Sabina, his mother, having undertaken, according to the taste of the times, a pilgrimage to Rome, left him in the abbey of Mailross, where he became a monk and afterwards prior;§ he acquitted himself honorably in the discharge of his duties in this abbey, and was summoned to Lindisfarn by Eata, bishop of that see; from thence he went to an island called Farne, some leagues in the sea, where he lived as a hermit till he was appointed bishop of Lindisfarn; with reluctance he accepted that dignity, but was constrained to yield to the solicitations of king Egfrid, and

* Act. Sanct. Hib. pages 36, 37, 117. War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3, et Brusch. de Epis. Germ. page 55.

† Henric. Pantalcon. prosopog. viror. illustr. Germaniæ, et Sebast. Muns. Cosmograph.

‡ Baleus, et Flaming. Collect. Sacr. page 183.

* Guilliem. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 1 cap. 2, et War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

† "Nor was it known by any other name, for a long time, than Ingelborn, till Maildulphus, a certain Hibernian Scot, a man of the soundest erudition and a peculiar sanctity of life, being taken by the deliciousness of the grove. After this, opening a school, and devoting himself with his congregation to a monastic life, he built a monastery in it: from hence it began to be called by Maildulphus, instead of Ingleborne, the town of Maildulphesburg; by Bede, the city of Maildulphus, and afterwards contracted into Malmsbury. By some historians, from presents which were formerly made to this place, it is called Meldunum, Malduburg, and Maldunsburg Among the disciples of Maildulphus, Aldelmus, who had been appointed his successor, was particularly noted; for he was the first of the English people who wrote in Latin, and was the first who taught the English to compose Latin verse."—*Camden*, p. 176.

‡ Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. 4, cap. 27, 28.

§ War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

some bishops whom he had assembled in synod for that purpose.

He was consecrated bishop in presence of the king, at York, on Easter-day, 684, by the archbishop Theodore; after continuing for two years in that diocese, he returned to his monastery in the isle of Farne, where he died on the 20th March, 686. According to Baleus, he wrote a treatise on the ordinances of his church, and another entitled "Precepts for the Monastic Life." Tinmouth and Capgrave, who published his life, mention the monastic rules which he had given to his monks, and which Dempster calls "Exhortationes ad fratres."

Saint Gertrude having become, on the death of her mother Itte, abbess of Nivelle, in Brabant, sent to Rome for relics of the holy martyrs, and for books of piety;* she also sent to Ireland for learned men to expound the holy Scriptures, and instruct the nuns in them, and to preach the word of God in the country around. Among this number were two brothers of St. Fursey, Foilan and Ultan, commonly called St. Foignan and St. Outain. St. Gertrude afterwards conferred on St. Outain the lands of Fosse, in the diocese of Maestricht, between the Meuse and the Sambre, to build a monastery and an hospital.†

St. Kilian, a native of Ireland,‡ called the apostle of Franconia, left his country with two companions called Colonat and Totnan, the one a priest and the other a deacon: being desirous to visit the church of Rome, he took his route through Flanders and Germany; on his arrival in Rome, having been presented to Pope Conon, the holy father found him to be possessed of so much wisdom, and so perfect in his knowledge of the holy Scriptures, that he ordained and appointed him to preach the gospel to the infidels of Franconia, where, having converted duke Gosbert, and a great number of his subjects, he fixed his see at Wirtzburg, of which he was the first bishop, and was afterwards honored as a martyr.*

Gosbert, while he was a pagan, married Gielana, his brother's wife; but being converted to Christianity, St. Kilian, like another John the Baptist, reproached him, with truly apostolical freedom, for this incestuous marriage, and advised him to separate from her: Gielana, exasperated at the holy prelate's reproof, caused him and his companions to be assassinated on the 8th of July, 689, the day on which they are honored by the church as martyrs.

The removal of these holy bodies by St. Burchard, bishop of that see, gave rise to the Hexastich, as subjoined;† it was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Doctor Engilhard Funkius. Some works are attributed to St. Kilian, namely, a treatise against Arianism, and one against extraneous worship.

Sedulius, surnamed the younger, to distinguish him from the Great Sedulius, of whom we have spoken in the fifth century, assisted at a council held at Rome, against illicit marriages, the fifth of April, 721, under the pontificate of Gregory II.‡ He left to posterity compilations on the Gospel of St. Matthew, which are still to be seen in manuscript in some of the libraries in Paris. It is said that he wrote the commentaries on the large volume of Priscianus; on the second edition of Donatus, and on the art of Eutychius; he is thought to be the author of a work that was written in Gothic characters,

* Baillet, Lives of the Saints, 17th March.

† "Rome at that time took care to have the relics of the saints and holy books brought to her; she sent to Ireland for learned men to expound to herself and to her people the canticles of the holy law, which the Irish had almost by heart. The monastery of Vossuensis was built on the banks of the Sambre for receiving the saints Fullanus and Ultanus, brothers of St. Furseus."—*Breviary of Paris.*

‡ "From a district of Austria, and a castle called Wirtzburg near the river Meuse, the birthplace of the martyr Chilianus and two of his companions, who after coming from the island of Scotia, (Ireland,) preached the gospel of Christ in the above places."—*Martyrology of Rhabanus.*

"The holy Kilianus, born in the island of Hibernia, (Ireland,) is considered as a renowned bishop of Wirtzburg."—*Marianus Scotus.*

"Saint Kilianus, an Irish monk, preached in these times the evangelical doctrine to the eastern Francs, and is called their apostle."—*Chronicles of Cardinal Bellarmini.*

"In a district of Austria, where stood a castle of New France, nay a city as in the Teutonic dialect, Wirtzburg, situate near the river Meuse, signifies the martyrdom of St. Kilianus, the first bishop of that city, and that of his two disciples, Colonatus a presbyter, and Totnanus a deacon, took place. They came from Ireland, the island of the Scots, and after receiving the authority of the apostolical see, they preached the name of Christ to that city and district."—*Martyrology of Notker.*

* Usser. Prim. c. 16, p. 732, Messingh. Florileg. insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Kilian, War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, et Fleur. Hist. Eccles. lib. 40.

† "These are the masters of Herbipolis, who have taught thee how to worship the true God; the wicked Gielana ordered them at length to be put to death, and concealed beneath this place their martyred bones, which Burkardus now places beneath this monument, lest they should lie in a filthy spot, without praise and the rites of burial."—*Ware on Irish Writers.*

‡ War. de Script. Hib. c. 4, et Severinus Binius, Concil. tom. 5.

on parchment, found in a monastery in Galicia, and has given rise to the opinion of his having been bishop of Oreto in Spain; it was entitled "Concordantia Hispaniæ atque Hiberniæ a Sedulio Scoto, genere Hiberniensi et Episcopo Oretensi."

Albuin, an Irish monk, filled with zeal for the propagation of the faith, left his country, says Trithemius, and went, in 742, to Thuringia, a part of Upper Saxony, where, by the mildness of his preaching, he converted a great number of Gentiles to the faith of Jesus Christ; after which the pope nominated him bishop of Fritzlar, or rather of Buraburgh; Arnold Wion gives him the title of the apostle of the Thuringians. According to Serarius, this bishopric was united to Paderborn, in 794.*

Saint Virgilius, sometimes called Solivagus, from his love of solitude, was born of an ancient and noble family in Ireland,† where he distinguished himself by his learning. Having gone to France, King Pepin was highly taken with him, on account of his mildness and profound erudition.‡ This prince having detained him two years, recommended him to Otilo, duke of Bavaria, and had him appointed to the bishopric of Juvave, since called Salsburg, in 772.§ Pepin caused to be convened the council of Dingolvingue, at which six bishops assisted, the most celebrated of whom was St. Virgilius of Salsburg.‖ Virgilius remained for two years, without being ordained bishop; the duties, however, of the see, he got Dobha, a bishop who went with him from Ireland, to perform. He rebuilt the monastery of St. Peter of Salsburg, in a magnificent manner, of which he was abbot before he was consecrated bishop.

Chetimar, duke of the Carinthians, besought St. Virgilius to visit his people and confirm them in the faith; but being unable to go, he sent the bishop of Modestus, with four priests, some deacons, and clerks, conferring on him the power of consecrating churches, and to ordain. He went thither himself afterwards, where he consecrated several churches, ordained clerks, and proceeded as far as the boundaries of the Huns, where the Drave falls into the Danube. While Virgilius was bishop of Salsburg, a dispute arose between him and Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, concerning baptism. Boniface asserted that the baptism administered by a priest of the country, who, through ignorance of the Latin tongue, had corrupted the form by saying, "In nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritu Sancta," was invalid, and should be renewed. Virgilius, on the contrary, maintained, that this change in the form of the baptism being merely accidental, could not affect the validity of the sacrament. The debate became warm on both sides, and the matter was referred to the pope: on this occasion, Virgilius, bishop of Salsburg, and Sidonius, archbishop of Bavaria, wrote a letter to Pope Zachary, who decided in their favor, against Boniface, whom he accused of being in error.

Virgilius was not so favorably treated on another occasion; he was summoned to the court of Rome, concerning a treatise on the Antipodes, wherein he did not agree with the opinion of the ancients, who thought that the earth had a flat surface, that there were no antipodes, and that the sky met the earth at the horizon. This saint, who excelled in every kind of learning, was a subtle philosopher, and an able mathematician, he was of the opinion of Ptolemy, who was the first to reduce geography to a system; he maintained that the earth was spherical, a great part of which was therefore unknown; that every nation had its antipodes, and inhabitants diametrically opposite; which opinion being unknown to the ancients, and apparently opposed to some passages in the Holy Scriptures, and fathers of the church, Virgilius was represented by Boniface as having broached an erroneous doctrine, and declared heretical by Pope Zachary, as it appears by his epistle to Boniface. If, says he, Virgilius maintains that there is another world, and other men under the earth, another sun, and another moon, he must be suspended in council from the church, and from the priesthood.*

By this decision of the pope, it would appear that the matter had been badly represented to him, whereas he did not comprehend the opinion of Virgilius respecting the antipodes; it appears, also, that the above sentence was never put into execution against him. The dispute between Virgilius and Boniface is well described by Canisius Aventinus, and Velser, historians of Bavaria

* Act. Sanct. Vit. S Albruin. ad 15 Mart. War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, Lig. Vit. lib. 2, c. 42, Rer. Moguntin. lib. 3, et Trith. de Vir. illus. Ord. Benedict. lib. 4, c. 190, lib. 3, c. 367.

† "Saint Virgil was descended from a noble family in Ireland. He was a man of extraordinary piety and learning."—*Gasp. Brus. on German Monasteries.*

‡ Messingh. Florileg. insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Virgil. et Act. Sanct. Hib. pp 760, 764, 769

§ War. de Script. Hib. c. 4.

‖ Fleuri, Hist. Eccles. lib. 44

* Usser. Epis. Hiber. Syllog. Epist. 16, 17

Melchoir Goldastus, in his notes on the life of St. Columbanus, quotes a glossary, which is attributed to Virgilius. This saint died the 27th November, 785; he was looked upon as a man of piety, and very learned in philosophy and the mathematics; he was canonized by Pope Gregory IX., in 1233.

St. Donatus left Ireland with his companion Andrew; and after travelling through France and Italy, settled in Etruria, now Tuscany, where he led the life of a hermit for some time, after which he was nominated bishop of Fiesole.* He remained for a considerable time at the head of that church, and became celebrated for the brilliancy of his virtues. It is affirmed that the Dominicans at Rome have his life in manuscript: he wrote his travels, the office of his church, and commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; he gave also a description of Ireland in hexameter and pentameter verse, some fragments of which are quoted by Colgan.† This saint flourished in 840, and his festival is celebrated on the 22d of October. Dempster ascribes to Andrew, the companion of St. Donatus, and archdeacon of Fiesole, some tracts, viz., on the usefulness of penance, the good of giving alms; to the brothers who had received the habit from him, the acts of his master Donatus, and a work on morality. Philip, a Florentine, and ambassador of Pope Boniface IX., published the lives of Andrew and his sister Bridget in 1390, according to a manuscript in an abbey in Florence, wherein, among other things, he says: "Andrew, a holy man, from the island of Ireland, more generally called Scotia," &c.

About this time, says Ware, lived St. Findan, whose life was published in 795 by Melchoir Goldastus.‡ When Ireland began to be infested with the Danes, St. Findan, son of a prince of Leinster, was made prisoner by those barbarians; but having escaped in a miraculous manner, he went to Rome, from whence he travelled to Germany, where he remained for twenty-seven years; he was first a hermit, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Richnaw, which he had founded on a peninsula in the Rhine, where he died in 827.

St. Buo, a native of Ireland, and Ernulphus, from the same country, went to Iceland, where they preached the gospel with success; they burned the temples in which the pagans offered up human sacrifices, and founded a church dedicated to St. Columb, in the city of Esinberg. They are looked upon as the apostles of Iceland.

Dempster says that St. Buo wrote a book of homilies to the Icelanders;* very dishonorably, however, he calls him a Scot from Albania, although his account is taken from Arngrim Jonas, an historiographer of the Icelanders, who expressly calls Ernulphus an Irish Christian, "Irlandum hominem Christianum;" and Buo, a young man from the same country, "ejusdem provinciæ juvenem." The memory of St. Buo is celebrated on the 5th February, but the year of his death is not known.

The public schools, namely, Ardmach, Lismore, Ros Ailithir, otherwise Ros Carbery, Clonard, &c., and the learned professors who presided over them, attracted many students from the neighboring nations.

The almost universal inundation of Europe, in those ages, by the barbarians, who were opposed to all civilization and literature, caused them in a great degree to concentrate themselves in Ireland, which was then the only asylum that remained for them; besides this, it was a nation very well disposed to cultivate them; as it has been seen that the Greeks, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, carried with them into Italy, and the neighboring countries of Europe, philosophy, the sciences, and fine arts, from Greece.

The venerable Bede mentions a great number of English, both nobles and others, who came to Ireland in the time of the holy bishops Finanus and Colmanus, to be instructed in divine learning, and perfect themselves in the practice of a monastic life. He then adds that the Scots provided them gratuitously with every thing that they needed, even with books for study.† "Our Anglo-Saxons," says Camden, "went in those times to Ireland, as if to a fair, to purchase knowledge; and we often find, in our authors, that if a person were absent, it was generally said of him, by way of a proverb, that he was sent to Ireland to receive his education.

* War. de Script. Hib. c. 6.

† Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 4, n. 366. Trias Thaum. pp. 255, 582. Ibid. lib. 1, n. 31.

‡ Script. Rer. Alleman. tom. p. 318.

* Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 2, n. 168.

† "This country pressed upon Ireland likewise with the like carnage. There were in it (at that time) many nobles and gentry from among the English, who, in the time of bishops Finanus and Colmanus, having withdrawn themselves thither, for either the sake of divine study or to lead more chaste lives, some gave themselves up to a monastic life, and others attended in the monasteries to hear the professors. All of them the Scots most freely admitted, and supplied them gratis with daily sustenance, with books, and masters."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 3, c. 27.

It even appears," continues he, "that our ancestors, the ancient Anglo-Saxons, had learned the use of characters in Ireland."*

Edilvinus, after having studied there, was bishop of the province of Lindisse, where he governed his church as a true pastor; Alfred, king of the Northumbrians, went also to Ireland to perfect himself in the study of philosophy and the sciences: "In Hibernia magno otio litteris imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum."† Young Willibrordus, struck with the great reputation for learning which the Irish possessed, and influenced by the example of St. Egbert, a bishop, and the venerable Wicbert, a priest, who had abandoned all to devote themselves to study and contemplation in Ireland, left his monastery, with the consent of his abbot, to go thither and prepare himself for the mission which God intended him for;‡ and after spending twelve years in Ireland, was appointed archbishop of Utrecht, and converted the Batavians. the Frieslanders, and the people of Antwerp, to the faith of Jesus Christ.§

Timuthensis and Leland make mention of St. Petrocus, who, after renouncing the crown of his father, who was king of Cumberland when he died, and leading a monastic life for some years, together with sixty persons with whom he had united himself, went to Ireland, where he devoted twenty years to the study of literature and the holy Scriptures.*

Mark, a native of Britain, was brought up in Ireland, and after exercising the episcopal functions with sanctity, he was induced to go to France, by the liberality of Charles the Bald, and withdrew into the monastery of the Saints Medard and Sebastian, where he lived as a hermit and a wise philosopher.†

Two English priests, who were both called Evaldus, having studied in Ireland, went to preach the gospel to the Saxons in Germany.‡

The Saxons were not the only people who came to seek after the sciences in Ireland.§ Bede affirms that Agilbert, a native of France, having studied the Scriptures for a long time in it, was, on his return to his own country, nominated bishop of Paris, where he died at a very advanced age.‖

* "Our Anglo-Saxons, at that time, flocked to Ireland as if to purchase goods. Hence it is frequently read in our historians on holy men, 'he has been sent to Ireland to school.' In the life of Sulgenus, who flourished 600 years before, *it is read*:—

"'Moved by the example of our fathers for a love of reading, he went to the Irish, renowned for their philosophy.'

"From the Irish our ancient English ancestors appear to have received their method of forming letters, and obviously made use of the same characters which the Irish now make use of."—*Camd. Brit. Edit.* p. 730.

† "Who himself went, the age following, for the sake of reading, and, being well instructed, returned to his country, and being appointed bishop for the province of Lindisse, he ruled his church for a long time most nobly."—*Bede's Church History*, p. 3, c. 27.

‡ Guill. Malmes. lib. 1, de gest. Regum. Anglor. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. 1, 40.

§ "Because he heard that scholastic erudition flourished in Ireland; he was roused by his intercourse with some holy men, and by report, particularly by Egbertus, a most holy father and bishop, (he had the surname of saint,) likewise by Wicbertus, a holy man and a priest of God; both of them from their love of heaven abandoned their home, their country and relations, and withdrew to Ireland, that they might inhale in retirement the love of God, and the sweetest fruits of contemplation from above. The holy youth, desirous to rival their religious avocations, with the consent of his abbot and brethren, he speedily proceeds to Ireland, uniting himself in friendship with the above fathers; in order that, like the prudent bee, he might gather honey from flowers of piety, and in the hive of his breast construct the combs of virtue. There, during twelve years, he was taught among the most pious and religious masters, that he would become a preacher to many people."—*Alcuin in his Life of Willibrordus.*

"There came a certain man from the western boundaries of the world, powerful in virtue, filled with divine love, acute, vigilant, and fervent—he came to thee, O happy France, in the time of *king* Pepin: fruitful Britain was his mother, but learned Ireland nurtured him in sacred study; his name was Willibrordus."—*Usher's Syllogisms.*

* "The blessed Petrocus was from the county of Cumberland. Being the son of a king, and his father having died, the chief men among his subjects, seconded by the people, endeavored to prevail on him to succeed the father as heir to the crown. He, however, slighted the pomp of royalty, and taking with him sixty companions, entered a monastery, where he took the habit of their order. In some years after this, proceeding to Ireland, he spent twenty years in the study of the Scriptures and sacred discipline.

"Burning with an unusual love for study, he consulted the most learned masters, nor did he desist until he passed 20 complete years in reading good authors. A treasure was found at length by so assiduous a regard for study, which, lest it should lie hidden, the finder transferred this Irish treasure to Cumberland, that he might exhibit it to the view of all."—*Usher*, c. 14, p. 563.

† "Marcus, a native of Britain, was educated in Ireland, and having passed a long time in the discharge of his episcopal functions, undertook to travel. Having gone to France, and influenced by the liberality of the most pious king Charles, he entered the monastery of Saints Medard and Sebastian, where he led the life of an hermit. In our time he was a philosopher of peculiar sanctity."—*Antisidorensis in Usher's Syllogisms.*

‡ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. 41.

§ Ibid. liv. 39.

‖ "A certain bishop named Agilbertus came into the province from Ireland. He was a native of France, but for the sake of studying the Scriptures

Usher speaks of several illustrious persons who had spent part of their time in Ireland to perfect themselves both in piety and learning: among this number were St. Sampson, archbishop of York, and afterwards bishop of Dol, in Brittany; St. Magloire, his successor in that see, and St. Maclou, bishop of Aleth, at present St. Malo.

He likewise mentions Petranus, a noble Briton, of Armorica, who had left his country to go and spend the remainder of his life in Ireland, in the practices of temperance and every virtue, and whose son Paternus afterwards followed him: "Hiberniam petiit ibique magnâ vitæ abstinentiâ et virtutibus Deo placuit." It is well known that Dagobert, son of Sigebert III., and grandson of Dagobert I., king of Austrasia, was sent into Ireland by Grimoald, mayor of the palace, where he remained for twenty years.*

The zeal of the Scoto-Milesians for the instruction of their brethren was not confined to the limits of their own island; they sent learned men into foreign countries to found universities and schools for science and literature.

Besides the Irish Scots who instructed the Saxon youth in England in the time of king Oswald,† Fleury mentions the abbot of St. Dunstan, who was brought up in the monastery of Glastonbury in the ninth century, by Irishmen who were employed in instructing the youth of that house.‡

"In those early ages," says Camden, when speaking of the monastery of Glastonbury, "the Irish were eminent for their sanctity in serving God; they were supported at the king's expense, for instructing the youth in piety and the liberal arts. They embraced a retired life, in order to devote their time more calmly to the study of sacred literature, and learn to bear the cross by leading a life of austerity. At length Dunstan, a man of cultivated mind, and whose sanctity and doctrine had gained him the esteem of princes, introduced Benedictine monks into that monastery, of which he was first abbot."§

I have already spoken, after the same author, of Maildulphus, an Irish monk;* he was a learned man, and founded a monastery and a school at Ingleborn, in Wiltshire, in England, which became celebrated for the number of persons who received their education in it, and were distinguished for their piety and learning.

Clement, otherwise called Claude Clement, and John Scot, known by the name of Albinus, were both natives of Ireland; they left their country on account of the tumults of war, and went to France, where their learning and other good qualities soon gained them the esteem of Charlemagne, the Solomon of those ages of ignorance.† About the year 792, this monarch having founded two universities, or schools, (academy, university, and school, among the ancients, signified the same thing,) one at Paris and the other at Pavia, confided the care of them to those two learned men.‡ He settled Clement at Paris, and sent Albinus to Pavia. Polidore Virgil speaks of them in the following words:—Alcuin, a native of England, being in France, began to teach the sciences at Paris. By his advice Charles was the first who founded a school in that city, and another at Ticinum, now Pavia, in Italy. It was, continued he, in the year 792, that two monks from Ireland, or rather from Scotia, came to France, where they publicly cried, "Wisdom to sell," and as a remuneration for their learning, asked only food and clothing; one of them, called Clement, was kept at Paris by Charles, where the young men of the city, of every rank and station, were placed under his discipline; and the other was sent into Italy, where he taught at Ticinum.

Polidore here supposes that Alcuin was in France before the arrival of the monks from Ireland, and that he had begun to teach the sciences at Paris; this is a point of criticism which merits attention.

It is true that, according to Fleury, Alcuin passed through Pavia, where meeting with king Charles, in 780, he was invited by him to go to France; where, according to our author, he set out for England about the year 790. He fixes his return afterwards to France, in the year 792, which was the time of the arrival of the Irish monks, according to Polidore.

There are several grave authors, however, who assert that the schools at Paris were founded by Clement before the arrival of

he passed a considerable time in Ireland, from which country Agilbertus returned to Gaul: he was then appointed bishop of Paris, where he lived to a very advanced age and died."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 7.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles.

† Imbuebantur præceptoribus Scotis parvuli Anglorum unâ cum majoribus, studiis et observatione disci linæ regularis. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Anglor. lib. 3, c. 3, et alibi.

‡ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Usser. Primord. cap. 6, page 110.

§ Translated in same page from line 14 to line 25, included.

* Camd. Brit. Edit. Lond. p. 176.

† War. de Script. Hib. cap. 6, et Ibid. cap 15

‡ Hist. Anglic. lib. 5, page 264.

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Alcuin in France: among whom are Notker le Begue, the Chronicle of Arles, quoted by Vincent de Beauvais, Paulus Emilius, Antoninus, Lupoldus, and others, that are cited by Colgan.* Alcuin himself, in the first book of his treatise against Elipandus, addresses him in these words: "Before I came into France, by order of King Charles, your error was examined at Ratisbon, the king himself presiding at the assembly, and Felix present, where it was condemned by the authority of the bishops."

According to French annals which were written by an anonymous author, quoted and followed by Baronius, the synod of Ratisbon was held in 792.

"The year following, 792," says Fleury, "King Charles caused Felix of Urgel to be brought to Reginum, or Ratisbon, in Bavaria, where he had spent the winter, and assembled a council there, in which Felix was heard, and being convicted of error, was sent to Rome to Pope Adrian."†

It is obvious, therefore, from the words of Alcuin himself, addressed to Elipandus, and from the authority of Fleury, that this learned man did not go to France till after the council of Ratisbon, and the year 792, and consequently after the establishment of the schools at Paris, the same year, by Clement; unless we were to suppose with Fleury, that he had already been there, and that it is to his return only to that country allusion is here made.

Notker is opposed to this explanation: he says that Albinus, an Englishman, (the same undoubtedly as Alcuin, whereas he had taken the Latin name of Flaccus Albinus, and was well known under the name, not the same as Albinus of Pavia,) being informed of the encouragement which Charles had given to learned men, (speaking of Clement and Albinus,) went to offer him his services.‡ The matter appears, notwithstanding, beyond dispute, that Alcuin neither taught nor founded schools at Paris: André Duchêne, who published his works, proves it by incontestable arguments; he observes, no mention is made in any of his works of his having been at Paris, much less of having founded schools in it; while he is very precise in his account of all the places he had lived or taught in. He speaks, in his tenth epistle, of the latitude of Belgium, where he had lived, "in Belgica latitudine:" in the prologue to the life of St. Riquier, he mentions the monastery of Centule, where he had been. He says, in his 55th epistle, that he had spent some time at St. Amand; and in several others he speaks of Tours, where he lived and had taught for a long time. He does not even mention Paris in any of his writings, except once in his homily on the nativity of St. Willebrordus, without giving cause to suppose, in any shape, that he either lived or had taught there. However, the establishing a celebrated school in a capital city is not of such a nature that it would be passed over in silence by him, whose glory was interested in it.

It is remarkable, indeed, that Fleury, who expatiates largely upon the merit and virtues of Alcuin, makes no mention of his having founded any establishment in Paris; he says that he instructed Charlemagne in rhetoric, logic, and particularly in astronomy; that he had instructed the princesses Gisele and Rictrude, daughters to Charles; Angilbert, afterwards abbot of Centule; Riculfe, archbishop of Mayence, and some others:* which he calls the school of the palace, which was fixed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and was, he says, governed after Alcuin by a Scot, or rather an Irishman. In a word, it appears that from the arrival of Alcuin in France, he had been always attached to the court, until he was appointed to different abbeys; among others, to that of St. Martin of Tours, whither he withdrew and continued till his death, which happened in 804.

Some authors, such as Possevinus, Robert Gaguin, &c, give Clement a share in the glory of having founded the university of Paris, by giving him for colleagues in that undertaking, not only his fellow-citizen John Scot, the same as Albinus of Pavia; but also Alcuin, and Raban, afterwards archbishop of Mayence. Others say, with Wion and Vincent de Beauvais, that these four doctors had been disciples of the venerable Bede.

We have already observed that John Scot, otherwise Albinus, was sent to Pavia by Charlemagne at the time that he settled Clement in Paris, and when Alcuin presided over the schools of the palace, and afterwards over those of Tours, till his death, without any mention of his having taught at Paris. With respect to Raban, he was not more than born at the time of the foundation of the schools at Paris, in 792.

Raban, according to Nicholas Serarius, was nominated abbot of Fulde in 825, at the age of thirty years.† We should, therefore,

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Clem. ad 20 Mart.

† Hist. Eccles. lib. 44. Calmet, Abrégé Chronol. à l'an. 972

‡ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. 44.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 45.

† Lib. 4, de reb. Moguntin. in 6, ejusdem sedis Archiepiscop.

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place his birth in 795, which was subsequent to the foundation of the Paris schools; and were we even to suppose that he was ten years older at the time of his appointment to be abbot of Fulde, it would not be correct; he was too young to be a scholar in 792, or the founder of schools.

The opinion that these four masters were disciples of Bede, has not been supported; the contrary appears more like truth. Although Alcuin, in speaking of the venerable Bede, sometimes calls him, through respect, "Bede the master," and sometimes "the noble and celebrated master of his time," he never says that he had been his; on the contrary, he speaks of himself to have been, from his earliest youth, the pupil of Egbert, bishop of York, as appears from his letter to Eanbald, who succeeded Egbert in that see. All that I have said respecting the time when Raban lived, is sufficient to prove that he was not the disciple of Bede who died in 735.* That opinion is not maintained by any ancient monument; as to Claude Clement and John Scot, the authors who speak of them say that they came from Ireland; it is well understood that the Irish did not go, in those ages, to seek the sciences among the English; it was the very contrary, "Anglo-Saxones nostri illa ætate, in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum litterarum mercaturam confluxerunt."†

The difficulty lies in determining which was the country of Clement and Albinus: modern Scotch authors place them among the number of their countrymen, as well as all who distinguished themselves by their virtue and learning in foreign countries under the name of Scots; which Buchanan sings in some fair lines, that prove that this poet possessed more talent than honor, and which are, says Usher, more applicable to Ireland than Scotland. as Notker le Begue, a monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne about 70 years after his death, asserts with confidence that these doctors were from Ireland.‡

The testimony of the monk of St. Gall should undoubtedly have weight on this subject, with every man of discernment. He lived in the ninth century, a period not distant from that of which he wrote the history, and was a very learned man, having presided over the schools of St. Gall after Marcellus. He wrote the life of Charlemagne, which enabled him to know what had occurred during his reign; his works were published by Canisius, in 1601, from an ancient manuscript. Among other things he mentions the following:—

"When Charles began to reign alone in the west, and that literature had been forgotten almost everywhere, it happened that two Scots from Ireland, who were exceedingly learned, called Clement and Albinus, came with some British merchants to the coast of France, and having no other commodity to dispose of, they, in order to satisfy the people that surrounded them, cried, 'Science to sell;' their hearers, thinking them to be mad, communicated the news to Charles. This great prince, who was desirous that learning might be revived in his empire, made them be brought to court, and after questioning them, he was filled with joy, and made them remain with him; but being obliged some time afterwards to go to war, he established Clement in France, and gave orders to have him provided with every necessary for his support, and with a suitable dwelling for himself and the pupils whom he placed under his discipline. Albinus was sent into Italy, and the monastery of St. Augustin, near the city of Ticinum, granted to him, where all who were desirous to receive instructions might resort to him."

He adds also, that another Albinus, an Englishman by birth, being informed of the reception which those learned men met with from the monarch, came to offer him his services;* it would appear that he was the

* Calmet, Abrégé Chronol. à l'an 735.

† Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 730.

‡ "What an able poet has written of his own country, can be more fitly applied to our Scotia:

"'While rude Mars was disturbing Latium and the world, this was the only country which hospitably received the muses that were expelled. From her Charles transferred the wisdom of Greece and of Latium to the Celtæ. and from her he obtained the doctors and instructors of the uninstructed youth.'

"Notkerus Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall, who wrote the history and life of Charles the Great, 70 years after his death, clearly proves that the above doctors had been brought from Ireland."—*Usher, in an old epistle upon Ireland.*

* "When Charles began to reign alone in the west, and that learning had almost everywhere become extinct, it happened that two Scots from Ireland arrived on the shores of Gaul, with some British merchants; these two men were incomparably skilled in sacred and profane learning. While they displayed nothing for sale, they cried out to those who came to purchase, 'If any one be desirous of wisdom, let him come to receive it.' They were invited to the presence of Charles, who questioned them, and was overjoyed after they were examined: he kept them for some time with him. Charles, soon after this, being obliged to go to war, ordered the one named Clement to reside in Gaul. He recommended to them some very noble youths, some of the middle classes, and several of the lowest

same as Alcuin, but, according to Notker, different from Albinus of Pavia. Vincent de Beauvais and some others, quoted by Usher, give the same account as the chronicles of Arles, which were written in or about the tenth century.*

The writers of every age and country have adopted the opinion of Notker, and the chronicles of Arles, respecting the country of Clement and Albinus, and the foundation of the schools at Paris by the former;† they are, Vincent de Beauvais, a Frenchman, who flourished in the thirteenth century; Lupoldus Bebenburgius, a German, in the fourteenth; St. Antonius and Antonius Sabellicus, Italians; Joannes Rossus, an Englishman, and Gaguinus, a Fleming, in the fifteenth; Huldericus Mutius, a German; Polidore Virgil, an Italian; Wion, a Fleming; and Cassoneus, a Burgundian, have adopted the same opinion in the sixteenth century, as well as Joannes Magnus, and Claudius Roberti, a Frenchman, in the beginning of the seventeenth. In fine, we may add the authority of Trithemius, in his treatise on ecclesiastical authors, and the illustrious men of the order of St. Benedict, and that of Possevinus, in his sacred compendium.

The reputation of Claude Clement drew disciples to him from all parts.‡ Among others, he had Brunon, Einardus, Modestus, and Candidus, monks of the abbey of Fulde, whom Ratger, their abbot, had sent thither to be perfected in the sciences, and who afterwards became celebrated for their learning and writings.§

Our Clement should not be mistaken for Clement, a Scotchman, who was opposed to St. Boniface of Mayence, and was condemned, first in 744, with Adalbert, a native of Gaul, his accomplice, at the council of Soissons, and afterwards at the council of Rome, held in 745, by Pope Zachary; neither does it appear that he was the same as Clement, bishop of Auxerre, although it has been advanced by some authors.*

Clement wrote some rules on grammar, which were quoted by Melchior Goldastus. He is thought to be the same as Clement, author of the life of Charlemagne, mentioned by Wolfgangus Lazius, in his commentaries on the Roman republic.

If Claude Clement be the same as Claude, a pious and learned man mentioned by Trithemius, who flourished in the time of Louis le Debonnaire, that is, in 815, but whom that author erroneously calls a disciple of Bede, who died some years before; other works are attributed to him, namely, commentaries on St. Matthew, on the Epistles of St. Paul, the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, of the Judges, Ruth, the Psalms, historical memoirs, a summary of homilies, and on the accordance of the Evangelists.†

Lupoldus Behenburgius, who flourished in 1340, makes mention of Clement.‡ The French, says he, may be compared to the Romans and Athenians, on account of the works of Clement, an Irishman.

It is remarkable how Henry of Auxerre speaks of this nation, when writing to Charles the Bald: "What shall I say (he says) of Ireland, which, notwithstanding the dangers of the sea, sends crowds of philosophers to our shores, the most learned of whom condemn themselves to a voluntary exile, to devote themselves to the service of the wise Solomon."§

Charles the Bald, emperor and king of France, is praised, says Fleury, for having by his authority and munificence revived literature, which had been begun by his grandfather Charlemagne, attracting the

ranks; it was also ordered by the king, that every thing necessary for their support should be supplied to them, and convenient houses for their accommodation were provided. The other, named Albinus, was sent to Italy, where the monastery of St. Augustin, near the city of Ticinum, was given him, that all who wished to be instructed might come to learn. It was heard how graciously Charles, the most religious of kings, received Albinus, who was an Englishman, &c."—*Speculum Historiæ*, b. 23, c. 173.

* "In these happy days, when the liberal sciences flourished in Ireland above every other country, two Scots came from Hibernia, with British merchants, to Gaul: one of them, named Clement, was appointed to settle at Paris."—*Usher's Syllogisms.*

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Clement, ad 20 Mart. p. 701.

‡ Browerius de Reb. Fuldens, lib. 1, c. 14.

§ "Rabanus and Halton of Turin, were sent to Albinus, master, to learn from him the liberal arts. Brunon and Eindardus, a most skilful instructor in various arts, were sent to Clement, a Scot, to study grammar."—*Browerius's Notes on Rabanus*, page 118.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 42, Usser. Syllog. Epist. Hib. Epist. 15, Usser. Præf. Epist. Syllog.

† De Vit. Illust. Ordin. Bened. lib. 2, c. 28, Bellarmin. de Script. Eccles. et Possevinus in apparatu.

‡ Let. de zelo vet. Princip. German.

§ "What shall I say of Hibernia, (Ireland,) which, despising the dangers of the sea, emigrates with crowds of philosophers to our shores? Whosoever among them is the more skilled, he enjoins exile on himself, to familiarize, in his vows, himself with Solomon, the wisest of men."—*Henricus in Camden*, p. 730.

learned from all quarters, among others from Ireland, and supporting a school in his palace *

Moengal also called Marcellus, was fellow-citizen of St. Columbanus and St. Gall, and like them, a native of Ireland.† He came from Rome, says Eckerhard, to the abbey of St. Gall, with his uncle, the bishop Mark, to visit their countryman Grimoald, who was elected abbot of that monastery about the year 840. "He remained there at the solicitation of Notker le Begue, and other monks of the house, having sent his other companions back to Ireland."‡ The same author, in the life of Notker le Begue, says that Marcellus was intrusted with the government of the schools of the cloisters.

Gaspard Bruschius extols those schools highly, while under his direction.§ "Under the abbot Grimoald," says he, "a number of excellent books have been written, at a considerable expense, and at that time the abbey of St. Gall was a celebrated school, in which the children of princes and nobles were instructed in wisdom, and rendered capable of conducting public affairs." To Moengal the merit of those schools should be attributed, who presided over them, under Grimoald the abbot. He died in that monastery, the 30th September, but the year is not known. He was succeeded by his disciple, Notker le Begue, sometimes called the monk of St. Gall. According to Judocus Metzler, he wrote upon the gospel a homily, which still exists.‖

John Scot, surnamed Erigena, that is, a native of Erin, or Eire, which was in the language of the country the true name of Ireland, was, says Malmsbury, a man of a strong and eloquent mind; from his earliest years, he applied himself in his own country to study, and went afterwards to France, where he was presented to Charles the Bald.¶ Being very learned in the peripatetic philosophy, the Greek language, and other branches of literature, he soon caught the esteem of that prince, who was the patron of the learned.

At that time the question respecting grace and predestination was a subject of much debate, and the ablest pens were employed in clearing up the difficulty; Erigena was consulted by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon; at the solicitation of these prelates, he wrote a treatise against the doctrine of two predestinations.* This treatise was opposed by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, who maintained in the preface to his book that Erigena had followed Pelagius, Celestius, and Julian, concerning grace; that he had impugned the justice of God by denying original sin, and that he broached a dangerous doctrine. These imputations, however, seem to have been caused by forced results, which Prudentius had deduced from the work of Erigena, as he admitted of original sin, and the necessity of grace.† Our author was suspected of having been in error concerning the real presence, in a work which he wrote in two parts, on that subject.

Erigena translated after this, from Greek into Latin, works which were generally attributed to St. Denis, the Areopagite, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald. As this work was filled with metaphysical and obscure questions on the divine nature and attributes, Pope Nicholas I. wrote a letter to Charles,‡ in which he observed that "John, one of the nation of the Scots, had translated into Latin the works of Denis the Areopagite, concerning the names of God, and the celestial hierarchy, which book should have been sent to him for his approval, particularly as John, though in other respects a man of profound learning, was suspected of an error of faith; he consequently begged of him to send the book and its author to Rome, or to expel him from the Paris university." The king being desirous to keep in with the pope, without giving umbrage to John Erigena, advised him to return to his own country, in order to avoid the storm. In obedience to the king's desire, John returned to Ireland, where he died in 874.§

In accordance with the English authors, Ware changes the circumstances and time of the death of Erigena, which he fixes ten years later. He came, he says, to England in 884, at the solicitation of king Alfred, who employed him some time afterwards in re-establishing the schools at Oxford. He adds, that Isaac Wake informs us that the statutes of Alfred and Erigena, a Gothic work, were preserved there in his time, as monuments of antiquity. Lastly, after Cam

* Hist Eccles. lib. 25.
† Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 54.
‡ De Casib. Monast. S. Galli. p. 36.
§ De Monast. German. sub Grimoaldo.
‖ De Viris Illust. Monast. S. Galli.
¶ War. de Script. Hib. c. 6. De Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. 2, cap. 4, et Vide Porr. Rog. Hoved.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 48.
† Dupin, Hist. Eccles. cent. 9, page 82.
‡ Spotiswood, Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, page 26.
§ Dupin, cent. 9, page 83.

den and Harpsfield, he quotes on that subject the annals of the new monastery at Winchester, in the following terms :* " In the year of our redemption 886, the second year after the arrival of St. Grimboald in England, the university was begun at Oxford : the first lecturers in theology were, the abbot of St. Neoth, a learned man, and St. Grimboald, an able interpreter of the holy Scriptures. Asser, a monk, was professor of humanity ; John, a monk of the church of St. David, instructed in logic, music, and arithmetic ; John Erigena, a monk and companion of St. Grimboald, a man of penetrating mind, and ably conversant in all the sciences, was the first who gave instructions there in geometry and astronomy, in presence of the glorious and invincible king Alfred, whose memory will be always dear, both to the clergy and laity of his kingdom. This wise king gave orders that the children of all the nobles, or those of their servants who possessed a taste for study, should be sent thither to be instructed in literature."

Erigena, whom some confound with John of Mailross, the disciple of Bede, others with John of St. David, withdrew, after three years, to the abbey of Malmesbury, to avoid a disagreement which arose between Grimboald and the old scholars of Oxford, where, it is said, he died of the wounds he received from his scholars, and where he is considered as a martyr ; he was interred on the left, near the altar, where the subjoined inscription is to be seen upon his tomb.† His festival is celebrated on the 10th of November, according to the Roman martyrology, published at Antwerp in 1586, by order of Pope Gregory XIII. As there were at that time several learned men in England of the name of John, the English writers may have confounded John Erigena, with John abbot of Etheling, who, it is said, was assassinated at the instigation of his monks ; particularly as Malmesbury, who mentions this fact, appears to have given it from hearsay, " ut fertur ;" and moreover, as neither Berengarius nor his disciples, who have so highly extolled Erigena, who seems to have favored their error respecting the real presence, speak of him as a martyr. It appears, however, that Erigena was one of the most learned men of his time, and the most perfect master of the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages.

John Erigena composed several works ; besides his treatises on predestination and the eucharist, and his translation of the works of Denis the Areopagite, of which I have already spoken, Baleus affirms that he translated the ethics of Aristotle on the secret of secrets, or the government of princes, into three different languages, namely, the Chaldaic, Arabic, and Latin ; according to the same author, he wrote a treatise on the immaculate mysteries of faith, against the barbarians ; a work which was paraphrased for the instruction of youth ; some dogmas on philosophy ; also poems, epistles, and homilies.* He is thought to have been the author of extracts on the difference and connection of the Greek and Latin syntax, found among the writings of Macrobius, to which the following note is subjoined : " Here ends the garland which John had gathered in the books of Ambrosius, Macrobius, and Theodosius, which elucidate more fully the rules on Greek verbs." It is said, that in the library of M. de Thou, there were two books on the division of nature, which were attributed to John Scot Erigena. Ranulphus Higden, a monk of the order of Citeaux, mentions them in his Polychronicon ;† it is probable that Honorius Augustodunensis alludes to this work, when he says that John Scot, or Chrysostom, a man who was extremely learned in the holy Scriptures, wrote in a style of elegance, a work on the nature of all things, " de naturâ omnium rerum."‡

Dupin says he was author of two books on predestination, five on nature, or the division of nature, and a book of visions.§ Those books on nature were printed at Oxford in 1681 ; but his book of visions is still in manuscript. He adds that Erigena had translated some commentaries of Maximus on the books of Denis the Areopagite ; that his translation of the commentaries of Maximus on St. Gregory of Nazianzen had been printed at Oxford in 1681 ; that Trithemius mentions a commentary on the gospel of St. Matthew, and a book of offices composed by John Scot. Dupin also adds that Erigena had some knowledge of the sciences, and was an able logician and mathematician ; but that he was of an arrogant disposition a weak reasoner, and poor theologian; how-

* Britan. p. 267, Hist. Eccles. Anglor secul. 9, cap. 5.

† " Within this tomb John Erigena lies,
Who, while living was wonderfully endowed with knowledge,
By martyrdom he at length ascends to Christ,
With whom he has merited to reign for ever, together with the saints."

* Usser. Epist. Hib. recensio, page 135.

† De Luminat. Eccles. lib. 3.

‡ Lib. 5, cap. 32.

§ Hist. Eccles. ant. 9, page 95.

ever, this opinion should be considered as the effect of prejudice and of party spirit, as Malmesbury, Hoveden, and others, represent him to have been possessed of great penetration, and universal knowledge in learning; and that Anastasius the librarian, his contemporary, in his letter, 23d March, 875, to Charles the Bald, says, "that he was a man eminent for his sanctity, and that he ascribes to the special influence of the spirit of God, his translation of the works of St. Denis, finding it extraordinary that such a work could have been written by a barbarian (this epithet is unfit) of Scotia, situated at the extremity of the earth, without the special aid of the spirit of God." Dempster, says Ware, vainly endeavors to change the country of John Erigena, because his contemporaries called him Scotus; which, however, was the general name of the Irish in that century: Erigena signifies, indeed, a native of Erin, which is the real name of Ireland; as Angligena signifies an Englishman, and Francigena a Frenchman.

When we consider the advantages which the Scoto-Milesians enjoyed with respect to religion and the sciences in the first ages of Christianity, could we suppose them not to have possessed, likewise, cultivated minds and polished manners? The sciences which enlighten and ornament the understanding, flourished among them more than in any other nation. That Christian morality which regulates the motions of the heart, formed men among them who were celebrated for the sanctity of their morals. Notwithstanding these advantages, an astonishing mixture of vice and virtue was discoverable among them, and, as a certain author remarks, "they were ardent in every thing, whether good or evil: 'In omnes affectus vehementissimi.'" While one part of that people devoted themselves to God, by renouncing all intercourse with the world, and thereby served as a model to the neighboring nations; the spirit of discord was still kept up, either by the tyranny of their princes, the ambition of their nobles, or the frequent revolts of their subjects. Instead of preserving their conquests abroad, and enforcing the tribute which their pagan ancestors had imposed on the Picts, the inhabitants of the Orkneys, Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, they were always in arms, one against the other; and the gospel which they had just received with so much respect, was not able to remove that spirit of discord which was the cause of such disorders.

It appears that war was the chief occupation of the Irish, whose genius made them consider that passion, which in truth savors of ferocity, as a virtue, and as true heroism.

Every man in particular has some ruling propensity, and it is almost the same with nations.

The passions have different shades and different degrees of enormity among different people.

Like other nations which were their contemporaries, the Scoto-Milesians possessed a mixture of virtue and vice; they were superstitiously attached to their religion, noble in their sentiments, humane, hospitable, and sincere friends, but implacable enemies. They considered it a dishonor to seek redress for an insult by resorting to justice; and a spirit of revenge, common to both prince and people, was the cause of their frequent wars.

Their kings, unattended by guards, commanded their armies in person, always marching at the head of their troops. The manner of fighting at that time was very different from what it is at present, and their battles much more bloody, from which it cannot be a matter of surprise that so many lives were lost in war.

It might appear that this martial spirit and their frequent wars, must have injured agriculture, trade, and literature; but as their campaigns were of short duration, and that a war was frequently terminated by a single battle, they had sufficient time for cultivating their lands and feeding their flocks; two things which essentially formed the sources of wealth, and maintained, both in their food and raiment, that noble simplicity which prevailed universally among them. Luxury, which commonly implies abundance among a certain number, and indigence among others, was unknown to the Irish, who were accustomed, for many ages, to live on the productions of the earth. Each tribe possessed their hereditary right of territory, and the chief distributed among the different branches of his tribe, fiefs and lands, from whence they easily derived their subsistence. They were unacquainted with that pomp and false splendor which frequently place people of the lowest rank above men of honor: virtue, birth, and a diversity of colors in their dress, were the distinguishing marks of rank among them; the great did not despise the little, and the latter joyfully acknowledged their dependence.

Avarice was not known among a people who amassed nothing; whatsoever they themselves had no need of, was appropriated to the wants of hospitality, and their houses

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were always open to the strangers; a taste for history, poetry, and music, procured him at all times an easy access, and no inquiries were made after the name, or whence he came.

In ancient times the intercourse with foreigners was inconsiderable, when compared to what it has been for some centuries back. It is certain that the Phœnicians carried on a trade with Ireland, where their principal objects were the mines and metals with which this island abounded; and with Britain, where they obtained tin from Cornwall.* In after ages the Milesians traded with the Gauls, Britons, and people of the north; to which Tacitus alludes, when he says that the harbors in Ireland were more commodious, and better known to merchants than those of Britain.†

Leisure was not less requisite for the cultivation of the sciences, than for agriculture and commerce; however, it has been proved, that in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, literature had been more flourishing in this island, notwithstanding the tumults of war, than in the neighboring countries.

This nation having been always free, and never subjected to a foreign yoke, were uniform in their manners and customs; so that a description of them, during one century, can be applied to every other. It is not believed, says Camden, that that nation ever submitted to the dominion of the Romans, which, he adds, would have been an advantage to its inhabitants, whereas they would have been thereby the sooner despoiled of their barbarity.

It is true, according to the general opinion, that the Romans had polished every nation which they conquered. If the merit of a polished people rests upon a knowledge of building with stone and cement, instead of with wood; if it be derived from a number of arts, which generally tend to support luxury, false splendor, and to corrupt the morals; in fine, if true glory consists in an immoderate ambition, and a desire of subduing and enslaving every other nation at the expense of the blood of many millions of men, and a wish to deprive them of that liberty so natural to all men, and to call those generous people barbarians who had the fortitude to spurn their chains, and despise their foreign customs, the Romans would undoubtedly deserve that eulogium; but if that glory were the reward of simplicity and innocence of manners, of noble actions, uprightness, and benevolence, of what service would those brilliant arts, which form the delight of our frivolous times, have been to a nation whose government was founded on the laws of nature, and the virtues which arise from it? Several nations, no doubt, needed such masters; but the Scoto-Milesians, who were a lettered people before the Romans were in being, might easily dispense with them in the acquirement of the sciences.

The account which Camden, after Cambrensis, gives at the end of his Britannia, of the manners and customs of the ancient Irish, is so trifling and incorrect, that it does not merit to be either quoted or refuted.

Christianity produced no change in the fundamental constitution of the state. Men learned thereby to command and obey, by the purest principles of equity and justice of which God was the source and object, as he was to be also their reward.

Although the clergy, as being the substitutes of the druids, enjoyed a share in the legislative authority, still, as they followed no other rules than those of the gospel, and as their lives, which were exemplary, afforded ample security for their conduct, there was nothing to be feared from their abuse of power.

On the other hand, the laity claimed no share in that power which the clergy held from God alone; so that there was no conflict between them for the spiritual and temporal authority, which were altogether independent of each other; and this harmony contributed much to the happiness of the state in general.

* Bochart Geograph. Sec. lib. 1, cap. 39.
† Vit. Agricolæ, p. 499, apud. Grat. Luc. cap. 12.

CHAPTER XIII.

Hugh VI., surnamed Oirnigh, son of Niall-Freasach, ascended the throne of Ireland on the death of Donchada, A. D., 797. He governed the island, as monarch, for about twenty-two years.

The reign of this prince is remarkable for the invasion of the country by the barbarians of the north, who had been, hitherto, unknown to the Irish.

This may be considered as the period of the decline of religion in Ireland, and the termination of the brightest days of the Irish church: for the incursions of the barbarians were at the commencement marked by blood and slaughter; burning of towns, churches, and monasteries; putting the clergy and the faithful to death, or carrying them away as

slaves; and spreading terror and devastation everywhere. But God had not cast off his people, or forgotten his promises, and the Irish have always preserved their religion, although with less of splendor than before.

Before we enter into a detail of the wars of the Normans, it is necessary to examine the origin of that nation, which was so formidable to a great part of Europe in the ninth century.

Scandinavia, situated in the north of Europe, comprised Norway, Sweden, and all the country to the west of the gulf of Bothnia. According to the historians of that country, it was peopled a short time after the deluge, by two Asiatic colonies, namely, the Goths and Swedes, who each founded an extensive kingdom. Most of the barbarians who ravaged Europe during the decline of the Roman empire, were colonies from these two nations, who were sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with each other. In course of time, the territory of the Goths being overburdened with inhabitants, was obliged to send colonies to the islands of the Baltic sea, and to the surrounding countries, extending as far as the Cimbrian Chersonesus, since called Jutland. These colonies although dispersed, always acknowledged the Gothic kings as their sovereigns; but at length, having chosen Dan, son of Humel, for their monarch, they separated from the Goths, and assumed the appellation of Dani or Danes, from which is derived the name of Denmark. The Norwegians were also a colony of the Goths, from whom they, as well as the Danes, were descended. These two nations afterwards became powerful, and capable of making war, even against those from whom they sprang. The situation of their country, intersected by arms of the sea, and the great quantity of materials it supplied for the construction of vessels, having inspired them with a taste for navigation, they were enabled to make incursions, the effects of which were but too severely felt in France, England, and Ireland. As the population increased rapidly in those cold climates, Denmark and Norway were frequently obliged to send out colonies, in order to relieve the parent countries; while a hope of booty induced the colonists readily to leave, under the pretext of seeking new habitations. Olaus Wormius affirms, that piracy was formerly tolerated, and even considered honorable among the Danes, and that the most celebrated and strongest wrestlers were employed in the exercise of it by the kings and their children.* The success of the first adventurers induced others to follow in quest of fortune. They formed companies, and equipped vessels, like the corsairs of Barbary, or privateers in time of war. As they shared the booty with their kings, the latter provided them with general officers, or commanded in person, when there was any considerable prize to be taken. Instead of regular troops, they formed free and independent companies, whose aim was pillage, rather than conquest, and who, succeeding each other, left to the nations they invaded no time for repose. Such was the enemy that ravaged the coasts of Europe in the ninth century, and checked the progress of Charlemagne in the conquest of the Saxons. In France they were called Normans, which signifies, north-men; in England, Ostmans, that is, men from the east, the people of Livonia, Estonia, and Courland, having been sharers in their incursions. The Irish included all those nations under the names of Danes and Norwegians, calling them in their own language, "Lochlannuigs," which signifies powerful on sea. They also distinguished them by the titles of "Dubh-Lochlannuigs," and "Fionn-Lochlannuigs," that is, black and white Lochlannuigs, the former being the Danes, and the latter the Norwegians. I shall henceforward call them sometimes Danes, sometimes Norwegians, and frequently Normans, in conformity with the language in which I am writing.

According to the Irish annals, the Normans first appeared in this island in 795. They laid waste the coasts of Albania and Ireland, and pillaged the isle of Recrain, now Rachlin, in the north of the county of Antrim.† About this time St. Findan, son of a prince of Leinster, was carried away captive by these barbarians; but according to his life, written by an anonymous author, his companion, and published by Melchior Goldastus, he made his escape in a miraculous manner.‡ Dicuil, a contemporary Irish author, mentions these first depredations of the Normans, in his work on the boundaries of the nations of the earth.§ In 798, three years after, these pirates returned, and

* "Piracy was considered among the Danes honorable and lawful, and frequently the kings themselves and their children, had the most celebrated and bravest wrestlers employed in it."—*Ware's Antiquities*, c. 24.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 24. Grat. Luc. c. 9 Bruod. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 14.

‡ Porter, Compend. Annal. Eccles. Reg. Hibern. sect. 4, c. 1, et Usser. Primord. Eccles. p. 1038

§ Tom. 1, rerum Aleman. p. 318.

committed depredations in the north of Ireland. and in the Hebrides.

The barbarians, who at first had only plunder in view, being pleased with the country, formed the design of conquering it;* for which purpose a fleet of fifty vessels landed a body of troops in the western part of Munster, who commenced pillaging and laying waste the whole province. Airtre, who was at the time king of Munster, assembled his troops and gave them battle; the action was bloody, and the Normans, having been defeated, made a precipitate retreat to their vessels during the night, leaving four hundred and sixteen men dead on the field of battle. About the same time they pillaged the abbey of Hy-Columb-Kill, and massacred the monks, with Blaithmac, son of an Irish king, whose life has been written in verse by Wallafrid Strabo. Kellach, then abbot of Hy, found means to escape this massacre. He took refuge in Ireland, where he spent seven years in the abbey of St. Columb, at Kells, in Meath, and then returned to his abbey of Hy, where he died shortly afterwards.

In the year 812, the Normans made a second descent on Ireland, in which they were not more successful than in the first. Having landed on the coast of Munster, they practised every species of cruelty on the inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex, nor even the churches or monasteries. They however shared the same fate as before, having been repulsed with considerable loss by Feidlime, king of that province. At the same period, a fleet of Normans landed on the eastern coast of the island. They spread terror in all directions, pillaged the celebrated abbey of Banchor, and killed the bishop, with nine hundred monks. Another body landed at Jobh-Kinseallagh, (Wexford,) laid waste the whole country, burned the churches, and plundered the monasteries, as far as the territory of Ossory, where the inhabitants coming to an engagement with them, killed seven hundred and seven on the spot, and obliged the others to abandon their booty. They were not, however, disheartened by this defeat; their loss being retrieved by new reinforcements, they soon after arrived in Limerick, and burned the territories of Corcabaisquin, Tradruighe, and Iobh-Conuill-Gabhra; but being vigorously attacked by the inhabitants of Iobh-Conuill, at Seannuid, they were completely defeated, and obliged to give up their booty.

Rhegino, in his chronicle for the year 812, mentions these first victories which the Irish gained over the Normans. "A Norman fleet," says he, "having landed in Ireland, came to an engagement with the Scots, in which several lives were lost, and the rest put to flight."* Hermannus Contractus speaks in nearly the same terms.† It may here be observed, that in the ninth century the Irish were known to foreigners by the name of Scots. About the year 818, Turgesius, king, or son of the king of Norway, landed with a formidable fleet in the north of Ireland. He had the reputation of being a great warrior, but was cruel and vindictive On the news of his arrival, all the Normans who had been dispersed in small bodies throughout the kingdom, united under his standard, and appointed him their general. This tyrant, seeing himself commander-in-chief of all the Normans in Ireland, began by issuing his commands in every quarter; sending his officers to harass and pillage the inhabitants, with orders to spare neither age nor sex. There were, at the time, no strongholds or fortified towns in Ireland; but the Norman general, knowing the necessity of having places of retreat, into which he might withdraw in case of need, and secure his booty, remedied this want by stationing his fleet, which consisted of several small vessels with sails and oars, in the different lakes of the country. One part he stationed in Lough Néagh, another in Lough Rea, in the river Shannon, and the rest he sent to Lughmaigh. These were the garrisons from which the barbarians issued to commit their depredations in the country, and the fortresses which served them as a retreat when they were repulsed by the inhabitants. The orders of the tyrant were but too faithfully executed by those inhuman monsters; heaps of slain were to be seen on every side, and churches and monasteries pillaged and burned. The church of Armagh was plundered three times in one month, the abbot made prisoner, and the university, which till that time had been so celebrated, and in which there were sometimes 7,000 students, was completely destroyed, and the scholars assassinated or put to flight, together with their teachers.

Hugh, the monarch, appeared quite insensible to the misfortunes of his subjects. Instead of avenging his country's wrongs, and defending her against the common

* Keat. Hist. of Ireland, part 2.

* "A fleet of Norwegians having attacked the island of Hibernia, they came to an engagement, in which many of them were killed, and the rest put to flight."

† "A Danish fleet having attacked Ireland, was defeated by the Scots"

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enemy having conceived some displeasure towards the people of Leinster, he entered that province at the head of an army, and committed dreadful devastations there.

The natural phenomena which were this year observed, and the convulsion of the elements, seemed to forebode something fatal to the nation. About the end of the month of March, the thunder and lightning were so violent and frequent, that no less than one thousand and ten persons of both sexes perished in one district between Corcabaskin, in the county of Clare, and the sea-shore. At the same time there happened an extraordinary swell of the ocean, which inundated a part of the country that has never since been reclaimed, the current of the waters being so strong that an island called Inis-Fidhe was rent into three parts, thereby indicating a submarine earthquake.

In this reign may be fixed the foundation of the priory of Disert-Kellach, or Kells, in Meath, by St. Kellach, an anchorite, probably the same as Cellach, abbot of Hy, who took refuge in Ireland to avoid the fury of the Normans.

After a reign filled with troubles, Hugh the monarch died at Athda-Ferta in the territory of Tirconnel; but according to some, he was killed at the battle of Cathdroma.*

Conquovar, or Connor, son of the king Donchadha, succeeded Hugh in the government of the island, A. D. 819. The Normans, who now began to settle in the country, being joined by new reinforcements every year, pillaged and burned all that they found in their path. The monasteries of Inis-Damhly, Cork, Banchor, and Dundaleathglass, where there was a celebrated academy, fell sacrifices to their fury. The monastery of Moigh-Bille was still more unfortunate; having been set on fire, the monks, unable to save themselves, all perished in the flames.

The new monarch, feeling more deeply than his predecessor the misfortunes of his people, and exasperated by the cruelties which the barbarians continually exercised, assembled his forces, gave them battle in the plain of Tailton, and gained a complete victory over them. This advantage, however, availed him but little, as the reinforcements which the barbarians were constantly receiving from their own country, enabled them to keep the field and continue hostilities. The inhabitants of Leinster came to an engagement with them some time afterwards at Druim-Conla; the victory remained for some time doubtful, but the provincialists having lost their general, Conning, the chief of the tribe of Fortuaths, and a celebrated warrior, the barbarians were victorious; after which they began their plunder anew. Conquovar, finding himself unable to relieve his country, or defend it against the barbarians, died, it is said, of grief.

Niall, surnamed Caille, son of Hugh IV., succeeded Conquovar, A. D. 833. This monarch's reign was not more tranquil than that of his predecessor. In 835 a considerable fleet arrived from Norway under the command of Turgesius, and laid waste nearly the whole province of Connaught, with part of Meath and Leinster. Some time afterwards the pirates subdued the greater part of Ulster, demolished the churches, and practised every species of cruelty upon the Christians. Their chief seized on Ardmagh, and expelled Faranan, the archbishop, with the monks and students. They subsequently burned the monasteries of Inis-Kealtrach, Cluain-Mac-Noisk, Cluain-Ferta-Luachra, Tirdaglass, and Lake Eirne.

The year 840 was remarkable for the destruction of the Picts. After a long war, the Scots defeated them in two successive battles under Kenneth II., and left little more than the name of that unhappy people, who had played an important part in Britain for several centuries. The kingdom of Scotland, which before consisted of Dalrieda, that is, of the territories of Cantyre, Knapdale, Lorne, Argyle, and Brun-Albuin, with the neighboring isles, was then established on the ruins of the Picts, in its present state, and that ingenious and warlike people began to be known to the neighboring nations.*

About this time, Feidhlime, son of Criomthan, king of Munster, and likewise archbishop of Cashel, whom Cambrensis improperly styles king of Ireland, having received some annoyance from the inhabitants of Leath-Con, laid their country waste from Birr to Tara, where he met with some resistance, and lost prince Jonractach, son of Maolduin, the most distinguished of his followers, in battle.† Feidhlime died a short time afterwards, and was succeeded in the government of Munster by Olchobhair, abbot of Imly, an ambitious man, who had sufficient influence to procure his election as king of Cashel.

Colgan, following the annals of the four masters, fixes in the year 838 the arrival of two considerable fleets of sixty vessels each, with Norman troops, one of which entered

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 15, page 612.
† War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 4

Drogheda, by the river Boyne, and the other Dublin, by the Liffey; with which reinforcement the Normans began to settle in the country. They constructed fortresses in every part of the island, which were commonly called *Danes Rathes*, signifying the forts of the Danes, but which the Irish designated *Mothes*. These fortresses, the remains of which are still to be seen all over Ireland, were constructed of earth in a round form, raised to the height of about twenty feet, flat, and a little hollow on the top, and were sometimes thirty, sometimes forty fathoms in diameter. When the barbarians were pursued by their enemies, these served them as intrenchments and places of retreat; and as they were built on eminences, in view of each other, their occupiers enjoyed the advantage of being able to convey the intelligence of any disastrous occurrence from one extremity of the island to the other, by burning straw on the top of them.

In the meanwhile, Niall the monarch, having quelled a revolt of the inhabitants of Fearkeal and Deabhna-Eathra, gave battle to the Normans, near Doire, in Ulster, and gained a complete victory over them. He afterwards defeated them in the territory of Tirconnel; which victory, however, he survived but a short time. Being desirous of crossing the river Callain, in the county of Kilkenny, and perceiving the waters to be much swollen, he desired one of his attendants to try the depth of the ford; but the violence of the current having thrown him from his horse, and the king seeing no one disposed to give him assistance, he advanced towards the bank of the river, where the earth giving way under his horse's feet, he fell into the water, and was drowned along with his guide.* It was from the name of this river that he was called Niall-Caille.

After the death of Niall-Caille, the throne of Ireland remained vacant for some time, and the sceptre was torn from the hands of its ancient people. Usurpation and tyranny having conquered, and Turgesius being declared king of Ireland by his adherents, he immediately sent emissaries to convey the intelligence to Norway, and to solicit the succor necessary to support him in his new dignity, against a people so jealous of their liberty.

The Irish, exasperated at the idea of the slavery with which they were threatened, and calling to mind the courage and heroism of their ancestors, and the liberty they had enjoyed for so many ages, resolved to make a last effort to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Every prince and lord had orders to fight the Danes in their respective districts, and the attack was to be general throughout the kingdom. The execution was speedy and attended with success.

The Danes were first defeated at Ardbreacan, in Meath, by an army composed of the principal nobility of the tribe of Dailgais. The united forces of Olchobhair, son of Kionnfaoth, and king of Cashel, and Lorcain, son of Keallach, king of Leinster, gave battle to the Normans at Scia-Naght. They fought for some time with much obstinacy; but the barbarians, having lost Count Tomair, their chief and presumptive heir to the crown of Denmark, with 1200 men, who were killed on the spot, were forced to abandon the field of battle to the conquerors. They were again defeated near Cashel, with the loss of five hundred men, by the same king of Cashel, and the inhabitants of Eoganacht; and in another action with the inhabitants of Hy-Finginte. in the territory of Lomneach, they lost three hundred and sixty men.

The inhabitants of Tirconnel having taken up arms to recover their liberty, attacked the barbarians at Eastuadh, and killed a considerable number. They lost, besides, two hundred men in an action against the inhabitants of Kianachta. Tigernach, prince of Loch-Gabhair, in Meath, killed two hundred and forty of them at Druimda-Chonn; and his example was followed by the inhabitants of Kinal-Fiacha, and Fearkeal, in Westmeath.

Maolseachlin, or Malachi, son of Maolbruana, brother of Conquovar the monarch, and prince of East Meath, known by the title of king of that province, was among the first to signalize himself against the enemies of his country. He gave them battle twice; first at Foure, where he killed seven hundred of their men; and the second time at Casan-Linge, in Leinster, where the barbarians were completely routed; their loss amounting to 1700 men slain, with Saxolb, their general.* This victory induced Turgesius to court the friendship of that prince; but fortune soon changed the aspect of affairs, and rendered these brilliant advantages abortive.† On one hand, the length of the war had already exhausted the resources of the Irish; and on the other, Scandinavia, called by an ancient writer, "Officina gentium," an inexhaustible storehouse of

* Gratianus Lucius, cap. 9

* Keating's History of Ireland, part 2.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24, et Grat. Luc cap. 9.

men, was continually sending succor to the usurpers.* In this critical juncture a considerable reinforcement arrived, which revived the fallen courage of the barbarians, and forced the Irish to submit and acknowledge themselves a conquered nation. The barbarians resumed their cruelties; made themselves masters of Dublin, and established a colony in the territory of Fingal, in the neighborhood of that city.

Turgesius, seeing no one able to dispute the supreme power with him, began to change the form of government. He appointed a Norman king to each province; placed a captain in each territory, an abbot in each church or monastery, a sergeant in each village, and obliged every house to lodge a soldier. The will of those tyrants, supported by military execution, took the place of laws, so that no man was any longer master in his own house.

The tyrant now imposed a tax of an ounce of gold on the chief of every family. Those who did not pay, were subject to the penalty of having their noses cut off, from which the tax, in the language of the country, was called "Airgiod srone," that is, nose-money. As the barbarians were equally hostile to literature and religion, they destroyed the churches, monasteries, academies, and other places intended for divine worship and study; they expelled the ministers and professors, burned their books and profaned the holy vessels; they forbade the instruction of youth in any science, even reading or writing, or any military exercise, lest they might one day make use of them to recover their liberty; and lastly, they prohibited the people, on pain of being committed to prison, to assemble under any pretext whatsoever. Such was the state of Ireland during the sway of these tyrants. The Irish having lost all hopes of regaining their liberty, were in consternation and despair. No alliance or marriage took place—every one passed his time in the strictest retirement; the secular and regular clergy, in order to shelter themselves from the fury of the Normans, lay concealed in the woods, where they celebrated the divine mysteries, and spent their days in prayer and fasting; while the faithful sought them in secret to receive consolation from them, and join in their prayers for the delivery of the people. They were at length heard; and the persecution, which had lasted about twelve years, was terminated by an event as sudden as it was singular, and one for which no parallel is to be found in history.

Turgesius had a castle built for himself in the vicinity of Malachi, prince of Meath; and went frequently to visit his neighbor. Malachi was a man of considerable talents, an able politician, and brave warrior, and possessed all the qualities requisite to govern a kingdom. He one day asked the tyrant what he should do to get rid of a certain kind of very destructive birds that had lately arrived in the country? The tyrant, not mistrusting the statement, answered that their nests should be destroyed.* Malachi, who by the birds meant the Normans, readily felt the force of this answer, and occupied himself solely with devising means to act upon it; an opportunity for which was soon afforded him by the tyrant. Some days afterwards, he being on a visit with the prince of Meath, saw his daughter Melcha, who was young and formed to please, particularly in the eyes of a man of so depraved a character. His passion for her became violent, and, wishing to make her his concubine, he demanded her of her father. Nothing was farther from Malachi's thoughts than the idea of dishonoring his daughter; it was, however, a delicate affair, and stratagem was necessary, in the absence of strength, to extricate himself from the dilemma. Having weighed every circumstance, he on one side saw the danger of refusing the barbarian, who was absolute master in the country, and whose conduct was ruled solely by passion: on the other, should his project succeed, he conceived a faint hope of delivering his country from slavery. Having formed his plan, he turned his thoughts towards carrying it into effect. He told the tyrant that his proposal was hard; but, that as he could refuse him nothing, he would send him his daughter on an appointed day, together with fifteen young ladies of her own age, to keep her company and render her those services her rank required; at the same time, requesting that the whole affair

* Brüod. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 14, et Porter, Compend Annal Eccles. Reg. Hibern. can 1 sect. 4

* "The king of Meath asked Turgesius, by what method some very destructive birds which had lately arrived in the country could be removed. The answer was, that their nests (if they had built in the country) should be everywhere destroyed, (alluding to the castle of Turgesius.) In about 30 years after his death, a general insurrection of the Irish broke out, and the interpretation of the birds' nests was carried into effect. The pomp of the Norwegians and the tyranny of Turgesius continued in Ireland, till at length the nation being roused, they recovered their former freedom and their government."—*Giraldus Cambrensis Topography.*

might be kept secret, so as to screen his daughter's honor.

In the mean time, Malachi had the whole country searched for fifteen young men without beards, of acknowledged honor and bravery, whom he caused to be dressed in female attire, with each a poniard concealed under his robe, and gave them the instructions necessary to execute his project, which would put an end to tyranny. He also inspired them with sentiments of religion and patriotism, and commanded them to defend the honor of the princess at the peril of their lives, and to have the doors opened for him, in order that he might come to their succor with a body of troops whom he should hold in readiness at a short distance; and lastly, to seize the tyrant and chain him, without depriving him of life.

Turgesius did not fail to repair, on the day appointed, to receive the princess Melcha and her fifteen young ladies; he even invited fifteen of the principal officers of his army to share in the festival. After spending the day in feasting, each of the officers was shown to the apartment intended for him; and orders given for the guards and other domestics to retire. Turgesius himself remained alone in his apartment, where he impatiently awaited the arrival of the princess Melcha. The porter, who was the only one of the domestics intrusted with the secret, soon entered, accompanied by the princess, with her little troop of amazons, who came, like a second Judith, to deliver her people. The tyrant, who was heated with wine, was about to insult the princess, when the young men immediately threw off their robes, and drawing their weapons, seized him, and tied him with cords to the pillars of his bed. They then opened the gates of the castle to permit Malachi and his troops to enter; fell on the garrison, beginning with the officers, and put all, except Turgesius, to the sword.

When Malachi had given the place up to pillage, in which they found immense booty, he repaired to the spot where the tyrant was bound, and reproached him bitterly with his tyranny, cruelty, and other vices, and having loaded him with chains, had him carried in triumph before him. He allowed him to live a few days, in order that he should be a witness, before his death, of the sufferings of his countrymen, and then caused him to be thrown, chained as he was, into Lough Ainnin in Westmeath, where he perished.*

The news of the defeat of Turgesius spread rapidly throughout the whole island, and had very opposite effects on the two parties.* The Irish, who looked upon this advantage as a happy omen of the recovery of their liberty, took up arms, pursued the Normans in every direction, and killed a considerable number of them. On the other hand, the Normans, having lost their chief, made but a feeble resistance, and sought safety by flight. Those who were near the sea quickly regained their vessels, and quitted the island for a time.

The princes and nobles of the kingdom, seeing themselves delivered from tyranny by the death of Turgesius, and the universal extirpation of the Normans, assembled for the purpose of re-establishing the ancient constitution of the state, and the legitimate succession to the throne. Malachi had deserved too much gratitude from his country to dread a rival. He was declared monarch of Ireland by unanimous consent, and placed on the throne which several of his ancestors had already occupied. Every thing then returned to its natural order; religion again flourished; the churches and monasteries were rebuilt; the laws to protect the innocent and punish the guilty were again vigorously enforced; and the ancient proprietors restored to the possession of the lands and lordships they had lost during the usurpation.

While the Irish were enjoying the sweets of peace and liberty, after the severity of a tyrannical government, the Normans, whom they had expelled some time before, did not lose sight of the island. The difference which they found between the rich and fertile lands of Ireland, and the cold and barren mountains of Scandinavia, made them constantly regret the former. Being however unable to return in an avowedly hostile manner as before, they determined to come under the pretext of commerce; to commit no act of hostility; to insinuate themselves by degrees into the good will of the inhabitants, and thereby insensibly to attain their end. They

* "The king of Meath (the poison rankling in his breast) promised to send him his daughter to an island in Meath, (Lough Vair,) together with fifteen illustrious virgins. This gave delight to Turgesius, who came (with as many youths of his own nation) on the day and to the place appointed. He found there fifteen beardless youths, brave and chosen for the purpose, having beneath their female attire, poniards secretly carried, by which Turgesius and his companions fell."—*Cambrensis, Topog. Hib. dist.* 3, cap. 40.

* "News of this event was quickly spread through the whole island: the Norwegians were everywhere destroyed either by force or stratagem; those who escaped being forced to return in their ships to Norway, and the islands whence they had come."—*Camb. Topog.* cap. 41.

made a show, therefore, of bringing over some merchandise, but the holds of their ships were filled with arms and ammunition. The following is the account given by the author of the Polychronicon. "After the death of Turgesius," says he, "three brothers, Amelanus, Cyracus, and Imorus, landed with their retinue in Ireland, in a peaceable manner, under the pretext of carrying on trade. With the consent of the Irish, who were living in indolence, they settled in the maritime parts, and built the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, and their numbers having increased, they frequently insulted the natives."* They became, indeed, almost as formidable as in the time of Turgesius, and often gave battle to the inhabitants, with success. Two circumstances contributed to this misfortune; first, having settled in the island under the pretext of carrying on trade, they had the advantage of being able, unnoticed, to bring over reinforcements; secondly, the discord and domestic wars of the petty princes of the country, who often called in the aid of these foreigners against each other, so that the latter were sometimes a match for both the conquerors and the conquered.† In the same manner we have seen in France, in the time of Charles the Bald, his nephew Pepin, who left the monastery of St. Medard de Soissons, and was declared king of Aquitaine, join the Normans, and pillage Poitiers and many other places. The inhabitants of Northumberland, in England, in like manner having revolted against Edgar, sent to Ireland for Anlafe, a Danish captain, and chose him for their king.‡ Thus too Elfrick, earl of Mercia, and his son Edrick, betrayed king Ethelred in the command with which he intrusted them against the Danes. This same Edrick (the favorite of that prince, who created him duke of Mercia, and gave him his daughter in marriage) deserted the royal army the night before a battle, and joined the enemy with forty of the king's vessels, which caused the submission of the entire of the west of England to the Danes.§

The disorders were considerably increased by the arrival of a Danish fleet. The Danes, who were jealous of the progress of the Norwegians in the island, resolved to contest the glory of the conquest with them; and having first pillaged Dublin and its environs, which were in the power of the Norwegians, they defeated them in a pitched battle at Linnduachaill, in which about 1000 men were killed on the field.

Malachi seeing two barbarous nations contending about a country to which neither had a right, thought it time to stop their progress, and for this purpose he convened an assembly of the princes and nobles at Rath-Aodh, now Rath-Hugh in the territory of Kinel-Fiacha, in Westmeath, in which regulations were made relative to the state of affairs; the princes who had been at variance were reconciled, and all appeared disposed to defend the common cause.

Some time afterwards the monarch carried on a successful war against the Danes, to revenge the death of Maolguala, king of Munster, who had been inhumanly killed by the barbarians. Malachi having met them at Drom-da-Moighe, came to an engagement with them, in which several of them perished.

Malachi's piety having inspired him with the desire of going to Rome, to thank the Lord, in the centre of Christianity, for the success which had ever attended his arms, sent ambassadors with presents to Charles the Bald, with whom he was on terms of peace and friendship, both for the purpose of asking permission to pass through his kingdom,* and to inform him of his victories over the Normans, who were already well known in France by the robberies and cruelties they had committed. A friendliness had existed between the kings of France and those of Ireland in the time of Charlemagne. That monarch had not only attached men of learning to him by his favors; but Eginardus, the author of his life, asserts that he had the kings of the Scots, that is, of Ireland, at his command, who gave him the title of lord, and called themselves his subjects, as appears by the letters they had written to him, and which were to be seen in the time of that author.†

* "After the death of Turgesius, three brothers, Amelanus, Cyracus, and Imorus, under the pretext of peace and of carrying on traffic, sailed with a retinue for Ireland, and with the consent of the Irish, who were prone to idleness, settled on the sea-shore; they built the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, and their numbers having increased, they frequently insulted the natives."—*Fleury's Ecclesiastical History*, b. 49.

† Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 49.

‡ Baker's Chron. page 10.

§ Baker's Chron. page 14.

* "Malachi sent ambassadors to Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, with presents, to obtain his friendship and permission to go through his dominions to Rome, on account of the victories he had obtained."—*Ware's Antiquities*, c. 24.

† "He had the kings of the Scots so much at his will, from his munificence, that they never called him by any other name than that of lord, and pronounced themselves his subjects and servants.

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Eginardus, in the year 812, plainly indicates that the country of the Scots here alluded to, is Ireland; for, he says, the Norwegians having attacked Ireland, the island of Scots, were put to flight by its inhabitants.*

This alliance existed till the twelfth century, as long, in fact, as the Irish were a free people; the succors which their kings sent to France against Henry II. of England, having formed one of the motives which induced that prince to undertake the conquest of their island.†

Besides the political alliance between the two nations, there was a private connection between their subjects by marriage. The tyranny of Turgesius and the persecution of the Normans, had obliged many persons to leave Ireland; and others having followed king Malachi to France, several settled there and entered the service of Charles the Bald, some of whose descendants still carefully preserve the tradition of their Irish origin, as, for instance, the noble family of the Dales, who trace their descent from the O'Dalys of Corcaduin.

The Scotch of latter times have used every effort to deprive the Scots of Ireland of the glory of this alliance with France, and to ascribe it to their own ancestors. By means of the two-fold acceptation of the word Scoti, or Scots, they assume an honor to which they are not entitled. They are not, indeed, ashamed to reckon among their countrymen the Irish Scots of the earlier time, when the race was pure and unmixed with foreigners;‡ but with surprising inconsistency, the authors of that nation affect to calumniate the modern Irish, who are more closely allied to them than the former. They forget that the aspersions with which they load them indirectly reflect on themselves, as two thirds of Ireland have within a century been peopled by Scotch and English Presbyterians.

Buchanan, without quoting any author more ancient than himself, says that Achaius, king of the Scots of Albania, had entered into an alliance with Charlemagne; but independently of there being no ancient records in which it is mentioned, and that no traces of it are discoverable in the public archives, if we consider the state of the Scots of Albania at that time, the existence of such an alliance will appear doubtful. Previously to the conquest of the Picts, which happened in 840, after the death of Charlemagne, the Scots possessed but a small district, called in the Scotic language Albin, the inhabitants of which were called Allabany, or Allebanachs,* and to this day have no other name in that language, the terms Scotia, Scotland, Scot, or Scotch, having been given them by foreigners. This district was confined to the narrow limits of Dalrieda, which formed but a very small portion of modern Scotland, and consequently was of too little importance in the world for its inhabitants to have pretended to an alliance with the emperor of the west.

The conquest of the Picts may be ranked among the extraordinary events in which chance and unforeseen circumstances have sometimes a greater share than the power of the victor.

Kenneth, king of the Scots, having resolved to revenge the death of his father Alpin, who had been cruelly put to death by the Picts, whose prisoner he was,† made use of stratagem to overcome the reluctance his subjects had to go to war with them. He invited the principal of his nobility to a supper, and in the gloom of the night, while they lay on the floor of the banqueting hall, intoxicated with wine and overcome with sleep, they heard a voice, as if from heaven, commanding them to make war upon the Picts. This was enough to rouse a superstitious and credulous people, and inspired them with such confidence that the Picts were unable to withstand the first onset, and being seized with terror, were completely defeated.

The intercourse which existed between the Scots of Ireland and those of Albania, makes it probable that the former contributed to this conquest of the Picts. They still considered themselves as formin, but

Letters are still extant which were sent to him, in which their affection for him is manifested."—*Eginard's Life of Charlemagne, Preface.*

* "The Norwegians having attacked Hibernia, the island of the Scots, were put to flight."—*Ogygia, Prologue*, p. 30.

† "After this Henry resolved to subdue Ireland, both on account of its contiguity, and the succors they afforded to France against him."—*Polidorus Virgil, Hist. Angl.* book 13, p. 55.

At this period many marriages took place between the French and the Irish, otherwise Scots. Bolland. Act. Sanct. Life of St. Erard, 8th Jan.

King Henry being then at rest from all hostile arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the kingdom of Ireland, as a kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French. *Baker, Chron. on the reign of Henry II.*

‡ Hume's Essay on the Characters of Nations. See the Mercure de France of the month of January 1756.

* Camd. Brit. pages 88, 90.

† Buchan. Rer. Scotic Hist. p. 169

the same people; and their union was strengthened by alliances between their princes. Fionliath, son of Niall-Caille, monarch of Ireland in 833, and who afterwards became king himself, under the name of Hugh VII., married about this time the daughter of Kenneth, king of the Scots of Albania; from which there is good reason to believe that he shared with his father-in-law the glory and perils of the war against the Picts.

The judicious Camden states that the Picts were destroyed by the Scots from Ireland, who fell on them so that, about the year 740, they were completely defeated in a single battle, and their name and nation almost annihilated.* We may suppose that there was an error of the press in this, and that the printer had put 740 for 840, which is not unlikely; for it is evident that Camden indicates the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, with the united forces of the Scots from Ireland. It appears, in any case, according to this author, that at the period in question, the Scots from Ireland fought the Picts in their own country, which makes it natural to suppose that they had done so likewise under Kenneth, king of the Scots of Albania, in 840. This victory having made the Scots masters of the kingdom of the Picts as far as the eastern ocean, their very name became obliterated; the northern part of Britain was, by degrees, called by foreigners Scotia, or Scotland, and the inhabitants Scots, or Scotch, and to distinguish them from the ancient Scots of Ireland, they introduced the names of Scotia Major, which was given to Ireland, and Scotia Minor, the country now known by the name of Scotland;† which terms were used till the twelfth century, when the English, in their own dialect, gave to Hibernia the name of Ireland, signifying the land of Ire, as they had called Britain England, that is, the land of the Angles, a people who came from Lower Saxony. The above is the account given by foreign and disinterested authors of the settlement of the Scots in Britain, and of the changes which took place in the name of that people, and the country they inhabited; which account agrees with that of the venerable Bede, who marks their arrival in that country, and designates their place of abode. He first says that the Scots entered Britain after the Britons and Picts;* afterwards, that they settled on the northern shore of the great gulf which formerly separated the Picts from the Britons, where the fort of Alcuith was situated;† and in the eighth century, when finishing his history, a short time before his death, he says that the Scots who inhabited Britain, being content with their territory, had engaged in no enterprise against the English.‡

Although Bede, says Usher, distinguishes the Scots of Ireland from those that inhabit Britain, still he acknowledges but one Scotia, namely, Ireland; a like course to which he follows in the distinction made by him between the English who settled in Ireland and the Anglo-Britons, although there is but one country called England.§

He likewise observes, that neither Dalrieda, which was the patrimony of the Scots

* "The Scots from Ireland pouring in upon the Picts, the latter were so overwhelmed in battle, anno 740, that they became almost annihilated, and those who remained merged into the name and people of the invaders."—*Camd.* p. 83.

† "It is proper to investigate why the Scots who were in Britain call that part in which they were settled Albanan, or Albin, and the Irish Allabany. Historians say, that Hibernia (Ireland) was Scotia Major, and that the part of Britain inhabited by the Scots was Scotia Minor. Although the Scots and Picts were incessantly harassing the Britons by battles and plunder, still their limits did not extend beyond the narrow portion which they occupied in the beginning. Bede observes, that for 127 years, more or less, they did not carry their standards into Northumberland, and then only when the Picts were almost destroyed, and the kingdom of Northumberland torn by intestine evils, and by the incursions of the Danes. It was then that the entire of north Britain, including the parts traversed by the Clyde, and the Frith (Forth) of Edinburgh, got the name of Scotland. No one denies that to have been a part of Northumberland, and to have been in the possession of the Saxons."—*Camden*, page 90.

* Britain received, after the Britons and Picts, a third race of the Scots, on the side of the Picts.—*Bede, Eccl. Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.

† "A very extensive bay formerly separated the territory of the Britons from the Picts. It stretches for a great distance inland on the west, where the fortified city of Alcuith, belonging to the Britons, now stands. The Scots, on their arrival in the country, appropriated to themselves, as has been observed, the portion to the north of the bay."—*Bede, Eccl Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.

‡ "The Scots who inhabit Britain are content with their own boundaries, nor do they plot any stratagem or fraud against the English."—b. 1, 5, c. 24.

§ "As in our time the distinction of Anglo-Britons and Anglo-Irish does not require two Englands, one in Britain and another in Ireland, so neither did it cause the settlements of the Scoto-Hiberni and the Scoto-Britanni to constitute two Scotias. For although Bede carefully marks a distin tion between the Irish-Scots and those of Britain, still Scotia is always one and the same to him, viz., Hibernia, (Ireland.)"—*Usher's Primord. Eccles. Brit* c. 16, p. 733.

until 840, nor Albania generally, even after the conquest of the Picts, was called Scotia, till about the eleventh century, when the two races were united as a nation, and the Picts completely forgotten; nor have any authors before that period mentioned Albania under the name of Scotland, which name was not used till the English gave to the Scots of Ireland the name of Irish, in their language, (in Latin Iri, or Irenses,) and that of Ireland to their island.*

Buchanan is not the only Scotch writer who mentions the alliance with Charlemagne. Hector Boetius names the ambassador who had been intrusted with its negotiation, and those who accompanied him.† He says that Achaius sent his brother William into France to Charles, accompanied by Clement, John, Rabanus, and Alcuin, all, he says, of the pious and learned nation of the Scots, attended by a numerous train from the same country. It has been already observed that Scotland had no right to claim Raban and Alcuin, the former of whom was a Frenchman, and the latter universally acknowledged to have been English. With respect to Clement and John, otherwise Albin, cotemporary authors call them Scots from Ireland. So manifest an error in facts should therefore make us at once reject this statement, when we have otherwise reason to doubt it.

The alliance of the Scotch with France cannot be traced farther back than the twelfth century. It is affirmed that a Scotch cohort accompanied St. Louis to the holy war; but the connection of these two nations in the fifteenth century, under Charles VI., is much more certain. The right of citizenship, which the Scotch had then conferred on them, is an undoubted proof of the services they had rendered to his crown.

The true Scotch have the reputation of being gifted and warlike; they have distinguished themselves on every occasion by their bravery; of which the generous effor made by them in our time, in favor of their legitimate prince, is a striking example; and they always have maintained, with honor, the character of worthy children of their ancestors, the Scoto-Milesians. This reputation having flattered the vanity of some of their historians, they have endeavored to give it an air of antiquity, and in a manner to engraft it on the merit of the ancient Scots, as if they had been the same people.

The Scots were celebrated in France, and the rest of Europe, before the eleventh century. The Irish, who till then were the proper Scots, began at that period to lay aside that name, which became exclusively applied to the inhabitants of North Britain, and they are the only people since known to foreigners by the name of Scots, or Scotch. The world has been accustomed to call them so without investigation, and none but the learned in antiquity can elucidate such distant facts. These circumstances were favorable to the claims of their historians, and have given rise to the fabled alliance of the nation with Charlemagne.

The analogy which exists between the names of Offa, king of the Mercians, who had solicited the friendship of Charlemagne through Alcuin, and Eocha, which is the real Scotic name for Achaius, mentioned by the Scotch authors, might have suggested the idea of this alliance. By substituting the latter for the former, the historians of that nation have been enabled to lay claim to princes who did not belong to them, and to render their history illustrious by appropriating to themselves the deeds of others, like Abercromby, who endeavors to persuade us that the celebrated Caractacus, king of the Silures in Britain, was the same as a pretended Caractacus, king of Scotland, four centuries before any kingdom of Scotland existed in Britain; while Tacitus informs us that Caractacus was a British prince, of Spanish origin, and king of the Silures in the southern part of Britain; that he defended himself bravely against the Romans, with only his own forces; and that he ended his days in captivity in Rome, or its neighborhood. Besides, the period of his death, according to Tacitus, is at variance with the date of the accession to the throne, of the successor to the supposed Caractacus of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the troubles which disturbed Malachi's reign, this pious prince governed his subjects with equity and justice. He formed alliances with foreign princes, and gained several victories over the enemies of his country; but his weakness in

* "Dalrieda, which was the settlement of the Scoto-Britanni, up to the year 840, had not obtained the name of Scotia, nor did Albania generally acquire that name until after the destruction of the Picts, and the memory of them became effaced, which did not take place before the eleventh century, as we have mentioned in the beginning of the preceding chapter. We are of opinion that no writer of the preceding ages can be adduced, who ever designated Albania by the name of Scotia, which name, however, was subsequently in frequent use, when the English began, in their language, to call the Hibernians Irish; in Latin Iri and Irenses; and from it their country *Ire-Land*."—*Usher, Primord. Eccl. Brit.* cap. 16, p. 734.

† Hist. Scotor. lib. 10, p. 194.

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having given a footing to the Normans in the maritime towns of the island, after the cruelties they had previously exercised in the country, lessens considerably the opinion we should otherwise have entertained of his policy. This prince died, much regretted, and was interred with great pomp at Cluain-Mac-Noisk, A. D. 863.

Hugh VII., surnamed Fionliat, son of the monarch Niall-Caille, succeeded Malachi. He married Maolmuire, daughter of Kenneth, king of Scotland, by whom he had a son called Niall-Glundubh.*

Many remarkable occurrences took place during the reign of this monarch. Connor, son of Donnogh, prince of Meath, was killed at Clonard by the Danes, commanded by Amlaoib; but the monarch attacking them some time afterwards at Lough-Febhail, now Lough-Foyle, in the county of Donegal, they were completely defeated, and several thousand killed, among whom were forty of the principal men in their army, whose heads were carried in triumph before the conqueror.† Encouraged by this success, the army pursued them in every direction, even to their forts, where they put a great number to the sword, and carried off considerable booty. Some time afterwards, the monarch, with about one thousand horsemen, gained a complete victory at Killuandoigre, over a body of five thousand men, both Danes and Irish insurgents, which very much humbled the barbarians. About that time the castle of Cluain-Dalchain, near Dublin, was set on fire. It had been built by Amlaoib, the Danish chief, and was garrisoned by his troops. The natives, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the fire, killed several of them, with their chiefs; but the tyrant soon afterwards took signal revenge, by putting a considerable number of the inhabitants to death in an ambuscade he had prepared for them. This advantage raised his fallen courage, and the continual reinforcements that arrived from Denmark, soon enabled him to pillage and burn Armagh, and massacre the inhabitants; after which he sailed with a fleet of two hundred vessels for Wales, accompanied by his brother Ivar, to the assistance of his countrymen, Hinguar and Hubba, and returned the following year to Dublin, loaded with booty, having pillaged Wales, and part of Scotland. Amlaoib, or Amlavus, survived this expedition but a short time, and Ivarus died the year following. Ostinus, son of Amlavus, was assassinated by the Danes, of whom he became chief after his father's death, and was succeeded in the government of these barbarians by Godfrey, son of Ivar. It was in this juncture of affairs that Roger, son of Moirmain, a British king, took refuge in Ireland with the relics of St. Columbkil. which he presented to the Irish monarch.

In the reign of Hugh, the kingdom of Cashel was governed by Donnogh, who succeeded Cionfaola; and Thuomond, by Lorcan, son of Lachna, chief of the noble tribe of the Dalgais. In it also may be fixed the foundation of an abbey by Flan-Mac-Kellach, at Bally-ne-Scelig, otherwise Mount St. Michael, in one of the Sceleges isles, on the coast of Kerry, in Munster. The king, having repented sincerely of his sins, died on the twelfth of the calends of December, 879, at Druim-Inisclain, in the district of Tyrconnel.

Flan, surnamed Sionna, son of King Malachi, succeeded Hugh VII. in the supreme government of the island. This monarch's reign was long, and filled with troubles.* The Danes still continued their hostilities; they plundered Cluain-Ioraird and Kildare, A.D. 888, and exercised unheard-of cruelties, so that he was obliged to come to an engagement with them, which was disastrous to both parties, from the number of men killed on each side. The monarch gained a dear-bought victory, and Hugh, prince of Connaught, son of Conquovar, king of that province, was found among the slain. Several other battles were fought also, with unequal success.

Discord now began to prevail among the Danes in Dublin, A. D. 892. Godfrey, son of Ivar, the Danish prince, was assassinated by the intrigues of his brother Sitrick; while the latter found a formidable enemy in Galfrid, son of Merlus. The strife between these chiefs was carried to such a pitch as to divide the city into two parties, one half declaring in favor of Sitrick, and the other for Galfrid. Their disagreement did not, however, prevent them from pillaging the city of Armagh some time afterwards, and destroying the churches. In this expedition they surprised Cumasgach, king of Ulster, with his son Hugh, and took them prisoners. Sitrick did not long survive his fratricide, being killed by his own people.

* Keating's History of Ireland. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24.

† Grat. Luc. c. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c 14. Porter. Comp. Ann. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4, c. 1.

* Keating, Waræus, Grat Luc., Bruodinus, et Porterus, ibid.



His brother Amlave, having led a body of troops some time after into Tirconnel, was defeated and killed by the inhabitants. A fresh reinforcement of Danes that arrived in Dublin in 902, was destroyed near that city by the people of Leinster.

The war against the Danes was not the only one in which this monarch was engaged. The equilibrium of the kingdom was already lost; the union established between the princes at the assembly of Rath-Hugh, by the authority of Malachi, was forgotten, and the rights of the monarchy violated. These circumstances induced Flan-Sionna to march with an army into the north of Munster, which committed dreadful devastations. Donnogh, king of that province, died in the meantime.

Cormic-Mac-Culinan succeeded Donnogh in the kingdom of Munster; he was of the royal race of Cashel, and king of the province. He himself was both a spiritual and temporal prince, being at the same time bishop of Cashel, and king of the province. Of such unions some examples were to be found among his ancestors. Olcobar, who died in 851, and Cenfoelad in 872, were at the same time kings of Cashel, and bishops of Emly. We have seen the functions of both dignities exercised by Jonathan, Simon, John Hircan, Aristobulus, and Alexander Janne. The Roman emperors took pride in the title of high priest; and, without recurring to the example of the sacrilegious power so shamefully usurped by the kings of England, of which a certain author avails himself on this subject, we see still ecclesiastical electors in Germany who are both spiritual and temporal princes.

Caradocus of Lhancarvan, in his Welsh Chronicle, mentions Cormac as a man of piety. However, either he, or the editor of his work in English, is mistaken in calling him Carmot, son of Cukeman, king and bishop of Ireland.

In the seventh year of the reign of Cormac, he declared war against the province of Leinster, to enforce the payment of a Boiroimhe or tribute, which the kings of Cashel exacted from the inhabitants of that province. This peaceable and pious prince was averse to the war; but his objections were overruled by his council, and particularly by Flahertach, abbot of Iniscatha, of royal blood, who persuaded him that Leinster, as forming part of Leath-Modha, according to the division made of the island in the third century, between Conn the monarch and Modha king of Munster, owed homage to his crown; whereupon, he assembled an army, and marched towards the frontiers of Leinster.

Cormac's uneasiness for the success of the war increased daily. He foresaw that it would be fatal, not only to his province, but to himself in person; particularly as the monarch had declared in favor of the people of Leinster, and had marched with a body of troops to join them. These motives induced Cormac to receive the sacraments before he commenced hostilities, after which he made his will, by which he left several pious legacies to churches and monasteries. He bequeathed an ounce of gold and one of silver, with a caparisoned horse, to Ard-Fionan; two chalices, one gold the other silver, with a church ornament, to Lismore; to Cashel he left two chalices, one gold and the other silver, four ounces of gold, and five of silver; to Imleach-Inbhair, (Emly,) three ounces of gold, and a missal; to Glen-da-Loch, one ounce of gold and one of silver; to Kildare, a caparisoned horse, an ounce of gold, and an altar ornament; he left to Armagh eighty ounces of gold and as many of silver; three ounces of gold to Inis-Catha; and three ounces of gold, with an altar ornament, and his blessing, to the monastery of Mungarret, in the territory of Kinseallagh. This prince was desirous, too, of performing an act of justice before his death. He knew that Oilioll-Olum, first absolute king of Munster, in the third century, had made a regulation respecting the succession to the throne of that province, by which he had decreed that the sceptre should belong alternately to the two branches springing from his two sons, Eogan and Cormac-Cas. He also knew that this law had not been observed, inasmuch as the descendants of Eogan were generally kings of Cashel, with the title of kings of Munster, while those of Cormac-Cas were only kings of Thuomond. Cormac, being desirous of appeasing the discord and troubles thereby caused in the province, sent for Lorcan, son of Lachtna, king of Thuomond, chief of the branch of Cormac-Cas, and presented him to the nobles of Siol-Eogain, as having the right to succeed him on the throne; but his wishes were not fulfilled, as Dubhlachtna, son of Maolguala, was appointed his successor.

Every thing being prepared for the conflict, the army marched through Leighlin, as far as the plains of Moyailbhe, in the district of Slieve-Mairge, which had been named as the place of meeting. Cormac again endeavored to settle the dispute peaceably; and sent a herald to the king of Leinster, to demand the tribute that he owed him, or

hostages to secure the payment of it. The herald returned with ambassadors on the part of the king of Leinster, to seek a truce of a few months, during which time they might come to an accommodation; but this proposal being rejected through the influence of the abbot of Inis-Catha, they determined to decide the matter by force of arms.

The Leinster troops having arrived, with the monarch Flan-Sionna, and Carrol, son of Muireagein their king, at their head, their superior numbers made such an impression on the Munster men, that part of the army would not wait the issue of a battle, but took to flight, and the rest were cut to pieces, 16th August, 913. The king of Munster, who had been always averse to this war, signalized himself particularly in the engagement, (which was commonly called the battle of Beallach-Mugna,) but was killed by a fall from his horse. Carrol took a great number of prisoners, among whom were several persons of distinction, and in that number the abbot of Inis-Catha, the principal promoter of this war, whom he brought in triumph to Kildare, where he remained a prisoner till the death of Carrol.

Authors are not agreed as to the death of Cormac. According to Caradocus, he was killed in a battle against the Danes. According, however, to a manuscript in the Cottonian library, he was killed by some cow-herds at Bearnree, near Leichlin, while on his knees praying, like a second Moses, for the success of his army, during their engagement with the enemy. However, it is more likely that he was killed, as stated in the annals of Ulster and Inisfail, in the battle we have just mentioned. His body was brought to Cashel, where he was interred, as he had ordered in his will, although Keating asserts that he was buried at Disert-Diarmuda, now Castle-Dermod, in the monastery of St. Comhgoll.*

This prince was learned, and well versed in the antiquities of his country. He wrote the Psalter of Cashel, in the Scotic language, a work highly esteemed. He is celebrated by the historians of his country, not only for his learning, but likewise his piety, charity, valor, and magnificence.†

When speaking of this prince, mention should be made of the Episcopal see of Cashel, of which he was a distinguished ornament. This see was erected into the metropolitan of the province of Munster, at the synod of Kells, held in 1152, by cardinal John Paparo, who gave the pallium to Donat O'Lonargan, then bishop.

After the conversion of Aongus, son of Naodfrach, king of Cashel, the people of that territory remained for some centuries under the jurisdiction of St. Ailbe and his successors, and considered their district as forming part of the diocese of Emly, which is twelve miles from Cashel, where that saint had established his see, and which at this remote period was looked on as the metropolitan of the province.

The rest of Flan-Sionna's reign was tolerably tranquil. The princes having been reconciled, held the Danes in awe; justice was freely administered to the people, and peace restored to the church. The churches and public schools for the instruction of youth were repaired, and the husbandman cultivated his fields in more security. The barbarians, however, made their appearance from time to time. In 915, they laid waste part of Munster, but were vigorously repulsed the year following by the inhabitants of that province. They were more successful in Leinster, under the command of Sitrick, where they killed Angar, son of Oiliol, king of that province, and several of the nobility. Meanwhile the Danes of Dublin pillaged the Isle of Man, and that of Anglesey, in Wales. Flanna-Sionna died this year, at Tailton in Meath, on the eighth of the calends of June, (25th May,) at the age of 68 years, of which he had reigned 37, A. D. 916.

Niall, surnamed Glundubh, son of Hugh VII., ascended the throne of Ireland on the death of Flan-Sionna. This prince re-established the fair of Tailton, which had not been held for some time. He afterwards marched against the Danes, who were committing devastations in Ulster, and gained a victory over them, with the loss, however, of some of his best troops. Having given them battle on the 15th September, 919, near Dublin, his army was cut to pieces and he himself found among the slain, together with Hugh Mac-Eochagain, king of Ulster, and several other princes.

Donchad, or Donough II., son of Flan-Sionna, who succeeded Niall, was more fortunate than his predecessor, in his wars against the Danes.* In the first year of his reign, he gained a complete victory over these barbarians at Kiannachta-Bregh, in Meath, and fully avenged the death of his predecessor, and the princes who had fallen with him, by killing several of the principal Danes. He afterwards laid waste the country

* War. de Præsul. Casseliens.
† War. ibid.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24. Grat. Luc. c. 9.

in the neighborhood of Dublin, which belonged to the barbarians.*

In the reign of Donchad, Keallachan, son of Buadhac, ascended the throne of Cashel after Flahertach, abbot of Inis-Catha, who had succeeded Dublachtna, notwithstanding the opposition of Kennedy, son of Lorcan, prince of Thuomond, who laid claim to that crown.† The king of Cashel signalized himself against the Danes, defeated them in several engagements, and forced them to quit his province.

The barbarians being unable to attack this prince openly, or maintain possession of their conquests, had recourse to intrigue in order to be revenged on him. Sitrick, who was at that time chief of the Danes, sent a courier to the king of Munster, to signify his desire to make peace, and live on terms of friendship with him; at the same time saying he would withdraw all his troops from the province, and thenceforward put an end to hostilities; in fact, that he would enter into a league offensive and defensive with him, and as a pledge of his sincerity, offered him the princess of Denmark, his sister, in marriage. Some alliances had at this time already taken place between the Irish and the Danes; among others, Sitrick having married Morling, daughter of Hugh-Mac-Eochaidh.

The king of Cashel fell into the snare, and was highly flattered by the proposals of Sitrick, particularly that respecting his sister, having heard a great deal of the beauty of that princess. He answered that he would immediately repair to Dublin to contract the marriage, and to treat about the other articles of the league.

Keallachan having given his orders, and every thing being ready for the journey, he set out for Dublin, accompanied by Dunchnan, prince of Thuomond, son of Kennedy, and escorted by a chosen body of horse. On coming within a league of the city, he perceived Danish troops concealed in the hedges, which he considered as a bad omen, and attempting to turn back, he was assailed and made prisoner, with Dunchnan, in spite of the vigorous resistance of his guards, several of whom were killed on the spot. The princes were brought to Dublin, and thence to Armagh, where they were placed in confinement and strongly guarded. Those who escaped the combat, brought back to the province the news of the perfidy of the Danes, and the captivity of their princes.

Kennede, to whom Kellachan had confided the administration of the government during his absence, exasperated at this shameless outrage, assembled the troops of the province, and sent them, under the command of Donnogh Mac-Keefe, prince of Fearmoihe, an experienced general, with orders to punish the insolence of the barbarians, and restore the captives to liberty. At the same time he dispatched a fleet under the command of Failbhe-Fionn, prince of Desmond, to cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. Never was a project better contrived, or more ably executed.

The commander of the Danish army who was in care of the captives at Armagh, having learned through a spy that the Munster troops were on their march to attack him, left a detachment to guard the prisoners and advanced from the city with the rest of his army to prevent their arrival. The engagement began, and the Danes, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the Munster men, fired with the desire of vengeance, were cut to pieces. The victory, however, was not productive of the effect which Donnogh had reason to hope. The prisoners had been previously removed to Dundalk, a seaport twenty miles from Armagh, and given up to Sitrick, who embarked with them on board his fleet, which was at anchor in that port; these vessels being used as garrisons and places of retreat by the barbarians, when unable to defend themselves by land. Donnogh having spent the night after the battle at Armagh, marched the next day for Dundalk, where he expected to overtake the enemy; but his hopes vanished on discovering this manœuvre of the barbarians, who feared nothing from a land army unprovided with a fleet. However, the aspect of affairs soon changed. The arrival of the Irish fleet, under the command of Failbhe-Fionn, disconcerted the Danes, by whom they were wholly unexpected, and their dismay was increased by the most bloody and obstinate battle that had ever been fought on these coasts. As they were determined on boarding the ships and coming to a close engagement, Failbhe-Fionn, desirous of setting his troops the example, leaped, sword in hand, into the Danish admiral's ship, on board of which was Sitrick, his brothers Tor and Magnus, and Keallachan, king of Munster, who was tied to the mast. Followed by a small detachment, this brave man made a dreadful slaughter among the barbarians, cleared a passage to the spot where the king

* Porter, Compend. Annal. Reg. Hib. sect. 4, cap. 3.

† Keat. History of Ireland, part 2. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 14.

was, and set him at liberty; but his strength being exhausted by the heat of the action, and by loss of blood, he was unfortunately slain. The combat did not end with the loss of this hero, but was renewed through the courage of Fiongall. Encouraging his men by his own example, they caused dreadful slaughter. Seeing, however, that the superior numbers of the enemy, animated by the valor of Sitrick, their chief, rendered his efforts useless, this skilful captain bethought of an expedient as heroic as it was bold. Meeting with Sitrick in the thick of the fight, he darted on him, and seizing him in his arms, threw himself into the sea, where both perished together. The courage of Seigla and Conall was roused to such a degree, by this example of intrepidity, that they seized in like manner on Tor and Mignus, brothers of Sitrick, and shared with them a watery grave.

The Danes having lost their commanders, and terrified by those horrid and cruel actions, began to give way, and part of their fleet having abandoned the conflict, victory declared in favor of the Irish. The consternation of Donnogh's army during this engagement may easily be conceived—beholding their countrymen engaged with a formidable enemy, while they were unable to give them any assistance.

After the naval combat, and the dispersion of the enemy's fleet, Keallachan landed in Dundalk, where he was joyfully received by the people. Having rested his troops, and given orders for the care and removal of the wounded, he marched with his army towards Munster, and resumed the government of that province. When he had recruited his forces, he pursued the Danes, who remained in his territory, five hundred of whom he killed at Limerick and its neighborhood, about the same number at Cashel, and the remainder escaped on board their ships. This prince died in peace some time afterwards, and left his crown to Feargna, son of Ailgenan, and grandson of Dungala, who was succeeded, after a reign of two years, by Mahon, son of Kennede, and brother of Eichiarium, prince of Thuomond.

Reginald, king of the Ostmans of Dublin, having died in 921, was succeeded by Godfrid, who led an army into Ulster the same year, and pillaged Armagh. He lost, however, a considerable part of his troops in an expedition into Limerick, in 924. Two years afterwards he sent a body of men into Ulster, under the command of his son Aulaf, who was twice repulsed by the inhabitants of that province, and escaped with difficulty by the aid of a reinforcement which his father brought from Dublin.

This tyrant died in 934, loaded with ignominy for his cruelty, and was succeeded by his son Aulaf, who died suddenly in 941 The year following, the barbarians plundered Down, Clonard, Kildare, and the neighboring country; but in 943 they were driven out of the district of Lecale, by the people of Ulster. They were again defeated, with the loss of eight hundred men, by the Ulster troops under the command of Mortough-Mac-Neill, king of that province: after which Ireland enjoyed peace for some time, which was, however, interrupted by the battle of Roscrea.

The barbarians, whose only object was pillage, knew that the celebrated fair of Roscrea, in the district of Thobuir-Daron, (Tipperary,) was to be held on the 29th of June, St. Peter and St. Paul's day, and that most of the rich merchants in the kingdom repaired thither every year. Hoping to find sufficient booty to gratify their avarice, the Danes, who were quartered in and about Connaught, assembled under the command of Oilfinn, their general, and set out on their march in order to reach Roscrea on the day appointed. The news of this march soon spread, and caused dreadful alarm. At this period the inhabitants of Ireland always went armed to defend themselves against the barbarians; and those who attended the fair of Roscrea did not fail to use the precaution on this occasion, being all provided with weapons; and though strangers to each other, having come from different parts of the kingdom, still the general welfare and the love of country were ties sufficiently strong to unite them against the barbarians. They laid aside their traffic, left the fair, and went to meet the enemy; the engagement was bloody and obstinate, but the barbarians were put to flight, having left their chief, Oilfinn, and 4000 men dead on the field of battle. The Danes of Lough-Oirbsion, now Lough-Corrib, in the county of Galway, were afterwards defeated by the people of Connaught. Teige, son of Cahill, king of that province, died about this time.

The Danes of Lough-Neagh, in Ulster, were also cut to pieces by Conning-Mac-Neill, who killed one thousand two hundred of them. The usual quarters of these barbarians were on the sea-shore, or near some lake, that they might be within reach of their ships, which served them as places of retreat.

Notwithstanding the repeated victories which the Irish gained over the barbarians

Scandinavia still continued to send over reinforcements, which enabled them to continue their depredations. They again pillaged Armagh, and the neighborhood of Lough-Earne and Inis-Owen, where they surprised Mortough-Mac-Neill, who however fortunately made his escape.

After a reign of twenty-five years, filled with troubles, Donchad, the monarch, died a sudden death.

Congal, son of Maolmithig, descended from Niall the Great by Conall-Creamthine and Hugh III., surnamed Slaine, ascended the throne, A. D. 944. The mother of this prince was Mary, daughter of Kenneth, son of Ailpin, king of Scotland.*

The reign of this monarch was fatal to the Danes. After gaining a glorious victory over them near Dublin, where 4000 lost their lives, he entered the city triumphantly, which he gave up to pillage, and put the garrison to the sword; but Blacar, brother of Aulaf, recovered the city the year following, and restored it to its former state.†

The Danes of Dublin, eager to revenge the losses they had sustained, laid waste part of Meath, A. D. 946; but they were met near Slane by the monarch, who destroyed a great number of them, those who escaped the sword having been drowned, A. D. 948. The year following he killed 1600, with Blacar their chief, who was succeeded in the command of the barbarians by Godfrid, son of Sitrick.

About this time it was that those barbarians were converted to the Christian religion: it did not, however, immediately soften their ferocity; as, some time afterwards, they pillaged the territory of Slane, under the command of Godfrid. They set fire to the town and church, in which several lives were lost; but on their return towards Dublin, they were stripped of their booty, and cut to pieces at Muine-Breogain, by the natives, commanded by Congal. Their loss amounted to 7000 men, including Imar, one of their chiefs. The monarch survived his exploits but a short time, being killed by the Danes at the battle of Tiguiran in Leinster.

In the reign of Congal, Brien, afterwards surnamed Boiroimhe, succeeded his brother Mahon (who had been killed by robbers) on the throne of Munster, A D. 956. Sanguine hopes were already entertained of the valor of this prince. Since the time that he commanded the provincial army, under his brother Mahon, his exploits against the Danes were numerous; but on succeeding to the government of his province, he became the scourge of these barbarians. He began by chastising the assassins of his brother Mahon, and Daniel O'Faolan, prince of Desie, who had espoused their quarrel. He afterwards attacked the people of Leinster, who were supported by a considerable body of Danes, and forced them to pay him a tribute; and it is asserted that he won twenty-five battles against the Danes, the last of which was that of Clontarf, of which we shall again have occasion to speak.

Domhnall, or Daniel O'Niall, son of Mortough, and grandson of Niall Glundubh the monarch, succeeded Congal, A. D. 956. His reign was very much disturbed by the incursions of the barbarians.* They pillaged the church and territory of Kildare, under the command of Amlare. They afterwards laid waste Keannanus and part of Meath, from which they carried away considerable booty.

The monarch, who was dissatisfied with the conduct of the people of Connaught in regard to him, sent an army to lay waste their province, a disaster which Feargal O'Rourke, who was at the time their king, was unable to prevent. He afterwards entered Leinster, in order to punish the people of that province for having revolted, in conjunction with their allies, the Danes. It was then that he gave battle at Kilmone, to Domhnall, son of Colegach, who was assisted by a body of Danes under the command of Aulaf. This battle was bloody and indecisive. Among the slain were Ardgall, king of Ulster, Donnagan, son of Maolmuirre, prince of Orgiallach, and many other persons of distinction. The barbarians, who were sometimes the allies, and sometimes the enemies of the people of Leinster, surprised Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of that province, and made him prisoner. This outrage was revenged by Brien, king of Munster, who put eight hundred Danes to the sword in the isle of Inis-Catha, and made three of their chiefs prisoners. Ugaire, son of Tuathal king of Leinster, who was taken prisoner by the Danes, having been ransomed, was killed by these barbarians at the battle of Biothlione.

Edgar, king of England, is asserted to have conquered Ireland in the time of Domhnall, monarch of the latter island.† The story of this conquest is founded on the pre-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4, 24. Grat. Luc. cap. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 14.

† Porter, Comp. Annal. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4. cap. 3, 4

* War. Grat. Luc. Bruodin. et Porter, ibid.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4, et Propug Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 14

amble of a pretended charter of that prince, dated Gloucester, A. D. 964, in which he boasts of being emperor and lord of all the kings of the islands bordering on Britain. He gives thanks to the Lord for having extended his dominions, and brought under his jurisdiction all the islands in the ocean, and their ferocious kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, with its noble city of Dublin, &c.; but this charter, which is not mentioned by English writers, appears to have been a part of the flattery of the monks, who were powerfully protected by that prince in opposition to the secular clergy. Besides, Edgar had a particular fondness for navigation, and always kept 3600 ships on sea, divided into three fleets, with which he sailed round England every year, to visit its coasts.* On his voyage he undoubtedly saw the neighboring coasts, and had perhaps taken possession of them at sight, as possession is taken of a living in sight of the steeple; in which, most probably, consisted his conquest of Ireland.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Domhnal the monarch died at Armagh, with sentiments worthy a true Christian.

CHAPTER XIV.

Malachi II., otherwise Maolseachlin, succeeded his father Domhnal, A. D. 980. According to some historians, he was son of Domhnal, and grandson of Donchad the monarch † Whatever may have been his genealogy, he was a valiant and warlike prince.‡ He began his reign by attacking the Danes, and fought the memorable battle of Tara, in which they were completely defeated, with the loss of several thousand men, (according to some authors 5000,) with all their chiefs; among others, Reginald, son of Aulaf.§ This defeat was so fatal to the Danes, that Aulaf, their chief, undertook a pilgrimage to the island of Hy the year following, (he would seem to have been a Christian;) where, having performed penance, he died with grief, and was succeeded in the command of the Danes by his son Gluniarand.

After his victory over the Danes at Tara, Malachi marched with his victorious army into the territory of Fingal, which belonged to the barbarians, and laid the country waste. He afterwards besieged Dublin, which he took after three days, and set two thousand Irishmen at liberty, who had been prisoners, with Domhnal-Claon, king of Leinster, and Aithir-O'Neill, prince of Ulster.

The Danes were forced by these conquests to abandon all the territory they possessed, from the river Shannon to the eastern ocean, and acknowledge themselves tributary to the monarch.

Having, however, received some reinforcements from their own country, the Danes, regardless of the treaty they had entered into with Malachi, recommenced their hostilities, pillaged the churches, and laid waste the province. But the monarch attacked them with a success equal to his courage, and defeated them in two engagements with Tomor and Carolus, their chiefs, at Glunmam. After this, however, he gave himself up to pleasure, and neglected the welfare of the nation, while the Danish forces continued to increase.

The name of Malachi had become formidable to the Danes. Malachi I., having surprised their chief Turgesius, rescued his country from the tyranny of these barbarians, though he afterwards allowed them to return and settle in some maritime towns, under the pretext of carrying on trade, an act which was highly impolitic. Malachi II. signalized himself equally against the enemies of his country. He humbled them by repeated victories; but having afterwards relaxed in his exertions, he lost all the glory of his exploits, and his crown at the same time.

During the reign of Malachi, Gluniarand, son of Aulaf, and chief of the Danes of Dublin, was killed by his servant, and was succeeded by his brother Sitrick. Godfrid, son of Harald, king of the Hebrides, was killed the same year by the Dalriads. Sitrick, son of Aulaf, having been expelled from Dublin by his subjects, was recalled a short time afterwards, and sent assistance to Maolmorha-Mac-Murchuda, to make him king of Leinster, in place of Donat, who had been taken in battle and forced to abdicate the throne. Brien, king of Munster, had declared war the same year against the Danes of Dublin, and having conquered them at the battle of Glenananin, in which their loss amounted to 6000 men, he razed their city to the ground. They, however, rebuilt it afterwards, and gave hostages to Brien.

It had now become necessary to put a stop

* Baker, Chron. p. 11; Historical Map of England, vol. 1, b. 4, pages 329, 330.

† Keating's History of Ireland.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4.

§ Grat. Luc. cap. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 15. Porter, Comp. Ann. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4, cap. 4.



(IN THE REIGN OF KING BRIAN BORU 1000)
'RICH AND RARE WERE THE GEMS SHE WORE
AND A BRIGHT GOLD RING ON HER WAND SHE BORE'

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to the progress which the Danes were making in the country, encouraged by their alliance with the people of Leinster, and the weakness of Malachi's reign. The princes of Munster and Connaught having assembled, it was decreed that Malachi should be dethroned, and the sceptre transferred to Brien, king of Munster, a prince who was capable of repressing the insolence of the barbarians. Although this decree did not emanate from a general assembly of all the provinces, the neutrality observed by those who did not join in it seemed to give it their sanction, and Brien supplied the deficiency by a powerful army of the natives and Danes, with which he marched to Tara and obliged Malachi to abdicate. He however retained the title of king of Meath, which was his patrimony. The sceptre of Ireland, which had been swayed by kings of the house of Heremon, and particularly by the descendants of Niall the Great, since the reign of that monarch in the fourth century, was transferred in the beginning of the eleventh to the house of Heber.

Brien, surnamed Boiroimhe, son of Kennede, and grandson of Lorcan, of the race of Heber-Fionn, having received the abdication of Malachi at Athlone, was declared monarch of the whole island, A. D. 1002. He was surnamed Boiroimhe from a tribute he had exacted from the people of Leinster. Having received the fealty and homage of Cahall O'Conchovair, (O'Connor,) king of Connaught, and the other princes of that province, he entered Ulster with an army of 20,000 men, consisting of the tribe of the Dal-Caiss, the Leinster men, and the Danes whom he had subjugated. He was honorably received at Armagh by Mælmury, or Marian, archbishop of that see, on whom he bestowed a considerable sum of money to repair the church. During his stay at Armagh, he was visited by Hugh O'Neill, king of Ulster, and the other princes of that province, who acknowledged him as monarch.

Having settled the affairs of Ulster, Brien repaired to Tara, and, like his predecessors, convened an assembly of the bishops and nobles, in which he was solemnly crowned. He afterwards enacted several laws respecting the government and public welfare, which were enforced during his reign with rigor, and all traitors severely punished. He made the Danes restore all the church property they had usurped, and rebuild the churches and monasteries they had destroyed; re-established the universities and public schools, and founded new ones, which he liberally endowed. Lastly, by his generosity he encouraged professors of all the sciences; so that literature, which had been in a manner banished from the island by the barbarians, began to flourish anew under this monarch.

Brien, having settled the religious affairs of the state, next turned his thoughts towards the temporal government. He restored to the old proprietors the possessions of which they had been stripped by the Danes; raised fortresses in every direction, in which he placed garrisons for the public safety; repaired the roads; built causeways throughout the whole kingdom, and bridges over the rivers and deep marshes, which had been before impassable.

The Irish had not yet adopted the use of surnames. The people added to the names of the lords, people of rank, and even to those of their kings, arbitrary distinctions, derived from their virtues, vices, color, complexion, or any military exploit; which custom prevailed also in other countries.

To prevent the confusion which these popular names might create in families, and in order that their genealogies should be more carefully preserved, it was decreed by this wise monarch that thenceforward all the branches of the Milesian race should have particular surnames. The custom was then introduced of families taking the name of some illustrious man among their ancestors, to which was prefixed the article *O*, or *Mac*, to indicate the honor of their descent from him. Thus it is that the O'Neills express their descent from Niall the Great, monarch of the island in the fourth century; the O'Briens, from Brien Boiroimhe; the Mac-Cartys, from Carthach, &c. In the Irish language, the article *o* is equivalent to the French article *de*, and not to *le*, as has been asserted by ill-informed writers; and *Mac* signifies the son of some one.

It would appear that the Irish are now ashamed of these additions, which at once characterize their noble extraction and the antiquity of their names. We see some O'Neills, O'Briens, O'Connors, Mac-Cartys, Magennises, and many others, suppress them, which can only arise from ignorance, littleness of mind, or a foolish desire of conforming to English taste, as they must be introduced in the Irish pronunciation of these names, and as in all countries the gentleman can be distinguished from the plebeian by some peculiarity in his name. They may be accused of the same indifference with respect to their language, which bespeaks an ancient people, and of which they affect to be igno-

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rant, to adopt a jargon introduced among them by foreigners.

The assembly of Tara having terminated, Brien left Meath and repaired to Kean-Coradh, near Killaloe, on the banks of the Shannon, where he generally held his court, and there enjoyed for some time the sweets of peace. He was distinguished as well for the greatness of his mind as for his military exploits: "Princeps ob animi virtutes celeberrimus." The great concourse of princes and nobles of the kingdom who attended his court, added much to its brilliancy. Peace was at length interrupted by Maolmorha-Mac-Murchad, king of Leinster, who visited the court of Brien for the purpose of seeing his sister, the queen; but having received an insult from Morrough, eldest son of the monarch, he departed suddenly for his province, without taking leave of any one, determined to revenge the affront he had received; and in order to carry his resolution into effect, he formed an alliance with Sitrick, king of the Danes of Dublin.* They both then sent an express to the king of Denmark, to request his succor against the monarch. The king, wishing to profit by the rupture, and hoping to recover the possessions of his predecessors in the island, sent 12,000 men, headed by his sons Charles Crot and Andrew, who landed in Dublin, with a further force of Norwegians from the Hebrides, to the number of 4000. These auxiliaries, together with the Leinster troops and the Danes of Dublin, formed a considerable army.

The monarch, alarmed at these movements, determined to prepare for the consequences. He assembled all the Munster troops, and his allies, the king of Connaught, Malachi, prince of Meath, and their followers, who composed an army of about 30,000 men, the chief command of whom he gave to his son Morrough. This, however, did not prevent him from assisting in person, though 88 years of age. Every thing being ready for the campaign, the army began their march towards Dublin, where the enemy awaited them in the plain of "Cluon-Tarbh," (Clontarf,) two miles from the city. The centre of the army was headed by the monarch and Thadeus O'Kelly, prince of Connaught; the right by Morrough, and the left by Malachi, king of Meath.* The orders being given, the battle commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and did not terminate till five in the afternoon. Malachi, who commanded the left wing, retired with his troops in the beginning of the action, and remained a passive spectator, hoping for the defeat of Brien, who had deprived him of his crown some time before.

This battle, which took place on Good Friday, 23d April, 1014, though desperate and sanguinary, was glorious to the monarch, who gained a complete victory over the enemy. The loss, however, was considerable on both sides. According to some writers, that of the enemy amounted to 11,000 men killed upon the spot; and according to others, 13,000, including Moelmordha, king of Leinster, with the two sons of the king of Denmark, and several chiefs of the army. The loss of the royal army amounted to 7,000. The monarch was killed by a retreating band of Danes, commanded by Bruadar, chief of the Danish fleet: "Ipso parasceve Paschæ feria," says Marianus Scotus, "nono kalendas Maii, manibus et mente in Deum intentus, necatur." These, however, were pursued by a detachment and put to the sword. Morrough O'Brien, the general, Turlough his son, and many persons of distinction, likewise fell victims to their love of country. The bodies of the monarch and of his son Morrough, or Murchard, were deposited in the town of Swords, six miles from Dublin, from whence they were removed to Armagh by order of Mælmury, archbishop of that see, and interred in the metropolitan church. Some, however, say that they were buried at Kilmainham, near Dublin, with the bodies of Thadeus O'Kelly and other lords; while others affirm that they were brought to Cashel.

After this celebrated battle of Clontarf, Sitrick, king of the Danes of Dublin, having taken refuge, with the remains of his army, in that city, Donnough, or Denis O'Brien, took the command of the royal forces, and having expressed his gratitude to the Connaught troops, dismissed them, and marched with those of his own province towards Cashel. A dispute, however, which arose upon their march between the two tribes of which his forces were composed, proved nearly fatal to him and his army. The inhabitants of southern Munster being desirous of enforcing the will of Oilioll-Olum, who had decreed that the crown of the province should belong alternately to the two branches formed by the descendants of his two sons, proposed that Donnough should resign the command, and yield the sceptre of the province to their chief, whose turn it was to reign. Donnough firmly replied that his father and uncle had already made them feel the extent of their power, and that he was not inclined to renounce a right which he

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 93.

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held from his father. He therefore gave orders to the tribe of Dalcaiss, who were his subjects as hereditary king of Thuomond, to prepare to defend his cause; and in order to be more unincumbered, he resolved to remove the wounded, with a detachment to preserve them from injury. They however requested to be placed with their companions in line of battle, with sabres in their hands, and stakes to support them, in order to share the glory with them, and shed the last drop of their blood in the service of their prince. The enemy were so intimidated by this determination, that they renounced their claims; and Donnough having arrived at Cashel, with the Dalcaiss, was declared king of Munster.

Malachi II., who had been dethroned twelve years before by Brien Boiroimhe, resumed the government of the whole island on the death of this prince, A. D. 1014, and reigned nine years afterwards as monarch.

Ireland was not the only country in Europe in which the Normans had rendered themselves formidable at this time. After laying waste France, they massacred the clergy, both secular and regular, pillaged and burned their churches and monasteries, and practised every species of cruelty for the space of about seventy years, when they finally made a settlement in the country.* Charles the Simple, who saw that, far from being able to expel, he was powerless even to resist them, resolved, by the advice of his nobles, to enter into a treaty with them. By this treaty, which was concluded at St. Clair, on the river Epte, the king ceded to Rollo (who, from a private individual in Denmark, became the chief of those robbers, and was named Robert at his baptism) the whole of that district since called Normandy, as a tenure from the crown, and Brittany as an arriere-fief, and gave him his daughter Gisle in marriage.†

In England, the Danes continued their devastations from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the tenth century, and became so formidable, that while the owner labored in his field, they held command of his house, occupying themselves only in debauching his wife or daughters, and consuming the fruits of his labor. They were there called, more through fear than from respect, Lord-Danes.‡

Ethelred, who was at this period king of England, finding no other expedient to rid himself of so formidable an enemy, sent secret orders to every town in his kingdom, to massacre all the Danes on an appointed day; the 13th of November, the festival of St. Bricius, in the year 1002. Those orders were everywhere executed with such rigor that the Danes at Oxford, having taken refuge in the church of St. Frideswide, as a sanctuary, the people set fire to it, regardless of the sanctity of the place, and all that were within perished in the flames.

The news of this massacre having reached Denmark, Sweyne, king of that country, stimulated by a desire of revenge, and thirsting for plunder, set sail with a powerful fleet for England, where he committed dreadful devastations. Ethelred assembled a powerful army, under the command of Earl Edrick, to check the progress of the barbarians; but was betrayed by the earl, though his son-in-law and favorite, and created by him duke of Mercia.

The year following the Danes besieged Canterbury, where they killed Alphegus, the archbishop, and nine hundred monks. They spared but a tenth part of the people, and put the remainder to the sword; so that, according to the calculation made of this massacre, there perished 43,200 persons.

Sweyne again returned with a considerable reinforcement, and reduced the north of England to subjection. He then marched towards London, and made himself master of the rest of the kingdom; so that the unfortunate Ethelred, having first sent his queen Emma to her brother the duke of Normandy, with his sons Edward and Alfred, soon afterwards followed them himself, and left Sweyne absolute master of England.

It might be expected that the death of the tyrant, which happened soon afterwards, would put an end to the usurpation. On the first intelligence of it Ethelred returned to his kingdom; but he found Canute, son of the deceased, already in possession of part of his states; so that he was under the necessity of fighting, not only against the Danes, but also against his own subjects, who had acknowledged the usurper. His efforts were however crowned with success, and Canute was obliged to withdraw to Denmark. He had not renounced his claims, notwithstanding, and returned some time afterwards with fresh forces, and gained a complete victory over the English.

In the mean time the illness and subsequent death of king Ethelred, enabled Canute to dispute the sovereignty with Edmund, surnamed Ironside, his son and successor, when, after several battles, the two princes agreed

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 54.

† Baker, Chron. Life of William the Conqueror, page 20.

‡ Baker, Chron. England, page 13, et seq.

to decide the quarrel by single combat, in presence of both armies. Canute having been wounded, he represented to his rival the folly of exposing their lives for an empty title, and that it would be better to share the kingdom between them, and live together like brothers. Edmund consented to the proposal, but was assassinated some time afterwards, whereby Canute became sole king of England, and was solemnly crowned at London, by Elstane, archbishop of Canterbury, after which he married Emma, widow of king Ethelred, by whom he had a son, called Hardicanute.

On the death of Canute he was succeeded by his eldest son Harold, and the latter by Hardicanute; so that the sceptre of England was swayed successively by three Danish kings, without opposition, and was only restored to the English race for want of heirs in the house of Denmark.

The Irish, we have seen, opposed the efforts of the Normans for more than two hundred years, without yielding a single province to them, or acknowledging one of their tyrants as king. At length they completely routed them at the celebrated battle of Clontarf; but like a hydra, it was difficult to annihilate them, so inexhaustible were their resources.

In the reign of Malachi II., the Danes of Dublin, and those who escaped the battle of Clontarf, still endeavoring to continue their depredations, the monarch sent for O'Neill, prince of Ulster, with his troops, and marched direct to Dublin; and having defeated a considerable detachment of Danes at Fodvay, he took the city and gave it up to plunder. He subsequently gained a complete victory over them at Athnilacham. He also banished Donnough-Mac-Giolla Phadruig (Fitzpatrick) for having assassinated Donagan, king of Leinster, with the lords of his suite, in the castle of Teige O'Ryan, prince of Ondrona. Some time afterwards, Bran, son of Maolmordha, king of Leinster, was taken prisoner by Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who caused his eyes to be put out; which outrage was revenged by Ugaire, son of Danling, who succeeded Bran, at the battle of Delgne, in which 6000 Danes were killed upon the spot. About this time, Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Waterford, was killed by the people of Ossory, and Reginald O'Hivar succeeded him.

Malachi governed his kingdom with great wisdom, and established several fine institutions. In the neighborhood of Dublin he built a celebrated monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin; he repaired several churches which had been destroyed by the barbarians, and having granted pensions for the support of three hundred poor orphans, in various towns of the kingdom, he died at an advanced age, the 2d of Sept. A. D. 1022.

We have now come to the period at which the decline of the Irish monarchy commenced. The historians of the country speak of no supreme or absolute monarch of the whole island, after Malachi II. The title was assumed occasionally by some of the provincial kings, who were acknowledged as such by their vassals only, and supported by some of the neighboring princes, without the general suffrages of the states. Their authority was wavering and much more restricted than that of their predecessors. They were called, in the language of the country, *Righe-Gofra-Sabhrach*, which signifies "kings with opposition." At one time the Hy-Nialls claimed the supreme government of the island, in virtue of having possessed it for many ages; at others, the O'Briens aspired to it, as heirs of Brien Boiroimhe. The Hy-Brunes of Connaught laid claim to it also, and the kings of Leinster acted a part which did them no honor. They frequently formed alliances with the Danes, contrary to the general welfare of the country, and the nation at length became a prey to the fury of the English, by means of that unhappy race. Although the ancient constitution of the state had been weakened and enervated by these divisions, it nevertheless existed for a century and a half in this sort of anarchy.

Donnough, otherwise Donat, or Denis, son of the celebrated Brien-Boiroimhe, and king of Munster, was obeyed as monarch by a considerable part of the island, but was unable to reduce the rest to obedience.* This prince was very powerful, and from his great prudence, worthy of occupying the throne. He forced the people of Meath, Leinster, Ossory, and Connaught, to give him hostages; punished the inhabitants of Connaught for the sacrilege they had committed by pillaging the church of Clonfert, and enacted wise laws against robbery and other abuses which had crept in among the people. He prohibited travelling, fairs, and hunting on Sundays, and to give more weight to his laws, he caused them to be confirmed in an assembly of the bishops and nobles of his province which was convened for that purpose.

Donnough's second queen was Driella, daughter of the celebrated earl Godwin, of England, who, with his brother Harold took

* Keat. Hist. of Irl. pt. 2; Grat. Luc. c. 9, et Bruod. Prop. Cath. Verit. lib. 5, c. 16.

refuge in Ireland; the latter having been banished by king Edward the Confessor, whom he afterwards succeeded on the throne of England.* By this princess the monarch had a son, called Donald. Harold being desirous of returning to his own country, Donnough granted him a body of troops as an escort, who, entering the Severn with thirty vessels, in conjunction with Griffith, king of South Wales, laid waste the country, which induced the nobles, who dreaded a civil war, to effect a reconciliation between him and his prince.†

The conversion of the Danes, or Normans, of which we have already spoken, having been so sudden, and policy having had some share in it, it could not, at first, have been very solid; but they now began to give proofs of a stronger faith.

Sitrick, chief of the Normans of Dublin, having undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, died on his journey, A. D. 1035, and left the government of Dublin to his son Aulave, who, like his father, being desirous of going to Rome, was assassinated in England, A. D. 1035. He was succeeded by his son Sitrick.

These foreigners left monuments of their piety in the foundations they made. Burchard, a Norwegian lord, had already founded the priory of St. Stephen, at Leighlin, in the district of Carlow.

The priory of the Holy Trinity, since called Christ's Church, in Dublin, was founded in 1038, for secular canons, by Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Dublin.‡ This priory was afterwards made a cathedral church.

Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is also the metropolitan see of Leinster. By following the memoirs of the Danes, and styling Donat, or Dunarc, who flourished in the eleventh century, the first bishop of this see, Ware deducts considerably from its antiquity. It is certainly improbable that St. Patrick, who had appointed bishops and priests to the other churches which he founded in the island, had left without a pastor the church of Dublin, at the time a rich and commercial city, where he had experienced so much gratitude from the inhabitants, who had agreed to pay to him and his successors in the see of Armagh, three ounces of gold annually. Jocelin, who, in the life of St. Patrick, calls Dublin a noble city, "In urbem nobilem quæ vocatur Dublinia,"§ is reproved by Usher, who accuses him of inconsistency, since in another place he calls it "pagus," which signifies a village.*

The absence of records or registers more ancient than the eleventh century, is a negative argument, and cannot be considered as a proof. It is very probable that they were burned or suppressed by the pagan Danes, who were frequently masters of the city, and that their descendants who became Christians, and were tolerated for commercial reasons, had begun their records with the first of their own countrymen who were appointed bishops of Dublin, which took place in the eleventh century.

Ware, in his treatise on prelates, agrees that historians mention Wiro, Rumold, Sedulius, and one Cormac, who had filled the see of Dublin before Donat.† On this head, Colgan quotes an English martyrology, Menardus, Molanus, Meyerus, Sanderus, Ferrarius, the annals of the four masters, and the martyrology of Taulaught, which he calls Tamlactense, from an ancient monastery of that name three miles from Dublin, where it was written by St. Ængus, or Ængussius, of the noble race of the Dal-Arads of Ulster, and by Saint Moebruan, in the eighth century.‡

Although it may be reasonably supposed that several prelates had governed this church from the time of St. Patrick to that of the Danes, a space of about four hundred years, still, as most of them are unknown to us, we shall only speak of those mentioned by the above writers.

According to Colgan, Livinus was bishop of Dublin, and he also says that he suffered martyrdom in 633.§ Meyerus calls him archbishop of Scotia, that is, of Ireland, and says that he was son of Theagnio and Agalmia, people of rank in that country;‖ that having preached the gospel and converted a considerable number of persons, he was assassinated on the 12th of November, 633, at Hesca, in the low countries, by two brothers, called Walbert and Meinzo, and that his life had been written by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.¶ Masseus in his chronicle, and Molanus in the lives of the saints of

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. Life of William the Conqueror, page 21.
† Baker, Ibid. Reign of Edward, page 18.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
§ Vit. S. Patr. cap. 71.

* "He seems to forget what he had before stated, that it was not a village, but the capital of the kingdom, and a very noble city."—*Usher*, c. 17, p 681.
† Trias Thaum. note 69, in 6, Vit. St. Pat.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 11 Mart. Vit. S. Ængus et 29, Vit. S. Fulartli.
§ Trias Thaum. note 69, in 6, Vit. S. Patr
‖ Meyerus in Annal. Flandriæ.
¶ Sander. de Script. Flandriæ

Flanders, give nearly the same account; Bale also makes mention of his writings. His relics were removed to Ghent in 1007, and deposited in the church of St. Bavo.

St. Wiro, who was born in Ireland, of distinguished parents,* from whom he received an education suited to his birth, made so rapid a progress in virtue and the sciences, that he was nominated bishop, and being obliged by the people to accept that charge, he went to Rome to receive his consecration from the pope. On his return he governed his diocese for some time in a most edifying manner, and acquired a high reputation of sanctity; but being desirous of devoting his life to God in solitude, he resigned his bishopric and went to France, where he was honorably received by Pepin, duke of the French, who assigned him a place adapted for retirement and contemplation, called *Mons-Petri*, thought by Molanus to be the same as Ruremond.† Our saint caused an oratory to be built in it, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which was called the monastery of St. Peter, and having lived to an advanced age, he died on the eighth of May, 650, in his oratory, where he was interred.

Some writers place St. Desibod among the bishops of Dublin.‡ He was born in Ireland, of a noble family, and celebrated for his talent and profound erudition. At the age of thirty years he was ordained priest, and nominated bishop some time afterwards. The insolence of the people having disgusted him with his bishopric, which he had held for ten years, he resigned it in 675. He afterwards left his native country, accompanied by some pious men, among others by Gisualdus, Clement, and Sallust; and having preached the gospel for the space of seven years in different parts of Germany, he settled, with the consent of the proprietors, on a lofty mountain covered with wood, where he led a solitary life. Having acquired the reputation of great sanctity, he was joined by several monks of the order of St. Benedict, and founded a monastery on this mountain, which was called after him, *Mont-Disibod*, now Disenberg, in the lower Palatinate. He led a penitential and mortified life in this retreat for the space of thirty-seven years, and died there on the 8th of July, aged 81 years, but the year of his death is not known. His life was written by Hildigardis, a nun of Disenberg, under the abbess Juttha, and published by Surius, for the eighth of July. Dempster mentions having seen a treatise composed by Disibod, entitled "De Monachorum profectu in solitudine agentium liber 1."*

Molanus makes mention of Gualafar, as bishop of Dublin, without entering into any detail of his life, except that he baptized his successor Rumold.

The life of St. Rumold, bishop of Dublin, and afterwards of Malines, in Brabant, was written by Theodorick, abbot of St. Tron, and published by Surius, for the 1st of July. The other writers who speak of him are Molanus, several martyrologists, and the legends of some breviaries.

According to these authors, Rumold was son and heir of David, an Irish prince. He was baptized by Gualafar, bishop of Dublin, who also undertook his education. The desire of perfection made him give up the succession to his father, and having been nominated to the bishopric of Dublin, he some time afterwards set out for Rome, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ everywhere as he passed. On his arrival at Rome, he went to the holy father, who received him kindly, and did justice to his merit. After a short stay in that city, he took leave of his holiness, and intending to return through France, went to Malines, where he was honorably received by count Ado and the countess his wife, who prevailed on him to settle in that district, for which purpose they granted to him a spot called *Ulmus*, from its being covered with elm trees, to found a monastery. Some time afterwards Malines being made a bishopric, he was nominated the first bishop. He was at length assassinated by two wretches, who attacked him, the one with the design of robbing him, thinking he had money, and the other in revenge for a reprimand he had received from the holy prelate, for the shameful life he led. The better to conceal their crime, they threw his body into a river, whence it was taken by count Ado, and honorably interred in the church of St. Stephen. A splendid church was afterwards built in honor of him, bearing his name, which is now the metropolitan church of the Low countries, and the relics of the saint were deposited there in a beautiful silver shrine. Alexander IV. transferred the festival of St. Rumold to the 1st of July, on account of that of St. John occurring on the 24th of June, the day he suffered martyrdom, which festival is annually celebrated in the diocese of

* Surius ad 8 Maii.
† Indiculus Sanct. Belgii sub Wirone.
‡ Martyrol. Ang. ad 8 Julii.

* Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 4, No. 373.

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Malines, as it had been in Dublin before the Reformation.

According to Colgan, following the martyrologies of Taulaught, Marianus Gorman, and Donnegal, Sedulius (in the Scotic language *Siedhuil*) was bishop of Dublin in the eighth century.* The first of these authors mentions several of the name of Sedulius, illustrious both for their piety and learning; namely, Cœlius-Sedulius, in the fifth century, so celebrated in antiquity for his virtue and profound erudition, and who was ranked among the Latin fathers; Sedulius-Scotus, a bishop who assisted at the council held at Rome in 721, under Gregory II.; Sedulius, abbot of Linnduachuil, in Ulster, in the eighth century; Sedulius, bishop of Dublin, mentioned above; Sedulius, abbot of Kinn-Locha; Sedulius, abbot and bishop of Roscommon in the beginning of the ninth century; Sedulius, son of Feradach, abbot of Kildare; Sedulius, called of the desert of Kieran, who died in 855. In the time of Colgan, there were several families of the name of Siedhuil, (Shiel, perhaps,) who applied themselves to the study of natural science and of medicine, apparently having the genius of the great Sedulius.

All that is known of Sedulius, bishop of Dublin, is, that he was son of Luaith; that from his virtues he was appointed bishop of Dublin; and that after his death, which took place on the eve of the ides of February, 785, from his high reputation of sanctity and virtue, he was placed among the number of the saints.

Cormac, another bishop of Dublin, is known only by name.

Donnough O'Brien's reign was rather peaceful. The princes of the other provinces were satisfied with governing their own subjects, without disputing with him the supreme authority; but being suspected of having been accessary to the death of Thadeus, his eldest brother, he was dethroned by the nobles of the kingdom, and reduced to the rank of a private individual; which induced him to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, according to the habit of those ancient times, where he spent the remainder of his life in St. Stephen's monastery, and died at the age of 88 years, having presented the crown of Ireland to the pope.

About this time was founded the abbey of Inis-Phadruig, that is St. Patrick's island, on the coast of the territory of Dublin, where it is said Saint Patrick landed on returning from Ulster.* This abbey, which Ware calls only a priory, was founded for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by Sitrick-Mac-Murchard, a Danish lord, and its privileges transferred, in 1220, to Holme-Patrick, by Henry Loundres, then archbishop of Dublin.

The disagreement among antiquarians respecting this period, renders the succession of the monarchs of Ireland obscure and confused. Keating asserts that Donnough reigned fifty years; others say only twelve. Ware does not mention him in his catalogue of monarchs. He speaks of an interregnum of twenty years after the death of Malachi, during which time the affairs of government were transacted under the regency of Cuan O'Leochain, a learned antiquary, and Corcran, a clerk, and head of the anchorites of Ireland, who died in the odor of sanctity at Lismore, A. D. 1042.

Ware affirms that after this interregnum, Dermod, or Dermitius, son of Moelnamo, king of Leinster, assumed the supreme government of Ireland. He was of the race of Cahire-More, and descended in the seventeenth degree from Eana-Kinseallach. He was son-in-law of Donnough-O'Brien, having married his daughter the princess Dervorgal.† Some say that he was son of that princess, and consequently grandson of Donnough; but however this be, he disapproved highly of Donnough's conduct towards his brother Thadeus. He took Tourlough, or Terdelach, son of the latter, under his protection, considering him as the legitimate heir to the crown of Munster, and constituted himself his guardian. He carried on a successful war against the people of Munster, in order to secure Turlough's right to the crown of that province; plundered the city of Waterford in 1037; burned Glannusen in 1042, having taken four hundred prisoners, and killed one hundred men on the spot. He laid waste also the district of Desie in 1048, from whence he carried off considerable booty, and some prisoners. He plundered Limerick and Inis-Catha in 1058, and gave battle to Donnough near Mount-Crot, in which the whole army of the latter was defeated. He afterwards received hostages in 1063, from the princes and lords of Munster, and gave them up to the young prince under his protection, who reigned over Munster and a great part of Ireland, after Donnough's abdication.

* Act. Sanct. Hib Vit. S. Sedul. ad 12 Feb. p. 315

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemd. Hist Monast. d'Irlande, p. 4.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4. Grat. Luc. c. 9 Ogyg. part 3, c. 94.

Murchad, son of Donnough O'Brien, beheld with regret the sceptre in the hands of his cousin Terdelach, and endeavored to enforce his claims; for which purpose he stirred up a revolt of that prince's subjects against him. It was, however, soon quelled by the appearance of Dermod, who marched thither with an army in 1065, obliged his subjects to return to their allegiance, and banished Murchad from the province; so that the king of Leinster was at once both arbitrator of the crown of Munster, and protector of the persecuted prince. He was the most powerful prince in Ireland at the time, and obliged Aid, or Hugh O'Conchobhar, (O'Connor,) king of Connaught, to do him homage. He placed Meath under contribution, and carried away some prisoners; laid waste the territory of Fingal and Dublin, as far as Abhin, (Allin,) and defeated the Danes near the city, by which victory he became their king. But Providence, which sets bounds to all human greatness, permitted him to be killed at the battle of Adhbha, the 7th of the ides of February, 1072, by Conochor O'Moclachlin, king of Meath. Caradocus-Lhancarvanenis says he was the best and most worthy prince that ever reigned in Ireland: "Dermitium dignissimum et optimum principem qui unquam in Hibernia regnavit;" of which his conduct towards Terdelach O'Brien is a proof.

His proximity of blood and relationship seemed to authorize Murchad to claim his protection, but he considered the justice of Terdelach's cause a much more powerful incentive.

The conquest of England by William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, happened about this time, that is, in 1066. England had been governed by Saxon princes from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the eleventh century, when the Danes made themselves masters of the country, after which it was ruled by three Danish kings in succession, namely, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute; but the latter dying without issue, the crown returned to the Saxon line, in person of Edward, surnamed the Confessor.* Edward died before he could place Edgar-Atheling on the throne, who was grandson of his brother, Edmund Ironside, and legitimate heir to the crown. Harold, son of the celebrated Earl Godwin, seized this opportunity, and ingratiated himself so much into the favor of the people, that he was proclaimed king, in opposition to the legitimate heir, whom he amused with the empty title of Earl of Oxford.

* Baker's Chron. Engl. page 15, et seq.

William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, since surnamed the Conqueror, founded his claims to the crown of England on a promise which Edward the Confessor (whose mother, Emma, was sister to the duke of Normandy) had given him in his youth, to make him his heir; and on an oath which Harold had taken to aid him in his enterprise upon England after Edward's death; but finding that he had been forgotten by the one, and was betrayed by the other, he sent an ambassador to remind Harold of his oath, and demand that crown to which he had a right, in virtue of Edward's promise. Harold replied, that the barons and nobles, with one accord, had adjudged the crown to him, and that he would not surrender it without their concurrence. The duke of Normandy, little satisfied with this answer, considered his chance of obtaining justice by force of arms. Circumstances favored this undertaking: an insurrection which had been raised in the north of England by Toustayne, the king's brother, abetted by Harold-Harfager, king of Norway, obliged Harold to leave the southern part of his kingdom unguarded, and go to quell the rebellion in the north, where he, however, gained a complete victory over the enemy at Stamford; his brother Toustayne, who had headed the rebels, with the king of Norway, being among the slain.

The duke of Normandy did not lose sight of his object. By means of his wife, who was daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, then guardian of Philip I., he obtained succor from France.* The counts of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Boulogne, also furnished him with troops. In order to strengthen his cause by the apostolical authority, Pope Alexander II. sent him a consecrated banner and a golden ring. Every thing being prepared, and his Norman subjects, who had at first expressed a reluctance in the undertaking, having taken up arms, William embarked with his army at Saint Valery, about the end of September, on board a fleet of 300 sail, and landed in a short time at Pevensey, in Sussex, while Harold was still occupied in the north.

Having landed his army, William gave orders to his fleet to return to Normandy, in order that his troops should have no hope but in their valor: "aut vincendum aut moriendum." Camden says that he caused it to be burned. After some days he advanced along the coast as far as Hastings, where he intrenched himself, waiting the approach of the enemy.

* Du Verdier, Abridgment of the History of England.

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Harold, surprised by the intelligence of the Norman invasion, returned to London, where he made a short stay to recruit his army, which had suffered considerable losses at the battle of Stamford; after which he set out on his march towards Sussex, and encamped seven miles from Hastings, where their army was posted. The preparations which the duke of Normandy saw the king of England making, and which plainly indicated his desire of coming to a battle, humbled his pride, and made him uneasy as to the blood about to be shed in a cause which he himself, perhaps, did not consider a very just one; as well as for the uncertainty of a battle in an enemy's country, the loss of which would be irretrievable. Before the action commenced, he sent a monk to Harold with proposals, leaving him the choice either of resigning the crown to him, as his claims were the best founded, or holding it in fealty from the dukes of Normandy, if he were unwilling to give it up; lastly, if he chose, to decide the matter by single combat, or refer it to the decision of the pope. Harold refused to accede to any of the proposals, and said he would leave it to the God of armies to decide the next day. The night previous to the battle was spent in a very different manner by both armies. As the day following was the king of England's birthday, his troops passed the night in feasting; while those of the duke of Normandy spent it in prayer. The day after, which was Saturday, 14th October, the two armies engaged at day-break, and the battle, which was particularly obstinate, lasted until night.

It may be here observed, that circumstances rather than the valor of the troops, decide the fate of battles, and that the vanquished often deserve laurels as well as the victors. These circumstances sometimes consist of inequality of numbers; sometimes in the choice of ground, or in discipline and superiority of arms; and generally in the skill of the commander. The number and valor of the troops were nearly equal at the battle of Hastings, and Harold did not yield in bravery to William. The Normans having discharged their arrows on the English, who were unacquainted with the use of them, galled and surprised them a little; but soon afterwards recovering from this first panic, they rallied, and attacked the Normans with so much impetuosity, that they made them give ground, without, however, putting them to flight. The battle lasted a long time with equal success, both sides performing prodigies of valor; but the fortune of the day was at length determined by a stratagem of William. He pretended to give way, which, as he expected, drawing the English from their ranks, who pursued him in disorder into a defile, he made a dreadful slaughter of them. Harold having rallied his flying troops, was slain in making a last effort, together with his brothers; and the rest of the army saved themselves by flight. By this victory the duke of Normandy became master of all England; the conquest being so rapid that he might have said, with Cæsar, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" He lost 6000 men in the action; the English 60,000. After resting and refreshing his troops, William marched towards London, and received the submission of the bishops and the lords of England. He reigned as a tyrant, granting to those who abetted him in his usurpation, lands and lordships, without any other right save the problematical one of conquest, and afterwards created them lords, by which new title they ranked above the old nobility.

Terdelach O'Brien, king of Munster, and of the greater part of Ireland, was son of Thadeus, and grandson of Brien-Boiroimhe. He proved himself worthy of his illustrious ancestors. He enacted wise laws, and governed his subjects with justice,* to which Lanfrancus, archbishop of Canterbury, bears testimony in his letter to this prince, wherein he styles him the friend of peace and justice,† and alleges that it was an instance of God's mercy towards Ireland, to have given her such a prince for a king.‡

William II., surnamed Rufus, king of England, obtained leave from Terdelach to cut wood in the forests of Ireland for the palace of Westminster, which he was then building.

In the latter part of his life, the king of Ireland was confined to his bed by lingering illness, the pain of which he supported with truly Christian patience till his death, which took place on the eve of the ides of July, at Keancora, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign.

Morthoug, or Moriertach O'Brien, succeeded his father Terdelach, A. D. 1089 This prince's mother, according to Keating,

* Keat. Hist. of Irel. War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4. Grat. Luc. c. 9.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 94. Bruodin. Propug. lib. 5, c. 16.

‡ "God displays no greater mercy on earth, than when he advances the lovers of peace and justice to the government of souls or bodies. The careful investigator readily discovers what has been conferred on the people of Ireland, when the Almighty hath given to your excellency the right of royal power over that land"—*Usher's Syllogisms, epist.* 27.

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(the only writer, I believe, who has mentioned her,) was Kealrach, daughter of Vi-Eine. According to the same author, she had another son, (apparently by a former marriage,) called Roger O'Connor, father of Terdelach O'Connor, who succeeded Moriertach O'Brien.* Moriertach is acknowledged king of Ireland by the annals of Inis-Fail, Donegal, and by the writer who has continued those of Tigernach. Usher, in his collection, quotes an epistle of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to *Muriardach, the glorious king of Ireland*, in which he extols this prince highly for his justice and love of peace. His authority was also acknowledged by the inhabitants of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, who sent ambassadors to him to request that a king of his family might rule them during the minority of Olanus, son of Godred.†

It appears, however, that this prince had a competitor in the supreme government of Ireland. Domnald-Maglochluin, son of Ardgal, of the race of Niall of the nine hostages, by Domnald, brother of the monarch Niall-Glundubh, disputed with him the title of monarch, as appears by the hostilities carried on by them against each other, and the steps taken by the archbishops of Armagh to allay them.

Moriertach was equally watchful for the interests of the church and state. Having been solemnly crowned at Tara, he convened an assembly of the lords and bishops of the province at Cashel, where, in their presence, he gave that city, which had been till that time the usual residence of the kings of Munster, with the lands and lordships appertaining to it, as a donation to the see.

About this time, viz. in the year 1100, the priory of Dungevin, in the district of Arachty-Cahan, now the county of Derry, was founded by the noble family of the O'Cahans, lords of that country.‡

With the consent of Pope Paschal II., the monarch assembled a national council in 1110 or 1112. This council was composed of fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and about three thousand of an inferior order of clergy, besides the monarch, who was present, and several princes and lords of the kingdom.§ The heads of the clergy were Milerus, or Mælmurius O'Dunan, archbishop of Munster; Kellach-Mac-Hugue, vicar of St. Celsus; the primate, who was ill at the time, and Gillaspec, or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and president of the council as apostolical legate.

The records of the country mention three different councils as held in Ireland about this time, which, however, are perhaps but the same council, spoken of by different names. Some call it the council of Bath-Breasail, others Fiad-Mac-Œngus, that is, the land or wood of Œngus, which is the same as others call Usneach, where there is a hill of that name, in the district of Kinal-Fiacha, (Westmeath.) Canons and wise regulations were made in this council respecting the spiritual and temporal administration: the bishoprics were reduced to a limited number, namely, twenty-four, with the two archbishoprics; twelve in the northern division of the island, called Leath-Con, and twelve in the southern, or Leath-Mogha. By this division there were two sees in Meath, namely, Damliag and Cluainjoraird. The two archbishoprics were Armagh and Cashel. The limits of the bishoprics were decided upon, and the jurisdiction of each bishop was confined to his own diocese; suffragans were allotted to each archbishop, and the ecclesiastical immunities and exemptions established.

We may fix at this time, that is in 1120 the re-establishment of the abbey of Bangor by St. Malachi, which had been several times destroyed by the Danes.*

Moriertach O'Brien was not less assiduous in the temporal government of the state, and in defending the country against the common enemy. He defeated the Danes of Dublin three times, banished Godfrid their chief, and had himself proclaimed their king.

A ridiculous and incredible anecdote respecting Murchard, king of Ireland, is given in the chronicle of the kings of the Isle of Man. The author says that Magnus, king of Norway, sent a pair of his shoes to Murchard, with orders to carry them on his shoulders on the birthday of the Lord, as an acknowledgment of his submission to the kings of Norway, and that the king of Ireland had obeyed his orders, lest he should draw upon himself so formidable an enemy.† According to the annals of the country,‡ the king of Ireland caused the ears of the commissioners of Magnus to be cut off, and sent

* Keat. Hist. of Irel. part 2; War. de Antiq. c. 4; Grat. Luc. c. 9; Ogyg. part 3, c. 94.

† "All the chief men of the islands, as soon as the death of Lagmannas was heard of, sent ambassadors to Murchard O'Brien, king of Ireland, to send some energetic man of the royal line to rule over them until Olanus should be of age."—*Camd. Chron.* p. 840.

‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. p. 98.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c 26.

† Chron. Reg. Man. apud Camb Brit. 841.

‡ Bruod. Propug. lib. 5, cap. 16, page 933.

them back with the intelligence; which account is more probable, as will be seen by the sequel; for Magnus being exasperated, resolved to take revenge for the insult he had received in the person of his ministers, and formed the wild project of subjugating Ireland. For this purpose, he embarked with a large body of troops, and arriving in the north of Ireland, commenced hostilities; but being surrounded by the Irish militia, he and all his suite were killed, and the tyrant was interred at Down-Patrick. Those who had remained on board the fleet, having learned the unhappy fate of their chief, returned to Norway, and gave up for ever their claims on Ireland.

Moriertach O'Brien, says Malmesbury, an English cotemporary author, formed so strict a friendship with Henry I., king of England, that he did nothing without first consulting him. He made alliances also with foreign princes; and gave one of his daughters in marriage to Arnulph de Montgomery, eldest son of the earl of Arundel, in England. and another to Sicard, son of Magnus, king of Norway.

This pious prince, convinced that human grandeur is but transient, withdrew to Lismore, where he took minor orders, and employed the remainder of his life in preparing for eternity. He died the sixth of the ides of March, 1120. His body was removed to Killaloe, and interred in the cathedral of that city. Some time before his death, he undertook a pilgrimage to Armagh; which gave rise to Keating's belief that he died there. This prince was the last king of Ireland of his race. From him, and consequently from Brien Boiroimhe, are descended the illustrious houses of the O'Briens, of which the present head is Charles O'Brien, Earl of Thuomond, heretofore called Lord Clare, Marshal of France, knight of the orders of the most Christian king, and colonel of the Irish regiment of Clare, in the service of his Majesty.

CHAPTER XV

Domnald-Maglochluin survived his rival Moriertach. Some annalists have placed him in the catalogue of monarchs, among others, Gillamaddud, an ancient writer, and O'Duvegan, in which they are followed by O'Clery, Colgan, and others, the first of whom says that he was united with Moriertach in the supreme government. He exacted hostages from the inhabitants of Connaught, Meath, and other districts; carried on a war against the Danes of Fingal, and put their country under contribution. Moriertach was, however, better known to foreigners, particularly the English. He had established an intercourse with the latter by treaties and marriages; signed the postulata of the bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, who went over for consecration by the archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the discipline of the church of Ireland, and also kept up a correspondence by letter with the prelates of Canterbury. This intercourse with the English, no doubt, influenced Domhnal-More-O'Brien, king of Limerick, in making prompt submission to Henry II. some time afterwards. However this may be, the people were much harassed by the wars of these princes; and the efforts which the bishops and nobles made to appease their quarrels, prove that their authority was equal, and that one was acknowledged monarch in the north, and the other in the south.

Domnald was a generous prince, charitable to the poor, and liberal to the rich. Feeling his end to be approaching, he withdrew to the abbey of Columb-Kill, in Doire, (Derry,) where he died in 1121, on the fourth of the ides of February, aged 73 years.*

The abbey of Erinach, or Carrig, in Dalaradie, at present the county of Down, was founded in 1127 for Benedictines, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by Magnellus-Mac-Kenleffe, and afterwards removed to Inis.

Although it is alleged by some authors, that there was at this time an interregnum of some years, and though Ware, who speaks of it, comes to no conclusion upon the subject, it is certain that Turlough-More-O'Connor, otherwise Terdelach O'Connor, son of Roderick king of Connaught, succeeded the two last princes in the supreme government of the island. He was of the race of Heremon, and descended in the twenty-third degree from Eocha XII., surnamed Moyveagon, monarch of the island in the fourth century.

The two sons of that monarch, Brian and Fiachar, had formed two powerful tribes in Connaught, called after them the Hy-Brunes

* "Domnaldus, grandson of Lochlannus, son of Ardganus, king of Ireland, and the handsomest of his countrymen. His birth was noble, his disposition ingenuous, and he was most successful in his undertakings. The poor received many gifts from him, and the great were liberally rewarded. He retired to the abbey of Columb-Kill, where he died in the 73d year of his age, and 27th of his reign." —*Act. Sanct. Hib. ad* 27 *March*, cap. 4, p. 773

and the Hy-Fiachras, of Tir-Fiachra, and Tir-Amalgaid, or Tirawly. From these two tribes were descended all the kings that governed this province from the fourth to the twelfth century, but principally from the former, of which the O'Connors Don were the chiefs. This tribe was also called Clan-Murray, or Siol-Murray, from Muredach-Mullethan, one of their chiefs, and king of Connaught in the seventh century.

Terdelach O'Connor, being the most powerful prince of Ireland at the time the throne became vacant, caused himself to be proclaimed monarch by his own adherents, and a considerable part of the island. He entered Munster twice with an army, to force the people of that province to pay him homage. At first he was repulsed with the loss of a great number of his best troops, including O'Flaherty, prince of Iar-Connaught, and many other lords of distinction, but he was more successful in his second expedition, having defeated the Munster forces at the battle of Moinmor, in which he slaughtered great numbers of them, and put the remainder to flight, with their commander Terdelach O'Brien, son of Murgan, king of that province.* After this victory the province submitted to him, and he divided it between Terdelach O'Brien and Dermod Mac-Carthy; giving to the former the northern part, including Thuomond and Limerick; and to the latter, the district of Cork, and the remainder of the southern part. Having received hostages from these princes, he marched towards the north, where he quelled some troubles occasioned by the revolt of the northern Hy-Nialls, who had not yet acknowledged his sovereignty, and received the homage of the O'Neills, O'Donnels, and other princes and lords of the province. On his return from Ulster, he re-established the games at Tailton, which had been interrupted during a long time. These games, which had been instituted for the exercise of the youth, consisted in races on foot and on horseback, in wrestling, in gladiatorial tournaments, leaping, throwing the stone and javelin, and every species of military evolutions. Emulation was excited by the applause and prizes which awaited the victor. This monarch likewise caused the high roads to be repaired, and bridges built, two over the Shannon, one at Athlone, the other at Athrochta, and that of Dunleoghe, over the river Suck. Lastly, he had money coined at Cluon-Mac-Noisk.

* Bruodin, Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 16, page 934.

Terdelach was not less remarkable for his religion and piety, than for the wisdom of his government. He founded a priory at Tuam in 1140, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which he liberally endowed with land; he also granted a large tract of land to the abbey of Roscommon, in order to increase its revenues. In his will he bequeathed to different churches sixty-five ounces of gold, sixty marks of silver, all his furniture, including his vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, and other jewels.*

This prince was inflexible in punishing crime. His son Roderick having been guilty of some misdemeanor, he caused him to be loaded with irons, and it was only at the frequent solicitations of the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and the heads of the clergy of his kingdom, that he restored him to his liberty, after a year's confinement.

The annals of Ireland fix the foundation of several religious houses in this reign, namely, the monastery of St. Finbarry, at Cork, first founded by that saint, and rebuilt and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in the year 1134, for regular canons, by Cormac-Mac-Carthy, king of Munster, or at least of that part of the province called Desmond.†

The priory of St. John the Baptist, founded at Down, in 1138, by St. Malachi and Morgair.‡

A monastery of Benedictines in Dublin, first founded in the tenth century by the Danes, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and afterwards changed to Bernardines, of the order of Citeaux, in 1139.

St. Mell, or Mellifont, in the district of Louth, was a celebrated abbey of the order of Citeaux, under the invocation of our Lady.§ It was a branch of the abbey of Clairvaux, whence St. Bernard had monks sent thither, and nominated as first abbot the blessed Christian O'Conarchy, a native of Ireland, and a disciple of the abbey of Clairvaux, who was afterwards bishop of Lismore, and apostolical legate, having been, as St. Bernard observes, the first abbot of Citeaux in Ireland. This abbey was parent of most of the other houses of the order of Citeaux in Ireland, the first monks having been taken from it. It is said to have been perfectly similar to the house of Clairvaux, both in the situation and construction of the building, and was so extensive, that by way of pre-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Gratianus Lucius, c. 9. Ogygia, part 3, cap. 94.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

‡ War. ibidem.

§ Idem. ibid. Allemand's Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 167

eminence it was called *Monisther-Mor*, that is, the great monastery. Our Lady of Mellifont was founded long before the arrival of the English in Ireland, namely, in 1140, by Donat O'Caruel, prince of Ergallie, according to Jungelinus. Ware fixes the foundation of it in 1142.* There are others who ascribe the foundation of this house to St. Malachi, bishop of Down; it is, however, certain that this prince contributed with the holy prelate towards the building of it.

At Bectiffe, on the river Boyne, in east Meath, there is an abbey entitled our Lady of Beatitude, a branch of Mellifont, founded in 1146 by Murchard O'Melaghlin, prince, or according to the style of those times, king of Meath. The chronologists of the order of Citeaux are at variance respecting the time of the foundation of this abbey. Some fix it in 1148, others in 1151.†

In the town of Louth there was a monastery for regular canons, founded in 1148, by Donat O'Caruel, prince of Ergallie, and by Edan O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher.‡

The abbey of Baltinglass, *De Valle Salutis*, on the river Slaney, in the territory of Wicklow, was founded and endowed for monks of the order of Citeaux, in 1148 or 1151, by Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster.§

At Boyle, a borough situated on the river Bouel, in the county of Roscommon, there was a celebrated abbey, called after our Lady, and a branch of Mellifont the first abbot of which was Peter O'Mordha.‖ This abbey was first founded at Grellechdine, in 1148, afterwards transferred to Dromconaid, from thence to Buin-Finng, and lastly to Boyle, in 1161.¶

Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, founded an abbey in Dublin, called after the blessed Mary of Hoggis, for regular canons of St. Augustin, of the peculiar congregation of Arouaise, an abbey in the diocese of Arras, which was head of that congregation, but is no longer in existence.**

The latter part of Terdelach O'Connor's reign was not so fortunate. Moriertach-Maglochluin, (son of Niall, and grandson of Loghlin, from whom he had taken his surname,) prince of the northern Hy-Nialls, having become powerful proved a formidable rival to him; and frequently carried on a successful warfare against him. He weakened his power considerably, without annihilating it: and the death of Terdelach at length opened to him a way to the throne. Bruodine fixes the death of Terdelach in 1144, Keating in 1150, Gratianus Lucius and O'Flaherty in 1156, and Ware in 1157, at the age of sixty-eight years However this be, he was interred at the altar of St. Kiaran, in the cathedral of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, of which he had been a benefactor.

Moriertach being now without a rival, assumed the reigns of the supreme government. He was a warlike prince, and an able politician. He reduced all the provinces by his arms, and exacted hostages from them; made wise regulations for the spiritual and temporal government, as appears by the frequent assemblies which were held under his reign; was the steady protector of the clergy, whom he made arbitrators of the most important of his affairs; and may be considered to have been the most absolute of those who assumed the title of monarch since the reign of Malachi II. It would have been fortunate for Ireland, says a modern author, had Moriertach enacted a law in favor of the house of the Hy-Nialls, securing their succession to the crown;* which would have put an end to the factions caused by the usurpation of the provincial kings, that hastened the downfall of the nation.

The most remarkable event that occurred in the reign of this monarch, was the national council of Kells. The Roman church, always attentive to the necessities of the provincial churches, was not forgetful of the steps which St. Malachi had taken to obtain the pallium from Pope Innocent II.; nor was she ignorant of the commission which the saint had received for that purpose from the clergy of Ireland, at the synod of Holm-Patrick. It was in consequence of this that Pope Eugene III. sent John Paparo, a priest and cardinal, with the title of "St. Laurence in Damasus," to Ireland, in 1152, as legate, with four palliums for the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam The legate assembled a council, at which he presided, with Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and apostolical legate after the death of St. Malachi. Authors do not agree respecting the place in which this council was held. Some say that it was in the abbey of Mellifont; and others, (which is the most general opinion,) that it was at Kenanus, by corruption Kells, an ancient city in Meath This assembly, which was held in the month

* Lib. de Notif. Abbatia Ord. Cister.
† War. ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 177.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
§ War. ibid. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irland.
‖ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid.
¶ War. ibid. Allemand. ibid.
** War. ibid. Allemand, ibid, page 341.

* Dissertation on the Ancient History of Ireland, page 35.

of March, was numerously and brilliantly attended.* The bishops present at this council were:

Giolla-Christ (Christian) O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and legate.

Giolla-Mac-Liah, (Gelasius,) primate of Ireland.

Domnald O'Lonorgain, archbishop of Munster, that is, of Cashel.

Œda, or Hugh O'Hossin, archbishop of Connaught, that is, of Tuam.

Greri, or Gregory, archbishop of Dublin.

Giolla-na-Næmh, bishop of Glendaloch.

Dungol O'Cellaid, bishop of Leighlin.

Tuistius, bishop of Waterford.

Domnald O'Fogertaic, bishop of Ossory.

Find-Mac-Tiarcain, bishop of Kildare.

Giolla-Ancomdeh (Deicola) O'Ardmail, bishop of Emly.

Giolla-Œda O'Mugin, (or O'Heyn,) bishop of Cork.

Mac-Ronan, or Maol-Breanuin O'Ruanain, bishop of Kerry, that is, Ardfert.

Torgesius, bishop of Limerick.

Muirchertach O'Melider, bishop of Cluain-Mac-Noisk.

Mæliosa O'Conochtain, bishop of Oirthir-Conacht, that is, of Roscommon.

O'Radan, bishop of Luigni, that is, of Achonry.

Macraith O'Morain, bishop of Conmacne, (Ardagh.)

Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clunairard, that is, Clonard.

Tuathal O'Connachtaig, bishop of Huambruai, or Enaghdune.

Muirideach O'Cobthaig, bishop of Kineal-Eogain, now Derry.

Mælpadruic O'Beanain, bishop of Dailaraid, that is, Connor.

Mæliosa-Mac-Inclericuir, bishop of Ullagh, that is, Down.

In this council the bishoprics of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, were made metropolitans; which privilege had been granted to Armagh in the beginning; and the cardinal legate conferred on the four the palliums, with which he had been intrusted by the pope. To each of these metropolitans was assigned a limited number of suffragans; regulations were made against simony and usury; and the payment of tithes decreed by the apostolical authority, as appears by an act taken from the book of Cluain-Ednach, an ancient monastery in the diocese of Leighlin, in the district of Leix, now the parish of Clonenagh, near Mountrath.†

In 1157, the primate convened a synod in the abbey of Mellifont, composed of seventeen bishops, besides the legate, who presided, and the primate by whom it was convened. This synod seems to have been a prorogation of that of Kells. It is probable that Keating, and the other writers who place the latter in 1157, confound one with the other. This synod was honored by the presence of Moriertach-Maglochluin, the monarch, Eochaid, king of Ulidia: Tiernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, and O'Caruel, prince of Ergall, were also present. The principal object of this assembly was to excommunicate and dethrone Dunchad O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and place his brother Dermod on the throne in his stead. It is not well known what crime he had committed which drew upon him so heavy a malediction; but it is mentioned in some records in the following terms: "This accursed atheist was excommunicated for having dishonored the Comarb or primate, the staff of Jesus, and all the clergy." The church of this abbey was solemnly consecrated during this synod, and received considerable donations from the princes. The monarch gave one hundred and forty oxen, sixty ounces of gold, and a tract of land near Drogheda, called Finnabhuair-Naningean; O'Carroll gave sixty ounces of gold; and the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, daughter of O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, sixty ounces of gold, a golden chalice for the grand altar, and ornaments for the other nine altars of the church.

This prelate, so zealous and indefatigable when God's glory and his neighbor's salvation were in question, convened a synod at Brighthaig, in the district of Leogaire, in Meath, in 1158, composed of twenty-five bishops, at which Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and legate, presided. The bishops of Connaught, when on their way thither, were met by a band of soldiers, who killed two of their attendants, and forced them to return into their province. Regula-

* Keating's History, lib. 2. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 16.

† "A grand synod was held in the spring of A. D. 1157. The Lord John, cardinal priest of St. Laurence, presided over twenty-two bishops, and five coadjutors, besides as many abbots and priors of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the blessed Eugene. Simony and all manner of usury were suppressed and condemned, and tithes commanded to be paid by apostolical authority. Four palliums were given to the four archbishops of Ireland, namely, those of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel, and Armagh. The archbishop of Armagh was given precedence over the others, as was fitting. The cardinal John, immediately after the council terminated, set out upon his journey, and crossed the seas on the 24th of March."

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tions were made in this synod, respecting the reformation of morals, and re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline. They made a cathedral of the abbey of Derry, of which Flathbert, then abbot, was first bishop. He was also appointed by the synod prefect general of all the abbeys of Ireland.*

There were several monasteries for both sexes founded in this reign, as set forth in the following account:

The abbey of Shroule was founded in 1150, for monks of the order of St. Bernard, by O'Ferrall, chief of the noble tribe of the O'Ferralls of Analy, now the county of Longford.† Jungelinus says that it was not founded till the year 1200, and that it was a branch of Mellifont.

In the city of Athlone there was the abbey of St. Peter, or of Innocents.‡ Ware says that this abbey had two titles, that of St. Peter, and St. Benedict.. Some allege that this house was of the order of St. Benedict; others, on the contrary, maintain that it belonged to that of Citeaux. Jungelinus calls this abbey of Athlone, *Benedictio Dei*, and says that it was founded about the year 1150, in honor of St. Peter and St. Benedict, and that it was situated in that part of the city which was in the county of Roscommon.

The abbey of Nenay, in the county of Limerick, otherwise called *De Magio*, having been built on the river Magia, was endowed in 1148, by an O'Brien, king of Limerick, for monks of the order of Citeaux, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin.§ This abbey was a branch of Mellifont, and gave rise in its turn to several others. Jungelinus says it was founded in 1151. This house was called Na-Maigghe monastery, in the Irish language.

O'Dorney, near the town of Ardfert, in the county of Kerry, otherwise called the abbey of Kyrie-Eleison, of the order of Citeaux, and a branch of the abbey of Nenay, was founded in 1154.* Christian, who was one of the most celebrated bishops of Lismore, and apostolical legate in Ireland, was interred in this abbey in 1186.

The abbey called our Lady of Greenwood, or St. Patrick of Greenwood, *De Viridi Ligno*, in the city of Newry, in the county of Down, was founded by Moriertach-Maglochluin, monarch of Ireland, in 1153, for monks of the order of Citeaux.† Ware says that some incorrectly attribute the foundation of this house to St. Malachi, who died some years before.

The abbey of Ferns, under the invocation of the blessed Virgin, in the county of Wexford, was founded in 1158, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by Dermod Mac-Morrough, king of Leinster.‡

The priory of the canonesses of Kilclehin, or *Bello Portu*, a fine harbor on the river Suir, in the district of Kilkenny, nearly opposite to Waterford, was founded in 1151, by Dermod Mac-Morrough, king of Leinster.§ This priory was dependent on the abbey of Hoggis, in Dublin, of which we have already spoken. This king also founded a monastery for canonesses, nuns of the abbey of Hoggis, at Athaddy, in the district of Carlow.

At Clonard, in Meath, there was a nunnery of the order of St. Augustin, which was endowed by O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, and confirmed in its possessions by Pope Celestine III., in 1195

The monastery of Termon-Fechin, in Louth, was founded in the same century, (the date is not precisely known,) by the noble family of the Mac-Mahons of Monaghan, or Uriel, for nuns of the order of St. Augustin.‖ This foundation was confirmed in 1195, by Pope Celestine III.

Gelasius, primate of Ireland, also convened in this reign, in the year 1162, a synod of twenty-six bishops, at Cleonad, in the diocese of Kildare; in which, among other things, it was enacted that no one but a pupil of the University of Armagh should be admitted as professor of theology in a public school.¶ In the succeeding reign this

* "A synod was convened by the Irish clergy, at Brighthaig, in the district of Leogaire; at which the legate being present, 25 bishops assembled to examine into church discipline and morals. At this synod it was decreed by a general council, that the cathedral church should be conferred, in the manner of the other bishoprics, upon the Comarb, successor of St. Columb-Kill, Flethbertus O'Brolchan, and the supremacy of all the abbeys of the kingdom. The bishops of Connaught, however, were not present. On their journey to the synod, after leaving the church of Cluan-Mac-Nois, they were robbed on the way, and two of their party killed at Cluanias, by the emissaries of Diermitius O'Melaghluin, king of Meath; the others returned home."—*Hibernian Annals in Colgan, 28th March. Life of St. Gelasius.*

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 180.

‡ Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 190.

§ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 184.

* War. ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 183.

† Idem. page 194

‡ Wareus, ibid.

§ Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 342.

‖ Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 349.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit S Gelas. ad 28 Mart. c 15, et seq.

prelate convoked another synod at Athboy, in Meath, composed of the clergy and princes of Leth-Cuin, at which Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, attended. The object of all these assemblies was the spiritual government of the church, and also the tranquillity of the state.

It is said that in this reign, in the year 1155, Pope Adrian IV. issued the celebrated bull, by which this pontiff transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry II., king of England. The tenor of it is here given, in order that an opinion may be formed of it.

"*Adrian, bishop and servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, greeting, health, and apostolical benediction.*"

"Thy greatness, as is becoming a Catholic prince, is laudably and successfully employed in thought and intention, to propagate a glorious name upon earth, and lay up in heaven the rewards of a happy eternity, by extending the boundaries of the church, and making known to nations which are uninstructed, and still ignorant of the Christian faith, its truths and doctrine, by rooting up the seeds of vice from the land of the Lord: and to perform this more efficaciously, thou seekest the counsel and protection of the apostolical see, in which undertaking, the more exalted thy design will be, united with prudence, the more propitious, we trust, will be thy progress under a benign Providence, since a happy issue and end are always the result of what has been undertaken from an ardor of faith, and a love of religion.

"It is not, indeed, to be doubted, that the kingdom of Ireland, and every island upon which Christ the sun of justice hath shone, and which has received the principles of the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter, and to the holy Roman church, (which thy majesty likewise admits,) from whence we the more fully implant in them the seed of faith, that seed which is acceptable to God, and to which we, after a minute investigation, consider that a conformity should be required by us the more rigidly. Thou, dearest son in Christ, hast likewise signified to us, that for the purpose of subjecting the people of Ireland to laws, and eradicating vice from among them, thou art desirous of entering that island; and also of paying for each house an annual tribute of one penny to St. Peter; and of preserving the privileges of its churches pure and undefiled. We, therefore, with approving and favorable views commend thy pious and laudable desire, and to aid thy undertaking, we give to thy petition our grateful and willing consent, that for the extending the boundaries of the church, the restraining the prevalence of vice, the improvement of morals, the implanting of virtue, and propagation of the Christian religion, thou enter that island, and pursue those things which shall tend to the honor of God, and salvation of his people; and that they may receive thee with honor, and revere thee as their lord: the privilege of their churches continuing pure and unrestrained, and the annual tribute of one penny from each house remaining secure to St Peter, and the holy Roman Church. If thou therefore deem what thou hast projected in mind, possible to be completed, study to instil good morals into that people, and act so that thou thyself, and such persons as thou wilt judge competent from their faith, words, and actions, to be instrumental in advancing the honor of the Irish church, propagate and promote religion, and the faith of Christ, to advance thereby the honor of God, and salvation of souls, that thou mayest merit an everlasting reward of happiness hereafter, and establish on earth a name of glory, which shall last for ages to come. Given at Rome, &c. &c. &c."

The above was an edict pronounced against Ireland, by which the rights of men, and the most sacred laws are violated, under the specious pretext of religion and the reformation of morals.* The Irish were no longer to possess a country. That people, who had never bent under a foreign yoke, "nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni," were condemned to lose their liberty, without even being heard.† But can the vicar of Jesus Christ be accused of so glaring an act of injustice? Can he be thought capable of having dictated a bull which overthrew an entire nation, which dispossessed so many ancient proprietors of their patrimonies, caused so much blood to be shed, and at length tended to the destruction of religion in the island? It is a thing not to be conceived.

In truth, were we to consider the circumstances and motives of the bull, it has all the appearance of a fictitious one, under the borrowed name of Adrian IV.‡ Baronius quotes it, without giving any date of year or day, which would make it appear suspicious; it remained unpublished for seventeen years; it is said that it was fabricated in 1155, and not made public till 1172, which Nicholas

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 22.
† Nubrigens. de Rebus Anglic. lib. 2, cap. 16.
‡ Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 17.

Trivet ascribes to the opposition it met with from Henry's mother. He adds, that the king, having assembled his parliament at Winton, about the festival of St. Michael, proposed the conquest of Ireland to his lords; but that as it was displeasing to the empress his mother, he deferred the execution of it to another period.*

The bull gains but little authentication from the authority of John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, in his treatise "de nugis curialibus." This writer is made to say, at the end of the last chapter of his fourth book, that "Pope Adrian had granted Ireland to king Henry, at his request, it being the patrimony of his holiness by hereditary right, inasmuch as all the islands belonged to the Roman Church, by the concession of the Emperor Constantine the Great." But this nonsense is considered by the learned as having been added to the chapter by a strange hand; since the author, in speaking particularly in the sixth and eighth books of his visit to the holy father at Benevento, where he remained with him for three months, states most minutely the various conversations which he had with his holiness, without making any mention of the bull in question, though it was a matter of particular importance, and that was naturally the fit time to have mentioned it. Pierre de Blois, a zealous panegyrist of this prelate, who published his praises in various epistles, makes no mention of it either.

It is well known that king Henry, who found creatures sufficiently devoted to him to revenge his quarrel with the holy prelate of Canterbury, did not want for venal writers to add to, and retrench from, the writings of the times, in order to give an appearance of authenticity to a document so necessary for the justification of his conduct. Besides, it appears that Salisbury had gone to Italy of his own accord, and through curiosity, to visit his countryman Adrian, and not with any commission from the king of England; while the bull, according to Mathew of Westminster, was obtained by a solemn embassy, which Henry had sent to the pope. In my opinion, however, this circumstance appears to be another fable added to the former; as he is the first who mentions this embassy, and that two centuries afterwards. The silence, too, of Nubrigensis, an English cotemporary author, respecting this embassy and the bull which it is affirmed was granted, is an argument which, though negative, deserves some attention. This author, who was so zealous for the glory of Henry II. and his nation, commences his narrative by saying that the English had entered Ireland in a warlike manner, and that, their forces increasing every day, they subjugated a considerable part of it.* He makes no mention of a bull granted by any pope; and I consider it highly improbable that he would have forgotten to speak of a circumstance so necessary to give an appearance of justice to the unprecedented conduct of his nation. However this be, it may be affirmed that no pope, either before or after Adrian IV., ever punished a nation so severely without cause We have seen instances of popes making use of their spiritual authority in opposition to crowned heads; we have known them to excommunicate emperors and kings, and place their states under an interdict, for crimes of heresy, or other causes; but we here behold innocent Ireland given up to tyrants, without having been summoned before any tribunal, or convicted of any crime

If we consider the bull as the work of Adrian IV., it opens to our consideratior two very important matters. The first is the real or supposed right of the popes to dispose of crowns and kingdoms; the second regards the reason why the bull was granted, that is, the true or false statement which Henry had made to the pope, of the real state of religion in Ireland, on which the concession of the bull is founded. In the former we do not call in question the spiritual power of St. Peter's successor; he is acknowledged by every Catholic Christian as the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, and the visible head of his church; it is only necessary to know whether his power extends equally over spiritual and temporal matters; or rather, to speak in accordance with the schools, whether he received a twofold power from God. I shall enter into no argument on this subject, which belongs more properly to theology than history, and which has already been so frequently discussed. The digression would be of no value to my object, particularly as the bull only mentions islands; though I see no reason why an island or a kingdom in the ocean should belong to the holy see, as affirmed in the bull, any more than the kingdoms on the continent, unless it be advanced that he holds the sovereignty of all the islands from the liberality of the emperor Constantine the

* Usser. Enist. Hib. Syllog. Epist. 46.

* "At this time the English made a descent upon Ireland in a warlike manner, and their numbers having increased, they became masters of no inconsiderable portion of it by force of arms."—*Nubrigius de Rebus. Anglic*, b. 2, c. 26.

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Great; to which I answer, that Ireland, which had never obeyed the Romans, could not be of that number;* consequently, this claim on Ireland is unfounded, and therefore the concession of it unjust. It might more reasonably be made with reference to Great Britain, which was under the dominion of the Romans both before and after the reign of Constantine; yet the kings of England have never been understood to hold their sovereignty from the holy see.

The supposed jurisdiction of the popes over the kingdom of Ireland acquires no great weight from the authority of Sanderus,† who says that the Irish, on receiving the holy gospel, had submitted, with all they possessed, to the empire of the popes, and acknowledged no other supreme princes but the sovereign pontiffs, till the time of the English.

It would appear that this writer had not consulted the Psalter of Cashel, or the other records of Ireland, to which alone we should refer in matters concerning the country. We discover in those records that there was an uninterrupted succession of monarchs in this island, from Irial till the time of St. Patrick, and from that apostle till the arrival of the English, without any mention of the temporal jurisdiction of the popes. Ranulphus Higden, an English Benedictine monk, and an historiographer of the fourteenth century, expressly mentions, in his book entitled "Polychronicon," the number of kings who had reigned in this island, from the time of St. Patrick to the invasion of the English. He says, that from the time of St. Patrick till the reign of Feidlim, and the time of Turgesius, chief of the Danes, Ireland was governed by thirty-three kings for the space of 400 years; and that from that period to the reign of Roderick, the last monarch of the island, there were seventeen kings.‡ The royalty and succession of the monarchs of Ireland were acknowledged by the English at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, some years before the bull was forged. The letters of the archbishops of Canterbury to the kings of Ireland have been preserved; namely, that of Lanfrancus to Terdelach, "illustrious king of Ireland," and that of Anselm to the glorious Moriertach.* William Rufus, king of England, sent to ask permission from Terdelach, monarch of Ireland, to cut wood in the forests of his kingdom, for the building of Westminster Abbey, and Henry I., in his letter to Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, which is the forty-first of the epistles quoted by Usher, seems to pay particular regard to the recommendation of the king of Ireland in favor of Gregory, who was to be consecrated bishop.†

Sanderus errs grossly in the same book, not only against historical truth, but also against chronology. He says that Henry II., with his followers, that is, Robert Fitzstephen and the earl of Chepstow, having become masters of some places in the island by conquest, the bishops, some of the princes, and a great part of the people, supplicated Pope Adrian to grant to Henry the sovereignty of Ireland, in order to put an end to the seditions and abuses which were springing up on account of the number of their petty kings.

Adrian IV. was elected on the 3d of December, 1154, and held the holy see for four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days; he therefore died 1st September, 1159. According to the most correct authors of both nations, the first English adventurer who landed in Ireland, under title of ally of the king of Leinster, was Robert Fitzstephen. His arrival in the island is fixed in the year 1169. Some time afterwards he was followed by Richard of Chepstow, and in 1172 by Henry II. We should therefore place this supposed address of the clergy and people of Ireland to Adrian IV., at least twelve years

* "The Irish nation, from the first period of their arrival, and from the reign of the first Heremon to the times of Gurmundis and Turgesius, (when her peace was disturbed,) and again from their death to our own times—continued free and undisturbed by any foreign nation."—*G. Cambrensis, Topography of Ireland*, cap. 31.

† De Schism. Anglican. lib. 1, page 163.

‡ "From the arrival of St. Patrick to the time of king Feidlim, thirty-three kings reigned in Ireland, during 400 years. But in the time of Feidlim, the Norwegians, under the command of Turgesius, seized upon the island. From the time of Turgesius to the last monarch, Roderick, king of Connaught, 17 kings ruled in Ireland."

* "Lanfrancus, a sinner, and the unworthy bishop of the holy church of Dover, to the illustrious Terdelvacus, king of Ireland, blessing with respect and prayers."—*Usher, Epist. Hib. Syllog. Epist.* 27.

"To Muriardachus, by the grace of God glorious king of Ireland, Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, greeting, health, salvation, &c., to the king and his lieutenant."—*Ibid. Epist.* 35.

† "Henry, king of England, to Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting, health," &c.

"The king of Ireland hath informed me by his letter, and the Burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory to be bishop, and that they send him to thee to be consecrated. Whence I command thee to pay regard to their petition, and consecrate him without delay: witness Radulphus our Chancellor at Windsor."—*Usher, Epist.* 41.

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after the death of that pope, which does not agree with the calculations of Sanderus.

I here subjoin another bull, which English authors mention to have been given by Alexander III., confirming that of Adrian, and apparently of the same fabric.*

Were we to compare this bull and the preceding one, with the treatise on "Ireland Conquered," composed at the same time by Giraldus Cambrensis, we should discover great similarity of style between them; and if they are not by the same writer, they appear at least to have been composed to maintain each other mutually, and thereby acquire a degree of credit among the public.

Giraldus Cambrensis gives the motives for this bull.† "In the year of our Lord 1172," says he, "Christian, bishop of Lismore, and legate of the holy see; Donat, archbishop of Cashel; Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, with their suffragans, and a great number of abbots, archdeacons, priors, deans, and other prelates of the church of Ireland, held a council in the city of Cashel by order of king Henry, in which, after a strict investigation into the degeneracy of morals in that country, an address was prepared, sealed with the seal of the legate, to be sent to the court of Rome; in compliance with which, Alexander, who was then pope, granted the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry, on condition that he would propagate there the faith, and ecclesiastical discipline, according to the rites of the English church."

I shall here confine myself to a few observations on the council of Cashel, and the manner in which the court of Rome was disposed towards the king of England. I shall in its proper place refute the imputation of irreligion and degeneracy of morals, with which Ireland is branded.

There is no mention made of any English bishops or doctors having assisted at this council of Cashel. It was entirely composed of Irish prelates, namely, the archbishops of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, with their suffragans, and a great number of prelates of inferior rank, who formed three parts of the church of Ireland. St. Gelasius, the primate, is not included. It was to these fathers that Henry confided the work of reforming their countrymen; and he had no need to bring other preachers among them.

How can we reconcile the great degeneracy supposed to have taken place in the religion and morals of the Irish people, with the zeal which the fathers of this council displayed for the reformation of both?

Will it not be admitted that Henry II. himself was convinced that these ecclesiastics were sufficiently enlightened and sufficiently zealous to effect a reformation without the aid or co-operation of any foreign doctors? Can it be imagined that their zeal was a species of fever which seized them at the moment of their assembling at Cashel, and which immediately afterwards became extinct? Should we not suppose that each of them preached and taught in his own church; that the flocks listened to the voice of their shepherds, among a people who were submissive to their ecclesiastics, whom they held in the highest veneration? Religion is improved by preaching, and the bishops and other pastors in Ireland were masters of that course, without any extraordinary mission from the pope or a foreign king. It is therefore improbable that the fathers of this council, supposing them free, would have forged chains for themselves, under the specious pretext of the propagation of the faith, or that they would have submitted, by a public act, to a foreign yoke, to the prejudice of their legitimate princes. It was not in their power to act in such a manner.

The bull of Alexander III. must appear a paradox to all those who strictly investigate the morals of Henry, and his behavior to the court of Rome. A bad Christian makes a bad apostle. What was Henry II.? A man who in private life forgot the essential duties of religion, and frequently those of nature; a superstitious man, who, under the veil of religion, joined the most holy practices to the most flagrant vices; regardless of his word, when to promote his own interest, he broke the most solemn treaties with the king of France; he considered principle as nothing, when the sacrifice of it promised to produce him a benefit. It is well known, that without any scruple, he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, so famous for her debaucheries, and branded by her

* *Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolic benediction.*

For as much as those things which are known to have been reasonably granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in lasting stability, we, adhering to the footsteps of pope Adrian, and regarding the result of our gift to you, (the annual tax of one penny from each house being secured to St. Peter and the holy Roman church,) confirm and ratify the same, considering that its impurities being cleansed, that barbarous nation which bears the name of Christian, may by your grace, assume the comeliness of morality, and that a system of discipline being introduced into her heretofore unregulated church, she may, through you, effectually attain with the name the benefits of Christianity.

† Hiber. Expug. lib. 1, cap. 34.

divorce from Louis VII. He ungratefully confined this very woman in chains, though she had brought him one-fourth of France as her marriage portion. He was a bad father, quarrelled with all his children, and became engaged in wars on every side.* As a king, he tyrannized over his nobles and took pleasure in confounding all their privileges: like his predecessors, he was the sworn enemy of the popes; he attacked their rights, persecuted their adherents, sent back their legates with contempt, encroached upon the privileges and immunities of the church, and gloried in supporting the most unjust usurpers of them; which led to the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Again, his debaucheries are admitted by every historian.† No one is ignorant that he went so far as to seduce the young Alix, who had been betrothed to his son Richard, and that all the misfortunes which filled the latter part of his life with affliction, were caused by this passion, as obstinate as it was criminal and base. Behold the apostle, the reformer, whom the holy see would have chosen to convert Ireland! The witnesses we here bring forth are not to be suspected. Cambrensis himself, whose opinions I have elsewhere refuted, is the first to acknowledge the irregularities of Henry II. He who knew him so well, and who was his friend and favorite, thus speaks of his morals.‡

It cannot be supposed that his conduct towards Alexander III. would have induced him, as pope, to grant the bull attributed to him. In 1150, Henry promised obedience to Octavianus, the anti-pope, and in 1166, to Guido, his successor. Roger Hoveden, an English contemporary writer, says, that in 1164 he pronounced a harsh and wicked edict against Pope Alexander, "Henricus rex fecit grave edictum, et execrabile, contra Alexandrum papam," &c. In that same year, he enacted laws, by which it was forbidden, under heavy penalties, to obey the sovereign pontiff or his censures; which gave rise to the complaints made by the pope of him, in a letter which he wrote to Roger, the archbishop.* It is mentioned by Baronius, that in the same year, Henry had caused troubles capable of overthrowing not only the primate of Canterbury and the whole English church, but even the holy Catholic church and its prelate Alexander, for whom, in particular, he had laid his snares.† Westmonasteriensis says that in 1168 he sent an ambassador to the emperor Frederick, proposing to second him in deposing pope Alexander, who had become his adversary by encouraging the opposition of Thomas á Becket. He adds, that he made his English subjects, both young and old, abjure their obedience to the pope.‡ In fine, he was so disrespectful to the holy see, that he dismissed, with contempt, the cardinals whom the pope had sent to him in 1169.

These bulls have, in fact, all the appearance of forgery. They are not to be met with in any collection. It appears, also, that Henry II. considered them so insufficient to strengthen his dominion in Ireland, that he solicited Pope Lucius III., who succeeded Alexander, to confirm them; but that pope was too just to authorize his usurpation, and paid no regard to a considerable sum of money which the king sent to him.§

* Baker, Chron. of England. Life of Henry II.

† Harpsfield, sæculo 12, cap. 15.

‡ "He was less given to devotion than to hunting; was an open violator of the marriage contract; a ready breaker of his promise in most things; for whenever he got into difficulties he preferred to repent rather of his word than of his deed, considering it more easy to nullify the former than the latter. He was an oppressor of the nobility; daringly audacious in his usurpations of sacred things, and in his desire to monopolize the administration of justice; he united the laws of his realm with those of the church, or rather confounded them together; and converted to the purpose of the state the revenues of the vacant churches."—*Hibernia Expugnatæ*, book 1, c. 45.

* "When the king should attend to reforming the abuses of his predecessors, he himself adds injustice to injustice, and establishes and confirms, under sanction of the royal authority, equally unjust institutions; under which the liberty of the church perishes, and the regulations of apostolical men are, so far as it lies in his power, deprived of their efficacy. The king himself, trifling with our forbearance by the subtle acts of his ambassadors, seems to have so far hardened his mind to our admonitions, that he will not be reconciled to the archbishop," &c. &c.—*Hoveden*, pp. 518, 519, *cited Grat. Luc.* c. 23.

† "Henry raised the waters to overwhelm not only the bishop of Canterbury, together with the whole English church, but the entire of the holy Catholic church, together with its pastor Alexander, against whom, in particular, he directed his machinations."

‡ "King Henry, whose anger was changed into hatred of the blessed Thomas, and of the pope, in consequence of his having espoused the cause of the former, sent to the emperor Frederick, requesting him to co-operate in removing Alexander from the popedom; because he had made himself obnoxious to Henry by aiding the fugitive and traitorous Thomas, who had been the archbishop of Canterbury for some time; he caused the obedience due in England to the pope to be abjured by all, from the boy of twelve years old to aged men."—*West. Flor. Hist.* 1168.

§ Cambrens. Evers. cap. 24.

The misunderstanding between the sovereign pontiff and the king of England was carried to the highest pitch by the martyrdom of the archbishop of Canterbury, which happened in 1171. Strong suspicions were entertained of the prince having contributed to that barbarous deed. He saw the storm ready to burst upon him, and being desirous to avert the blow, he sent ambassadors to Rome, who were very badly received. The pope refused to see or hear them, and all that could be obtained from his holiness was, to use the general terms of abettors, actors, and accomplices, in the excommunication he pronounced on that occasion, without naming Henry.*

Such was the state of affairs between Alexander III. and Henry II., who never ceased annoying the pope, from the time of his elevation to the holy see, in 1159, to 1172, the date of the bull. Every year he was guilty of some new act, as dishonoring to the pope as it was injurious to the interests of the church. The massacre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which happened in the year above mentioned, alarmed all Europe, and angered the pope to such a degree against Henry, that he was on the point of making use of the spiritual weapons of the church against him. Can we believe that, under these circumstances, the pope would have publicly loaded the man with benefits, whom he had tacitly excommunicated? It is quite impossible to imagine, that in order to bring a foreign people back to their obedience to the holy see, his holiness would have committed the undertaking to a prince who had already banished that obedience from his own states.

In order to judge of the motives upon which the bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III. were founded, the state of the church of Ireland, at this time, should be examined into.

Ireland was, from its conversion to the Christian religion in the beginning of the fifth, to the incursion of the Danes in the ninth century, universally acknowledged to have been the theatre of learning, and the seminary of virtue and sanctity; which acquired for her the glorious title of the "*Island of Saints.*" But it must be allowed that, for nearly two centuries, that is, from the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh, the northern pirates had never ceased committing devastations in the island, pillaging and burning her churches and religious houses; the public schools became interrupted; ignorance spread its influence widely, and religion suffered much in its practice, without, however, becoming entirely extinct.

After the complete overthrow of those barbarians in 1014, at the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, Ireland having recovered her freedom, the inhabitants began to rebuild their churches and public schools, and to restore religion to its primitive splendor.

From the battle of Clontarf to the reign of Henry II., and the period of the bulls in question, about a century and a half elapsed; during which time all ranks were emulous in their endeavors to re-establish good order in the government, and discipline in the churches. For these purposes several councils were convened and held, at which the monarch and other princes of the kingdom attended, and canons and statutes were enacted for the regulation of morals, and the restoration of discipline. Cardinal Paparo was in a position to inform the holy see of the measures adopted in the council of Kells, over which he had presided.

During this interval of time, Ireland produced prelates of the highest celebrity for their virtues and doctrine, who would have been an ornament to the most flourishing churches in Europe.

In the Roman Martyrology we discover St. Celsus, St. Malachi, and St. Laurence. Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, had led so austere a life, that Colgan does not hesitate to number him among the saints, in the treatise on his life, under the date of the twenty-seventh March.* This holy man, says Cambrensis, being exhausted by old age and fasting, took no sustenance but the milk of a white cow, which was brought in his train.

Christian, bishop of Lismore, was so eminent for his virtue, that Wion and Menard place him in their martyrology.

St. Bernard speaks highly of Malchus, bishop of Lismore, in his life of St. Malachi, in which he says that "he was a man advanced in years, eminent in virtue, and possessed of great wisdom; that God had endowed him with such abundant grace, that

* "The pope refused either to see or hear the ambassadors whom Henry had sent to exculpate himself from the murder of Thomas of Canterbury; but the Roman court cried out, 'desist, desist,' as if it were impious for the pope to hear the name of Henry who had sent them. By the general advice of the council, the pope dispensed with expressly mentioning the name of the king, and the country beyond the sea; but the sentence of the interdic was maintained, and that against the bishops confirmed."—*Hoveden*, page 526.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Hibern. Expug. lib. 1, c. 34.

he was celebrated, not only for his life and doctrine, but also for his miracles."*

St. Bernard, too, speaks of St. Imar, from whom St. Malachi received his early education. He calls him "a holy man, who led a very austere life, and chastised his body with rigor. He had a cell near the church of Armagh, in which he spent his days and nights in fasting and in prayer."†

Colgan mentions St. Imar Hua-Hedhagain, who had built at Armagh the church of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and who had performed a pilgrimage to Rome, in 1134, for the benefit of his soul.

St. Bernard again says, that "Malachi had a brother called Christian, a man full of grace and virtue; he was a bishop, and though he might have been, in reputation, inferior to Malachi, he did not yield to him in the sanctity of his life, nor in his zeal for justice." "St. Christian Huamorgair," says Colgan, (following the annals of the four masters, for the year 1138,) "was bishop of Clogher, and an eminent doctor in wisdom and religion. He was a lamp that shone by his preaching, and a devout servant of God, that enlightened both the people and clergy by his good works, and a faithful pastor of the church. He died the 12th June, and was interred at Armagh, in the monastery of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul."‡

Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate, was celebrated for his zeal in the government of the church. He convened an assembly of the bishops and princes to oblige St. Malachi to accept of the see of Armagh.‡

Usher quotes a treatise on the ecclesiastical ritual, addressed by Gilbert of Limerick to the bishops of Ireland, and another by the same author respecting the state of the church, "de statu Ecclesiæ," about the year 1090 § He also gives us a letter from the same Gilbert to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, with his answer.‖ This great man, worn down with age, and no longer able to sustain its burden, resigned the powers of legate to Innocent III., which that pope conferred on St. Malachi.¶

St. Bernard mentions, in his preface to the life of St. Malachi, the abbot of Congan, whom he speaks of as a reverend brother and a dear friend: "Reverendus frater et dulcis amicus meus." He speaks of Edan, whom St. Malachi had placed instead of his brother Christian, in the bishopric of Clogher and a young man whom he calls a second Zacheus,* who was the first lay brother in the monastery of Shrowl, where they bore testimony to his having lived in a holy manner among the brethren: "Testimonium habet ab omnibus, quod sancte conversetur inter fratres." This author also mentions a poor, but holy and learned man, whom St. Malachi had placed in the see of Cork, with the approbation of the people.†

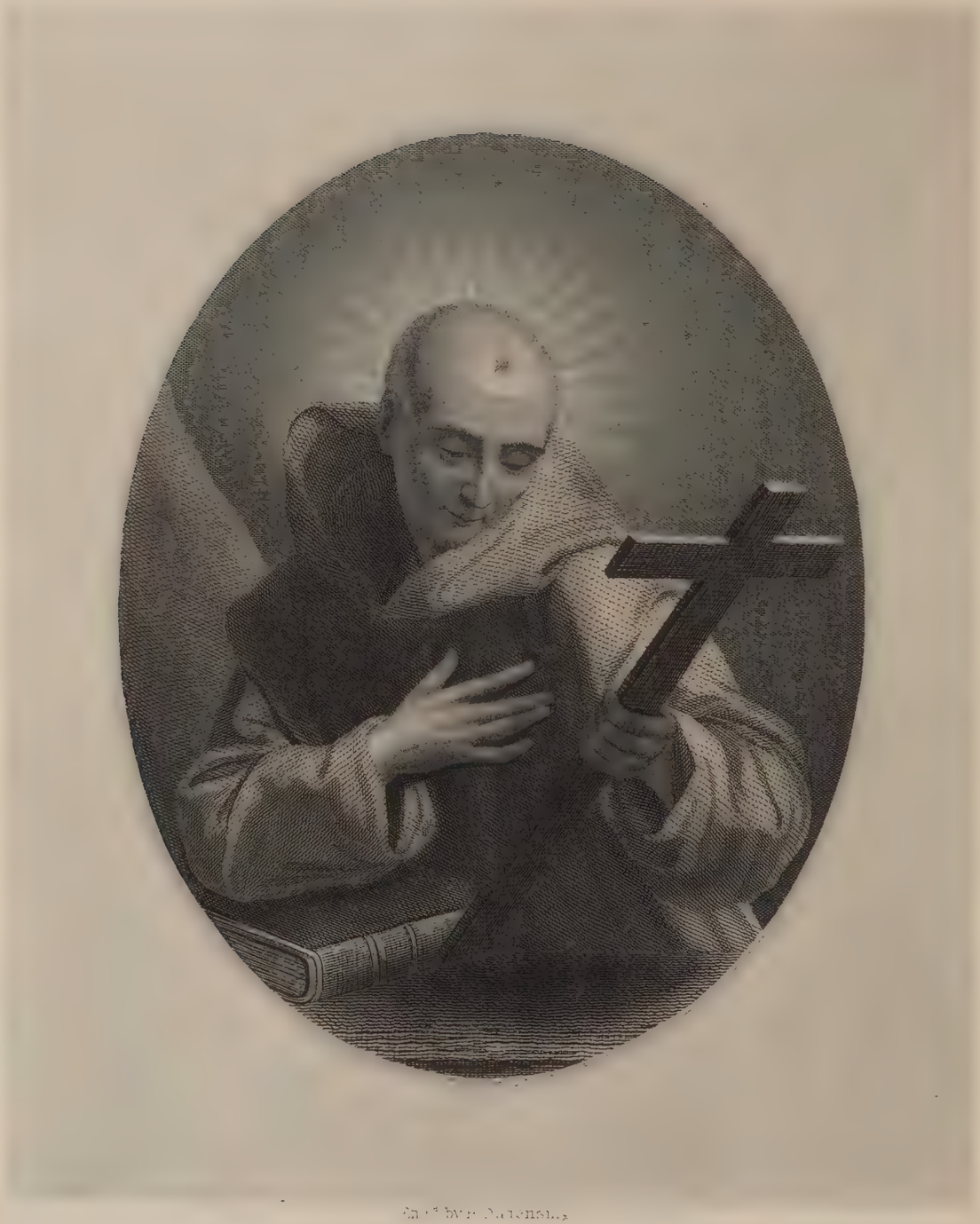
According to Cambrensis, Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, was a learned and discreet man: "Vir literatus et discretus."‡

St. Malachi, St. Gelasius, St. Laurence, and the other prelates and holy persons whom I have just mentioned, except Malchus of Lismore, had all studied in Ireland, instead of being indebted to foreigners for their education. The schools, particularly those of Armagh, were already firmly re-established during the interval between the battle of Clontarf and the arrival of the English. In the council of Cleonard, composed of twenty-six bishops, convened by St. Gelasius, it was decreed among other things, that none but a scholar of the university of Armagh should be admitted as a professor of theology in a public school.§ St. Bernard mentions a professor of Armagh, who was celebrated for those branches of education which are called liberal: "Erat enim famosus in disciplinis quas dicunt liberales."‖ He says that although there were eight married men, who successively usurped the see of Armagh, they were, notwithstanding, learned:¶ "Octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati et absque ordinibus, literati tamen." We may suppose that those bishops who succeeded them canonically, were not less so. The sovereign pontiffs were so well convinced of the merit and erudition of the Irish bishops, that they appointed five of them, one after the other, apostolical legates, namely, Gilbert, bishop of Limerick; St. Malachi; St. Christian, bishop of Lismore; St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Mathew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel. Henry II. himself employed no other missionaries than the prelates of Ireland, whom he had convoked at Cashel, to cultivate religion, and reform the morals of the people.

* St. Bernard, Life of St. Malachi, c. 3.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Epist. Hibern. Syllog. Epist. 30.
‖ Ibid. Epist. 31.
¶ "Appointing him legate for the whole of Ireland."—*Hiberniæ Epistolæ*, c. 2.

* St. Bernard, Vit. S Malach. cap. 7.
† Ibid.
‡ Top. Hib. Dist. 3, cap. 32.
§ "Regulations were made for laymen as well as ecclesiastics, regarding good morals and discipline."—*Life of St. Gelas.*, c. 23.
‖ Vit. S. Malach. cap. 1.
¶ Idem. cap. 7.

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During this interval of time, Ireland sent several holy missionaries into foreign countries.* Radorus, an ancient author of the life of St. Marianus, and John Aventinus, speak of Murchertach, Marianus, Clement, John, Isaac, Candidus, Magnoaldus, and many others, all Scots from Ireland, who had preached and instructed the inhabitants of Ratisbon, and its environs. They first settled in the church of St. Peter, in the suburbs of the city, under the protection of the emperor, Henry IV., but their numbers having increased, they built in the city of Ratisbon the monastery of James, which gave birth to other establishments for the Scots of Ireland, in the cities of Houitzberg in Franconia, Vienna in Austria, Ermstadt, Nuremberg, and others.†

The Chronicle of Ratisbon mentions, that Denis, abbot of the monastery of the Scots at Ratisbon, had sent to Ireland Isaac and Gervasius, natives of that country, and of noble descent, to look for some assistance towards rebuilding their monastery, and that Conchovar O'Brien, king of Munster, and other princes, had sent them back to Germany, loaded with gold and silver, with which the abbot bought a piece of ground, and caused the house to be rebuilt.‡

The annals of Ireland mention, that Conchovar O'Brien, king of Munster, after having sent considerable presents to Lothaire, king of the Romans, for the expedition to the Holy Land, undertook a pilgrimage to Kildare, where he died in 1142: "Per magnæ nobilitatis, ac potentiæ comites cruce signatos, et Hierosolyman petituros, ad Lotherium regem Romanorum ingentia munera misisse traditur."

Christianus, a man of noble birth, and descended from the leading family of the Macartys in Ireland, on becoming abbot of the monastery of the Scots of St. James at Ratisbon, and finding that the money which his predecessor had obtained from Ireland was already spent, and that the brothers were in great distress, was anxious to remedy their wants. He accordingly returned to Ireland, to seek the aid of Donat O'Brien, king of Munster, and the other princes of the country. The holy man, however, died on the eve of his departure, and the sum obtained was placed in the hands of the archbishop of Cashel.*

Gratianus Lucius accuses the author of the Ratisbon Chronicle of an error in chronology, or at least of having substituted one name for another. He is correct in asserting that there was then no king of Munster, much less of Ireland, called Donatus O'Brien, and that this fact of Irish history, and the alms granted to Christianus, must either refer to Donatus Macarty, (king of Desmond, according to the division of that province by Terdelach O'Connor, who was at that time the monarch,) or to Terdelach O'Brien, who was king of Munster. However this error may have arisen, which does not affect the groundwork of the history, the same chronicle mentions that Gregory, a native of Ireland, a man eminent for his virtues, and a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, having been admitted into the order of St. Benedict, and received as a member of the community of Ratisbon by Christianus, was elected abbot on the death of the latter. In the mean time, Marianus, a celebrated Irish scholar and a learned man, who was public professor of the liberal arts in Paris, (where he had for his disciple Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman, afterwards pope, under the title of Adrian IV.,) was received into the house of Ratisbon. After his election, Gregory went to Rome to receive his consecration from the hands of Pope Adrian IV. The pope questioned him on several matters, and particularly about his old master Marianus. "Marianus," replied Gregory, "is well; he has renounced the world to embrace the monastic state in our house at Ratisbon." "God be praised," said Adrian. "I have never known in the catholic church an abbot so perfect in wisdom, prudence, and other

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 17 Jan. Cambr. Evers. cap. 21 et 22.

† "Muricherodachus, an Irishman, and coming from the ancient Scotia, was beforehand with his countryman Marianus."—*Raderi in Bavaria.*

"At this time also, D. Marianus Scotus, a poet and an eminent theologian, inferior to none in his time, together with his brother philosophers John and Candidus, Clement, Murcheridacus, Magnoaldus, and Isaac, came to Germany, and then proceeded to Reginburgh."—*Annals of the Boii.*

"Ireland indeed was, in the time of our ancestors, most fertile in holy and learned men. Thence Columbanus, Chilianus, and most of those designated Scots migrated into Germany. Here the excellent Marianus, with six of his disciples, arrived at Reginburgh, where they inhabited an edifice outside the walls of the city, but a great number of Gentiles coming thither, by their assistance and that of the Boii, they built a large church within the city. There, by their zeal in religious observances, their chastity and rigid abstinence, as well as by writing and teaching, they attained great celebrity, and by their pious example edified not only the Boii, but also their neighbors. All were unanimous in praise of them."—*Joan. Avent* b 5; *Annals of the Boii.*

‡ Page 62 of this History.

* Chron. Ratisbonense, apud Grat. Luc. pages 21, 62, et seq.

gifts of God, as my master Marianus." On his return to Ratisbon, Gregory, at the solicitation of the brothers, went to Ireland, where he received from Muriertach O'Brien, successor to Donatus, (to whom he presented a letter from Conradus, king of the Romans,) the sum of money which had been deposited at Cashel on the death of Christianus, his predecessor. With this money he purchased land and goods at Ratisbon, and rebuilt the church and monastery.* The troubles caused in Ireland by the English after the twelfth century, having obliged the Irish Scots to leave their house at Ratisbon, it fell into the hands of the Scotch, who were always ready to appropriate to themselves every thing desirable, particularly when connected with the name *Scot*. About this time also flourished the celebrated Marianus, known by the name of Marianus Scotus, and who was considered a chronologist of the first order. He was born in Ireland in 1028, and became a monk, or as he himself says, withdrew from the world in 1052. He left Ireland in 1056, and went to Germany, where he shut himself up for almost three years in the abbey of St. Martin of Cologne.† From that he went to the abbey of Fulde, in which he remained ten years, and was ordained priest in 1059. Finally, he left Fulde in 1069, to go to Mentz, (Mayence,) where he continued till his death, which took place in 1086, he being then fifty-eight years old. He was interred in the convent of St. Martin, or according to others, in the church of St Peter, outside of the city.

Marianus was, undoubtedly, the most learned man of his age; an excellent historian, a distinguished arithmetician, and a profound theologian.‡ Trithemius says "he was very learned in the holy Scriptures, well versed in all the sciences, possessed of an acute genius, and led an exemplary life;"§ he adds, that he died with a reputation of sanctity. He left many works, and wrote a universal chronology, "Chronicon Universale," from the creation to the year 1083, which was continued to 1200 by Dodechin, abbot of Disibod, in the diocese of Triers. He took Cassiodorus as his guide, which he enlarged considerably. According to Bale he wrote "Evangelistarum concordiam," "De universali computo," "Emendationes Dionysii," "De magno Cyclo Paschali," "Algorismum," "Breviarium in Lucam," "Annotationes Scripturarum," "Epistolas hortatorias."* According to others, he wrote "Commentaria in Psalmos," and "Notitia utriusque Imperii."† It is affirmed that there are epistles of St. Paul, written by the hand of Marianus, with commentaries, in the library of the emperor of Vienna.‡

In the interval between the overthrow of the Danes, and the time of Henry II., (the period of the production of the bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III.,) several churches and monasteries were established. I have already given the dates of their foundations, and the names of their founders.

We discover, at the same time, among the princes and nobles of Ireland, illustrious examples of religion and piety, by the voluntary surrender of their crowns, dignities, and possessions, to follow the more freely the footsteps of Jesus Christ. The example of kings and princes has a great influence over their people. In the eleventh century, we find Donnough, son of Brien Boiroimhe, monarch of the island, give up his kingdom, and after spending a life of penance, end his days in St. Stephen's abbey at Rome. Flahertach O'Neill, a prince highly esteemed in Ulster, renounced the world to practise penance, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. Teige Mac-Lorcan, king of Kinseallagh, ended his life in an edifying manner in the monastery of Gleandaloch. Cahal-Mac-Rory O'Connery, king of Connaught, and Moriertach O'Brien, king of Munster, and joint monarch of Ireland, animated with the same spirit of religion and penance, ended their days, one at Armagh, and the other at Lismore.

After all that I have said on the state of religion in Ireland during the hundred and fifty years which immediately preceded the reign of Henry II.; of the several councils which had been convened for the regulation of morals and the re-establishment of discipline; of so many saints and learned prelates who were an honor to religion, and from among whom, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam; Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, Constantine, bishop of Killaloe; Brictius, bishop of Limerick; Augustin, bishop of Waterford; and Felix, bishop of Lismore, were considered worthy of being called to the third general council of Lateran, in 1179; after exhibiting the many zealous missionaries who had left their country, (their

* Chron. Ratisbonense, apud Grat. Luc. pages 21, 162, et seq.

† War. de Script. Hib.

‡ Sigebert. de Gemblours, de Scriptor. Eccles. page 172.

§ Catalog. Vir. Illustr.

* Script. Britan. cent. 14, n. 45.

† Joannes Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 2, pp. 360 et 361. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 9.

‡ Lambecius, lib. 2, cap. 8, page 749

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ministry not being perhaps needed at home,) to go and instruct foreign nations ; after describing so many religious foundations, effected through the liberality of the faithful ; and lastly, viewing the numerous examples of virtue given by the heads of the nation ; can it be supposed that the degeneracy of morals and religion was so general and inveterate as is represented in the two bulls of Adrian and Alexander ? People who rationally weigh the whole, will not be such dupes as to believe them. The priest and his flock will resemble each other, " sicut populus, sic sacerdos." The Irish, says Stanihurst, possess docile and flexible dispositions ; the priests have a great influence over them, and easily work upon their feelings by their exhortations.* Let us listen to the account given by Cambrensis, whose testimony cannot be suspected, respecting the clergy of Ireland in general. " The clergy of that country," says he. " are highly to be praised for their religion ; and, among other virtues with which they are endowed, their chastity forms a peculiar feature. Those who are intrusted with the divine service, do not leave the church, but apply themselves wholly to the reciting of psalms, prayers, and reading. They are extremely temperate in their food, and never eat till towards evening, when their office is ended." I am convinced that a people instructed by such masters, cannot deserve the shameful imputations which have served as a pretext for the bulls above quoted. The life of St. Malachi, written by St. Bernard, and that of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, by an anonymous writer of the college of Eu, as related by Surius and Messingham, present to us so great a number of both sexes, who not only made profession of virtue and piety, but likewise practised religion in its highest purity, that it is impossible to believe that the contagion was universal. It affected but a few ; and if a country deserve to be destroyed, and given up to a foreign power, for the faults of individuals, the most polished nations should at present fear the same fate.

The greater part of those who went to Ireland, under Henry II., to reform the morals of the Irish, were the descendants of the Normans who had accompanied William the Conqueror into England. Their sojourn in France had been too short to have enabled them to divest themselves completely of the barbarous manners of their ancestors, and assume those of the polished people of that country ; and their removal to England did not tend to diminish their ferocity. Indeed, the tumults of war, and the hostilities which are inseparable from it, are ill calculated to polish the manners. During the four reigns which had preceded that of Henry II., they were continually under arms, either to crush the revolts of the Anglo-Saxons, or check the incursions of the Scotch, or lastly, to complete the conquest of the principality of Wales. They must therefore have acquired politeness by inspiration, to have been capable of polishing the manners of others.

Such, however, were the doctors whom Henry II. sent to Ireland, by apostolical authority, (as it is pretended,) to re-establish religion, and correct the morals of the people ; but their conduct was more calculated to shake the true believers, than confirm them in the Christian religion. They made the Irish pay dearly for their pretended mission, and taught them the English language to their cost. Experience itself proves the futility of this pretended reformation. The first adventurers who came from England into Ireland, were people that held nothing sacred ; but their children, more happy than their fathers, having been civilized by their intercourse with the natives of the latter country, whose manners they assumed, lost altogether that ferocity of disposition which is, even to this day, the attribute of the inhabitants of Great Britain.

We shall now examine upon what basis the imputation of rudeness and barbarity of manners, which has been cast upon the Irish, is grounded. Every one is aware of the libels and dreadful calumnies which Giraldus Cambrensis published in his topography, against Ireland ; his distortions of language, and the studied research for terms and words to which he resorts, in order to defame her, must be admitted. He describes the inhabitants as a cheating, passionate, traitorous people, and faithless to every engagement.

Although it be allowed by men of wisdom, that the evidence of a man who speaks ill of his enemy is not admissible,* it is possible, notwithstanding, that the English may have found the Irish to be so disposed towards themselves. The sway of the English in Ireland was considered by the natives as a violence, an injustice, and usurpation ; consequently any engagement made with them

* " The majority of the Irish are very religious : their priests are dignified, and by their wholesome admonitions the consciences of the people (who are docile and respectful) are very easily worked upon." —*Stanihurst*, b. 1, p. 49

* Bodin. Method. Hist. cap. 4.

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was looked upon not to be binding. They did not think themselves bound by the law of nature, which forbids us either to take the goods of others, or do violence to their will. They therefore thought themselves dispensed with, from keeping their word with a people who observed no treaty made with them, and whose only rule was the law of the strongest; like a man who, having given his purse to save his life, thinks he has a right to reclaim it when the danger is over. These are the principles which the Irish observed in their conduct towards the English, to whom they saw themselves a prey; principles which drew upon them the exaggerated attacks of Cambrensis.

That author again judges of the manners of the Irish by the supposed peculiarity of their dress;* as if the exterior appearance had any analogy with the disposition of the man. The Irish wore long garments, like the Romans and other people, and the present nations of the east, who however are not, on that account, reputed barbarous.

The long hair which Cambrensis accuses them of having worn, and which he assigns as a proof of their barbarity, was worn by the Egyptians, who were, notwithstanding, considered a polite people. The Lacedemonians looked upon it as a symbol of candor; and it is well known that a considerable part of Gaul was called *Gallia Comata*, on account of the long hair by which its inhabitants were distinguished from other people. The beard was as commonly worn among the ancients as long hair; the razor not having been used among the Romans till four centuries and a half after the foundation of their city, nor till a much later period among the other nations of Europe.

The Irish originally wore sandals, nearly the same as other nations; in the time of Cambrensis, they wore flat and pointed shoes without heels, tied with leather strings instead of buckles, called in their language *brogues*, which, however, appeared barbarous to a man fond of novelty. "Juxta modernas novitates incultissima;" without heels and buckles, a man was considered barbarous by Cambrensis. If a people are to be accounted barbarous for not conforming in their style of dress to the taste of their neighbors, every nation may be considered barbarous; and if it be necessary to adopt new fashions, in order to be thought a polished nation, every country is barbarous in its turn, since every age, and even every year, brings about new fashions. The Irish were much attached to their own customs; they despised novelty in dress, which is indicative of the inconstancy and frivolity of mankind. Dress is not the only thing which the English discovered to be barbarous among this people; according to them, they were so even in their names. In his description of Westmeath, when speaking of the proprietors of land in that country, Camden mentions the O'Malaghlins of Clonlolan, and the Magheoghegans of Moicassel, who were lords of the country, as persons whose names, he said, had a barbarous sound.*

Names are generally conformable to the language, and the pronunciation depends on the accent of the country in which they are used. It is not surprising that a foreigner should find something harsh in the pronunciation of proper names which are not familiar to him, as several German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and other names, are to be met with every day in history, the pronunciation of which appears harsh to us; but none except an Englishman, that is, a man full of himself and despising all others, could impute barbarity to a people from the pronunciation of their names.

It is easy to discover the springs which the Englishman put in motion on this occasion. The supposed reformation of the morals of the Irish was but a pretext which he made use of to usurp the crown of Ireland, and dispossess a numerous proprietory of the inheritance which they held from their ancestors. Charity cannot but appear suspicious when influenced by interest. The difference of religion is not a reason for despoiling men of their properties, still less for depriving them of their politeness; and the right of conquest is but a chimerical right, authorized by no law, either human or divine.

Nothing but a war founded on just grounds, that is, on some injury from those we intend to reduce, can render a conquest lawful. At the time we speak of, there was no war between the English and the Irish; and if the king of Leinster brought over the former to assist him in recovering his crown, he rewarded them amply. He could give them no right over the other provinces, not possessing any over them himself.

Henry II. got rid of all these obstacles. This ambitious prince, not content with the crown of England, the duchies of Normandy,

* "This people, uncivilized not only in their barbarous mode of dress, but likewise in their mode of wearing the hair and beards, are very uncouth, according to modern ideas, and their manners are of a barbarous turn."—*Topography*, dist. 3, cap. 10.

* Camden, p. 754.

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Aquitaine, &c., which he possessed on the continent, looked upon Ireland as an object deserving his attention. It was a large island, very populous, fertile, conveniently situated, and had very often sent succor to the king of France, with whom he was frequently at war.* The king of England, finding himself unable to reduce Ireland by force of arms, had recourse to every stratagem, even to religion, to conquer this kingdom. Westmonasteriensis says that he solicited, through a solemn embassy, the new Pope Adrian (confident of obtaining it of him, as he was an Englishman) for leave to enter Ireland in a hostile manner, to subjugate it.† It is alleged, that he represented to him that religion was almost extinct in the country; that the morals of the people were corrupted, and that it was necessary to remedy it, for the glory of Christianity. In his zeal, he offered to become an apostle for that end, on condition that his holiness would grant him the sovereignty of the island, and also promised to pay Peter's pence for every house. The pope, who was born his subject, readily granted him (as it is pretended) his request; and the liberty of an entire nation was sacrificed to the ambition of the one, through the complaisance of the other.

Like an able statesman, Henry waited a favorable opportunity to carry his project into execution. This presented itself in a civil war that broke out between the monarch and the king of Leinster, of which he took advantage to begin his mission; and although, according to the law of God, it is not by despoiling our neighbor of his property that we should convert him, still the missionaries whom Henry II. employed were men with arms in their hands, and more intent upon converting the land to their own use, to the prejudice of the old proprietors, than gaining souls to God. We shall now resume the thread of our history, and the reign of Moriertach Maclochluin.

CHAPTER XVI.

GREAT men have sometimes great defects, and their virtues are frequently obscured by their vices. The monarch of Ireland was a pious prince, zealous in the cause of religion, and a protector of the church and its privileges,* but his ruling passion was anger, which sometimes degenerated into madness.† Eochad, prince of Ulad, or Dalrieda, now the county of Antrim, was one of those who felt the effects of his passion. Being desirous to shake off the yoke, and to get free from the dominion of the monarch, his formidable enemy entered his principality, and putting all to fire and sword, forced him to seek safety by flight; whereupon Gelasus, primate of Ireland, continually occupied in preserving peace between the princes of the country, prevailed upon Moriertach the monarch, and the other princes and nobles of Tir-Eogan, Oirgiell, and Ulad, to come to Armagh, where he concluded, to all appearance, a solid peace between the monarch and the prince of Ulad, of which he was himself a guarantee, together with Dunchad O'Caruell, prince of Ergallie, or Orgiell. The prince of Ulad paid homage to the monarch, gave him hostages, and was restored to his estates. This peace, however, though in appearance solid, was of short duration. The monarch, either thinking himself not sufficiently revenged, or having had some fresh motive of displeasure, caused Eochad's eyes to be taken out, and the hostages he had given him to be put to death. The prince of Ergallie, finding himself insulted and aggrieved by the infraction of a treaty to which he had been a guarantee, resolved to take revenge. For this purpose he collected all the forces he could muster, and being joined by the inhabitants of Ulad, Ive-Bruin, and Conmacne, his allies, he marched at the head of nine thousand armed men into Tyrone, where, at Litterluin, he unexpectedly attacked the monarch, who was sacrificed, with several of his nobles, to the vengeance of an injured people. Keating and Bruodine assert that this monarch died a natural death, after a peaceful reign of eighteen years. He was the last monarch of the illustrious tribe of the Hy-Nialls, who had filled the throne of Ireland, with but little interruption, from the fourth century.

From this monarch are descended the O'Neills. They founded three principal houses in Ulster, namely, those of Tyrone, the Fews, and Claneboy. Tyrone, the head of the tribe of the O'Neills, partly supported the splendor of his illustrious ancestors; and in latter times there have been heroes in this family worthy of their forefathers. However, it was at length ruined, and buried

* Polidor. Virgil, lib. 13, p. 555 Baker, Chron. Engl. page 55.
† Flor. Hist. lib. 2, p. 246.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Gelas. ad 27 Mart. Grat. Luc. c. 9.
† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 94.

beneath its own grandeur. The present representative is Felix O'Neill, the chief of the house of the Fews, and an officer of rank in the service of his Catholic Majesty.

Roderick, or Rory O'Connor, son of Turlough-Mor, and king of Connaught, being at the time the most powerful prince in Ireland, had but little difficulty in getting himself proclaimed supreme king of the island, after the death of Moriertach, A. D. 1166.* He overcame the opposition he met with from Donald More O'Brien, king of Limerick, and Dermod Mac-Cormac Macarty, king of Cork and Desmond, and defeated Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, in battle. He finally received, voluntarily or by force, hostages from every prince in Ireland, and made presents to them; two things which formerly characterized the supreme authority of their princes among the Irish.†

In the first year of the reign of Roderick, the priory of All Saints, near Dublin, was founded by Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, for regular canons of the fraternity of Arouaise. This priory was afterwards converted into a college, under the name of the holy Trinity, by queen Elizabeth.‡

About this time, some religious houses were founded by Donald, otherwise Domhnal More O'Brien, king of Limerick; in the district of Thuomond, the abbey of Clare, otherwise Kilmony, or *de Forgio*, from the river Forge, by which it was watered, under the name of St. Peter and St. Paul;§ and the priory of Inis-ne-Gananach, for regular canons, in an island in the river Shannon.‖ He also founded, in the county of Limerick, the monasteries of St. Peter of Limerick, of the order of St. Augustin, and that of St. John Baptist, called Kil-Oën.¶ The monastery of our lady of Inis-Lanaught, in the county of Tipperary, of the order of Citeaux, otherwise called *de Surio*, situated on the river Suire, was founded, according to some, in 1159. Others say it was founded in 1184, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, who endowed it, in conjunction with Malachi O'Felan, prince of Desie.**

* Keating, History of Ireland, part 2; Grat. Luc. c. 9; Ogyg. part 3, cap. 94.
† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4; Bruodin. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 17; Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 7.
‡ War. ibid.
§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 59.
‖ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4.
¶ War. ibid.
** Allemand, ibid, p. 188.

At Holycross, in the county of Tipperary, there was a celebrated abbey of the order of Citeaux, which enjoyed great privileges, and where a portion of the true cross is preserved.* This abbey, which was a branch of that of Nenay, or Magie, was founded in 1169, by Domnald O'Brien, king of Limerick, as appears by the act of its foundation, quoted in the Monasticon Anglicanum, and signed by the bishop of Lismore, legate of the holy see in Ireland, the archbishop of Cashel, and the bishop of Limerick. Others say that this abbey was founded in 1181.

The abbey of Kilkenny, otherwise, "de valle dei," in the district of this city, was founded and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in 1171, by Dermod O'Ryan, an Irish lord.†

The abbey of Maur, or "de fonte vivo," in the county of Cork, was founded for monks of the order of Citeaux, under the title of our Lady, by Dermod, son of Cormac Macartach, (Mac-Carty,) king of Cork and Desmond.‡ The first monks who established it were from the abbey of Baltinglass.

Roderick governed the kingdom of Ireland with wisdom and moderation. He convened a synod at Athboy, in Meath, in 1167, of which we have already spoken. This synod, which was, properly speaking, an assembly of the states, was composed of St. Gelasus, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland; of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin; Catholicus O'Dubthay, archbishop of Tuam, and many of the inferior clergy. The princes present were, the monarch, Tighernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefne; Dunchad, prince of Orgiell; Eochaid, son of Dunsleve, prince of Ulad; Dermod O'Melachlin, prince of Tara; Asculph, son of Torall, prince of the Danes of Dublin; Dunchad O'Foelan, prince of the Desies, and several other lords; amounting in all to 1300 men. They made many wise laws and regulations, and the police was afterwards so strictly enforced throughout the island, that it might be said of it, as Bede observed of the kingdom of Northumberland in the reign of Edwin, that a woman with a new-born infant might travel over the whole island, from one sea to the other, without fear of insult.§

This monarch, who was mindful of every thing, knowing that amusements are essen-

* War. ibid.; Allemand, ibid., p. 186.
† War. ibid.; Allemand, ibid., p. 174.
‡ War. ibid.; Allemand, ibid., p. 181
§ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, cap. 16.

tial for youth, re-established the games at Tailton, in 1168. He was also a protector of learning, and in 1169 founded a professor's chair at Armagh, in favor of strangers; finally, he watched over the administration of justice, and punished crime with severity.

The reign of Roderick O'Connor is memorable for a revolution, which forms an epoch fatal to Ireland. An invasion of the English, which, in its beginning, would not have alarmed even the petty republic of Ragusa, became, from its having been neglected at first, so serious, that the liberty of a powerful nation became its victim, and a monarchy which had lasted for more than two thousand years was overthrown.

Politicians endeavor to account for the fall of empires. By some it is ascribed to the weakness of those rulers who introduce a bad system in the administration of their laws, and by some to exterior causes; while others, with more reason, assign it to the will of the supreme Being, who has drawn all things out of nothing, who governs all, and sets bounds to the duration of all created objects. Besides this, however, I think we may examine the connection that exists between natural and secondary causes, which are the instruments made use of by the Divinity.

With respect to Ireland, the source of her destruction can be discovered within her own bosom. This kingdom was, from the settlement of the Milesians in the island, governed by one king till the reign of Eocha IX., who erected the four provinces into as many kingdoms, independent of each other, some time before the Christian era; they were, however, dependent on the monarch, as those electors and princes are who hold their states of the emperor of Germany. This was the first blow which the constitution of Ireland met with. It suffered again in the first century, by the revolt of the plebeians, and the massacre of the princes and nobles of the country by these barbarians, who seized upon the government. Towards the end of the second century, a war also, which Modha-Nuagat, king of Munster, carried on against Conn the monarch, (the result of which was the division of the island between the contending parties,) produced new disasters to the kingdom.

Notwithstanding these convulsions in the state, and the violent attacks of the Normans during two centuries, the Irish monarchy still maintained itself till the reign of Malachi II., in the beginning of the eleventh century, when the sceptre, which had been for six or seven hundred years hereditary in the same tribe, passed into other hands. Factions increased in proportion to the number of claimants to the crown, and the government was, in consequence, rendered weak and enfeebled by them.

The fall of monarchies seldom occurs suddenly. The change takes place by degrees, and from a chain of events which imperceptibly undermine the constitution of the state, (as sickness enervates the body,) till it requires but a slight shock or stroke to complete their destruction. The Irish monarchy received this fatal blow in the twelfth century, through the debauchery and boundless ambition of one of its princes, as we shall now discern.

Derforguill, daughter of Mortough-Mac-Floinn, prince of Meath, was married against her will to Teighernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefny.* This princess indulged a secret passion for Dermod, son of Murrough, king of Leinster, who paid his addresses to her before her marriage; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, she dispatched a courier to Dermod, begging that he would come and rescue her from the engagements she had contracted with a husband whom she disliked. Dermod was possessed of too much gallantry to refuse his services to a princess to whom he had been previously attached; he repaired, on the appointed day, to the place of meeting, with a band of armed horsemen, and carried away the princess of Brefny to his castle of Ferns in Leinster. O'Rourke, on his return, finding that the princess his wife had eloped, and feeling deeply the insult given him, had recourse to the monarch for redress. Roderick O'Connor was an upright prince, and opposed to all injustice; he heard O'Rourke's complaint with attention, and having assembled the forces of Connaught, whom those of Brefny, Orgiell, and Meath afterwards joined, he entered Leinster, determined to revenge the insult received by the prince of Brefny.

Dermod was well aware of the march of the royal army, and also of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the clergy. He summoned the nobles of his kingdom to Fearna, in the territory of Kinseallagh, now Ferns, in the county of Wexford, where he held his court, in order to consult with them upon the means he should adopt to avert the storm that threatened him; but his subjects, who were indignant at the

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 2, cap 59, et seq.

enormity of his crime, and, moreover, dissatisfied with his tyrannical government, instead of supporting him in this critical juncture of his affairs, renounced their allegiance to him, and placed themselves under the protection of the monarch; so that the unhappy prince, abandoned by them, had no other resource than to embark for England. The monarch then finding no enemy to contend with, contented himself with destroying the city of Ferns, and the royal castle, whence he carried away the unfortunate Derforguill, whom he confined in the monastery of St. Bridget, at Kildare, after which he disbanded his troops and returned into his province.

Dermod, now driven from his dominions, breathed revenge against his rebellious subjects and the nation at large. Henry II., great-grandson of William the Conqueror, was then king of England. He was a prince of boundless ambition, and very powerful, and was often heard to say, during his prosperity, that the government of the whole world was hardly sufficient for a great man. Besides the kingdom of England, he possessed the duchies of Normandy and Anjou, by right of inheritance; and in virtue of his marriage with Eleanor, whom Louis VII., surnamed the younger, had divorced, he was master of Aquitaine, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine. On account of these states, he was frequently engaged in wars with France, which required his presence. Such was the situation of the affairs of Henry when the king of Leinster went to Aquitaine to solicit his alliance, and ask of him the succor necessary for the recovery of his throne, promising to place his kingdom under his protection. This proposal was highly flattering to Henry, and favorable to his views. He replied, however, that the state of his affairs at that time upon the continent would not permit his giving him any troops, but that if he would go to England, he might raise forces there, and begin the war in Ireland, till he should be able to join him; and even sent orders to his ministry to forward the enterprise of this fugitive prince.

The king of Leinster, having taken leave of Henry, embarked for England, and on his arrival at Bristol, communicated their king's orders to the magistrates of that city, who caused them to be published.

Richard, surnamed Strongbow, "de arcu forti," (which signifies a strong bow,) was then at Bristol. He was son of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke or Chepstow, whom Cambrensis calls earl of Strangwel. This young lord had squandered his property, and contracted heavy debts;* and to heighten his misfortune, was in disgrace with his prince;† so that he was willing to undertake any design to retrieve his fortune. Taking advantage therefore of this opportunity, which was, he conceived, highly favorable, he offered his services to Dermod, who received him with kindness, and made him a proposal far above what he had reason to expect; offering him his daughter, Aoffe, or Eve, in marriage, and promising to secure his succession to the throne of Leinster, after his death, on condition of his assisting to recover it; which condition was joyfully accepted by earl Richard.

Dermod having concluded his negotiation at Bristol with the earl Richard, who promised to cross over to Ireland in the spring, with a body of troops, went into Wales, where he applied to Ralph Griffin (who was governor of that province for Henry II.) to liberate Robert Fitzstephen, a brave and experienced general who had been a state prisoner during four years, by order of the government. Dermod having obtained the pardon of Robert Fitzstephen, on condition that he would accompany him to Ireland, and never think of returning to his own country, from which he was then forever banished, took him into his service, with his half-brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, promising to him and his posterity the city of Wexford, and the neighboring districts. He entered into like engagements, and made similar promises to many others, whom he allured by the hope of gain, as Neubrigensis, an English cotemporary author, mentions: "Spe lucri profusioris illecti."‡ According to the same author, they were mostly men who possessed nothing at home, "Accitis ex Angliâ viris impropiâ labontibus et lucri cupidis," and to better their condition were desirous of leaving their own country. The king of Leinster, pleased with the reception he met with in England, returned to Ireland, where he remained concealed in his city of Ferns, waiting the arrival of his allies.

Robert Fitzstephen was not forgetful of his engagements with Dermod. Two powerful motives induced him to carry them into execution; he was an outlaw in England, whereas he recovered his liberty only on condition of leaving it immediately; and the reward which he expected in Ireland was very flattering to a man whose only riches lay in his sword. He applied all his

* Gulielm. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglo. lib. 2, c. 26.
† Stanihurst, b. 2, c. 67.
‡ Guli. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglic. sui temporis, lib. 2, page 211, et 212.

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influence to enlist volunteers for his enterprise, and raised 400 men, whose fortunes were desperate like his own. With this force he landed on the coast of Wexford in Ireland, in the month of May, A. D. 1169. Of his landing, information was dispatched immediately to the king of Leinster, who lay concealed in the city of Ferns till his arrival. Dermod, overjoyed at the news, left his retreat, and put himself at the head of five hundred horsemen, whom he kept in readiness to join the English captain. After the usual compliments on such occasions, they held a council of war on the plan of their campaign, the result of which was, to lay siege to Wexford, which was at that time inhabited by Danes. The troops being led on against this place, it surrendered to the king of Leinster; the inhabitants paid him homage, and gave him hostages and presents. In order to fulfil his promise to Fitzstephen, the king gave him that city, and a few districts in the neighborhood, where he established a colony, among whom the ancient Saxon language is still preserved, with a small mixture of the Irish. This district is called the barony of Forth. Dermod granted also to Hermon Morty, (Herveius de Monte Maurisco,) Fitzstephen's paternal uncle, some lands near Wexford, so that through the generosity of this prince, those adventurers were influenced to the greatest enterprises to please him.

In the mean time, Maurice Prendergast landed in Wexford with a fresh reinforcement, which increased the little army of the confederates, then amounting to three thousand men.

Encouraged by his first success, and finding himself able to follow up his conquest, Dermod turned his thoughts towards the people of Ossory. Donnough Mac-Giolla Phadruig, (Fitzpatrick,) son of Domhnal Ramhar, was hereditary prince, or, according to the style of those times, king of Ossory. He was the avowed enemy of Dermod, and one of those who had abandoned him in his misfortune. He was therefore the first victim of his resentment. Dermod marched at the head of his army towards the frontiers of Ossory, spreading terror and consternation everywhere as he passed, and obliged that prince to send him hostages, and agree to pay an annual tribute to the crown of Leinster.

The progress which the king of Leinster and his English allies were making, having alarmed the whole island, the princes and nobles had recourse to Roderick O'Connor, to deliberate on what was to be done to quell a rebellion in its beginning, which, if neglected, must create confusion in the state. It was determined in the conference held for this purpose, that the provinces should supply the monarch with their quota of men, to enable him to chastise the king of Leinster and put down the rebellion. The monarch's army being reinforced by the allied troops, he set out on his march for Leinster, and advanced towards Hy-Kinseallagh, intending to give the enemy battle. Dermod finding himself unable to keep the field against an army so superior to his own, withdrew into the inaccessible forests and marshes near Ferns, with his troops, and held himself on the defensive. The monarch thus foiled in his attempt, sent a communication to Fitzstephen, chief of the English in the service of Dermod, that he should immediately depart from the country with his Englishmen; that he had espoused an unjust and dishonorable cause, and that he had no lawful claim to the possessions he had usurped in the island. It can be easily conceived that such an order must have been very disagreeable to this adventurer, who was an outlaw in his own country, where he had suffered several years imprisonment, and who had no asylum but what his good fortune procured him. Besides that, he had then a real interest in Ireland. He was already lord of Wexford and its environs, which had been conferred on him by the king of the province as a reward for his services; and this was too considerable, and too gratifying to the avarice of a man who was destitute of every thing else, to give it up. He therefore declared to the monarch, that so far from being disposed to quit the island, he was determined to support the interest of his benefactor, the king of Leinster, as long as a single man remained with him. The monarch, exasperated at the stranger's haughty reply, ordered his officers to send detachments to scour the forests and pursue the rebels; but the bishops of the province, alarmed at the idea of a war breaking out among them, prostrated themselves at his feet, and pointed out to him the danger of a civil war, which might prove fatal to the nation. They represented to him that peaceful measures would be the most likely to succeed with an irritated prince, who was capable of any act, and supported by a neighboring nation, whose interest it was to increase the discord between the princes of this island. These arguments were plausible and well grounded, if they could have supposed that the king of Leinster was possessed of honor or good faith; but as this unhappy prince had given himself up to

his ambition, and afforded every reason to distrust him, it would have been good policy to employ measures of rigor, and crush the evil at its root.

Roderick, moved by the remonstrances of the bishops and clergy of Leinster, ceased hostilities, and entered into negotiation with the king of the province. A treaty of peace was concluded and signed by both parties, on the following conditions:—1st, That Dermod should be restored to the possession of his kingdom of Leinster, with the same authority which his predecessors had enjoyed, and that he should be compensated for the losses he had sustained during his misfortunes; 2d, That the king of Leinster should do homage to the monarch, and promise him fidelity; 3d, That he should bind himself by oath, never to call in the English to his aid, and to afford them no longer any protection; 4th, That Robert Fitzstephen should remain in possession of Wexford, instead of the Danes, who occupied it before. In order to ratify this treaty, and remove all suspicion of bad faith on his side, Dermod gave Art-Na-Nigall, or Arthur, his son, as hostage to the monarch; after which the latter, having disbanded his forces, returned into Connaught.

It would now seem that Ireland was about to enjoy a lasting peace; that civil war was put down, and that the English, after losing the protection of the king of Leinster, had nothing more to hope for in the island. The result however proved otherwise. The treaty concluded between the monarch and Dermod was the fruit of the policy, as well as the perfidy of the English, who had drawn the prince of Leinster into it. They wanted to escape the danger of being destroyed by the superiority of the royal army, and gain time till the succors which they expected would arrive; those adventurers being less actuated by their pretended motives of re-establishing religion, reforming the morals of the Irish, and defending an oppressed prince, than that of making their fortunes at the expense of justice itself, as they proved. The treaty was scarcely concluded between the belligerent princes, when Maurice Fitzgerald, half-brother to Fitzstephen, landed in Wexford with a considerable reinforcement of Englishmen, which raised the courage of the rebels to a high pitch.

On the first intelligence of the arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald, Dermod repaired to Wexford, where he held a council with Fitzstephen, Morty, Prendergast, Barry, Meiler, Fitzgerald, and other English chiefs, who prevailed on him to break his treaty with the monarch, by inspiring him with the extravagant idea of aspiring to the universal monarchy of the island, and promising to send to England for sufficient forces for that enterprise. Dermod either did not perceive the danger of introducing into the country a number of foreigners capable of reducing it, (as happened to the ancient Britons, whose country was invaded by their treacherous allies, the Saxons,) or his unbounded ambition led him to sacrifice his country's freedom to that passion.

The king of Leinster, finding himself supported by the English, in conjunction with some of his subjects, whom fear brought back to their allegiance, marched at the head of his army towards Dublin, the neighborhood of which he laid waste, particularly that part of it called Fingal. His intention was, to revenge on the Danes of that city the insults which himself and his father had received from them, and levy contributions to defray the expenses of the war; so he laid siege to the city, with Maurice Fitzgerald, who commanded under him. Asculph, son of Torcall, at that time commander of the place, alarmed at the danger which threatened the city, assembled the principal inhabitants, to deliberate upon what measures they should adopt. It was concluded that a quick submission was necessary to avert the storm; in consequence of which they sent deputies to the king of Leinster, with large sums of gold and silver. Asculph paid him homage in the name of the city, and sent hostages as pledges of his obedience. Robert Fitzstephen had no share in this expedition, being busily employed in building and fortifying the port of Karraick, near Wexford.

Such was the state of the affairs of the king of Leinster when Richard Strongbow landed in Ireland. This English nobleman had not forgotten the promises he had given to Dermod, of furnishing him with troops, nor the hope the latter held out to him, of making him his son-in-law, and successor to his throne—things highly flattering to a man possessed of nothing himself, and whose estate had been confiscated in England. Resolved, however, to act in a becoming way towards his king, Henry II., he went to him and asked permission to leave the kingdom and seek his fortune elsewhere. The king, who was already dissatisfied with him, granted him his request in an ironical and repulsive manner, as if he never wished to hear of him.* Richard, desirous to take advan-

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 2, p. 94.

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tage of this doubtful leave, made the necessary preparations for his expedition to Ireland; but before he should go himself, he dispatched Raymond le Gros, who, according to Stanihurst, was son of William Fitzgerald, and nephew to Maurice, or, according to others, brother of the latter, with a small body of troops to reconnoitre the country, and facilitate the descent which he meditated; and at the same time to inform the king of Leinster of his intentions. Raymond landed on the first of May, 1170, in a small harbor called Dun-Domhnail, four miles from Waterford, and formed an intrenchment for the protection of his troops.

The Danes of Waterford, hearing of the arrival of a body of English troops, who had encamped in their neighborhood, assembled a force, which was joined by the vassals of Malachi O'Faolan, lord of Desie, to the number of 200 men, without discipline and badly armed, intending to dislodge those strangers. Raymond would not wait for the enemy in his intrenchments, but sallied forth with his troops to meet them in the plain. The action began with vigor, and the English were driven back to their intrenchments; but excited by despair, which frequently rouses to action, ("Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem,") they turned on this undisciplined army, who were pursuing them in disorder, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. This victory of the English, though inferior in numbers, was owing to their discipline, and a number of archers, who discharged their arrows against an enemy unaccustomed to that manner of fighting: "Britannici sagittarii, miserandum in modum, inermes sauciarunt." The sequel of this victory was highly disgraceful to the conquerors, who massacred seventy prisoners, of the first citizens of Waterford. A council of war was held after the battle, on the manner in which they should be treated. Raymond, who possessed a noble mind, was in favor of clemency, but Herveius de Monte Maurisco, who had by chance been present at the battle, having come that morning to pay a visit to Raymond, harangued the soldiers with such effect, that he instigated them to commit the act of cruelty of which the prisoners were the victims. This barbarous conduct of that cruel man is disapproved of by Stanihurst himself, (who is in other respects a true Englishman,) and he says that his memory was detested; he also adds, that no person is so insolent or devoid of pity, as a man of low birth who is raised above his level.*

Earl Richard, surnamed Strongbow, whom we left in England, having all things ready for his voyage, sailed from Milford harbor in the month of August of the same year, with 1200 chosen men, and landed near Waterford on the 24th of the same month St. Bartholomew's day. He was soon joined by the king of Leinster, and the English whom he had already in his service. After the usual congratulations, they held a council of war, in which it was determined to besiege Waterford. When the troops were refreshed, they marched towards the city, which, according to the custom of the times, was poorly fortified, and laid siege to it. There was a great disproportion between the besieged and the besiegers. The place was defended by those citizens who had escaped the late defeat; while it was attacked by an army superior both in numbers and discipline, and commanded by skilful leaders; so that, notwithstanding an obstinate defence which lasted for some days, the city was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword. Malachi O'Faolan, prince of Desie, was made prisoner, and only escaped from the rage of the soldiery through the interference of the king of Leinster. After such barbarous acts, may it not be affirmed with truth, that those adventurers came over rather to destroy the inhabitants than to reform their morals?

The taking of Waterford was so pleasing to the king of Leinster, that he testified his gratitude to earl Richard by renewing the treaty of alliance he had already made with him in England; for which purpose he sent for his daughter Aoife, or Eve, to come to Waterford. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp between her and the earl, and the king declared them heirs to his crown.

A first success generally leads to new enterprises. The king of Leinster was a violent and vindictive prince, and always considered himself at liberty to violate the most solemn treaties, when passion or interest required it. The Danes of Dublin were the continual objects of his hatred and revenge. The treaty he had concluded with them the preceding year, and the presents he received from them, did not prevent him laying siege a second time to their city, with all his

* "'I consider and command, that an enemy, not only while fighting, but even conquered and bound, should be put to death.' From that time Hervey was loaded with weighty and lasting disgrace and infamy, nor could one be found whom this carnage of the citizens did not disgust. But none is so insolent and merciless as a man raised from the dregs of the people."—*Stanihurst*, book 2, p. 103.

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forces. Asculph, the commander, finding himself unable to support a siege, deputed, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, Laurence O'Toole, their archbishop, a man of high reputation for sanctity, to negotiate a peace with the king. While this holy prelate was deliberating on peaceful measures with the king in his camp, Raymond le Gros, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Milo Cogan, followed by their troops, entered the city by a breach, on the 21st of September, and made themselves masters of it, sword in hand, sparing neither sex nor age ;* thus carrying on the war more like assassins than regular troops, violating the rights of men, and disregarding the principle by which all hostilities should cease when a town offers to capitulate. Such were the fancied masters of refinement, who came to civilize the Irish people !

Dermod, well pleased with this conquest, left a garrison in the city, the command of which he gave to Milo Cogan, after which he turned his arms against O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, to punish him for a crime which he himself had committed ; according to the proverb, which says, that "the injured are generally punished, instead of the aggressors." The violation of the wife of the prince of Brefny, was revenged on his vassals by the violator himself.

The monarch of Ireland beheld tranquilly, during a whole year, the progress which the king of Leinster was making, without taking any measures to check the course of his victories ; but finding him to approach his own borders, and knowing that such an enemy, when so near him must be dangerous, he became alarmed. The season, however, being too far advanced to take the field, he sent an officer to reproach him for the perfidy with which he had broken the solemn treaty concluded between them in the preceding year, and to complain that (contrary to its faith and tenor, which he had pledged himself upon oath to observe) he obdurately persisted in introducing robbers into the country, and thereby disturbed the public peace. The same officer had orders to tell him, that if he persisted in his course of warfare, means would be found to constrain him to abandon it, and that the head of his son Arthur, who was held as hostage, should answer for it. Something more efficacious than threats was however necessary to be adopted towards a man blinded by his passions, and bereft of every sentiment characteristic of the man of honor. Dermod's reply to the monarch was worthy of his character ; he said that he was quite regardless of his son's fate, but that if any thing happened to him, he would take revenge, both on the monarch and his whole race ; and that his design was, to make himself master of the kingdom before he laid down his arms. It is alleged by Stanihurst, that Roderick, exasperated at this haughty reply, caused prince Arthur to be beheaded ; but in this he is contradicted by Keating and others, who say that he confined himself to threats only, without carrying them into execution.

The severity of the weather having put an end to hostilities, and the king of Leinster's troops being withdrawn into winter quarters, Dermod repaired to Ferns, where he died of sickness in the month of May following, A. D. 1171. He was a man of extraordinary height, strong, robust, and warlike, whose principle was to make himself more the object of fear than of love, and who had lived too long for the good of his country. This monster, whose memory must be abhorred by all true Irishmen, after having founded several religious houses, sacrificed the country to his revenge, and caused her to submit to a yoke which she has never since been able to shake off. After the death of the king of Leinster, his father-in-law, earl Richard endeavored to get himself declared heir to the throne of Dermod, as he was in truth the heir of his tyranny. He led his troops to the frontiers of Munster, where they committed great devastation ; but was checked in his progress by the monarch, Roderick O'Connor, who gained several advantages over him, particularly at the battle of Durlus, or Thurles, in Upper Ormond, where 1700 English were killed upon the spot.*

Henry II., who was at that time in Aquitaine, being busily occupied with his continental affairs, and hearing of the success of Richard and his other subjects in Ireland, conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of the earl, with whom he was already displeased.† He began to look upon him as an intriguing character, desirous of usurping a kingdom which he himself had long wished to unite to his other states.‡ He therefore published an edict, by which he prohibited all intercourse with Ireland, and forbade his subjects to transport either men or provisions from England to Ireland, under the penalty of being severely punished. He ordained by

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, p. 106.

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 9, page 89.

† Guliel. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglic. c. 26. Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3.

‡ Keat. Hist. of Ireland.

the same edict, that all his subjects then in Ireland should repair on a certain day to England, under pain of being considered traitors and rebels to their king. The earl Richard was soon apprized of the proclamation, which disconcerted him considerably, being altogether opposed to his design. Although master of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and other places on the coast, he was unable to retain possession of them without the assistance of England, of which he saw himself thus deprived by the edict. In order to avert the danger consequent on resisting the king's commands, he assembled the heads of the English colony, who determined on sending Raymond le Gros (Fitzgerald) to represent to his majesty, that it was by his permission Richard and the other Englishmen had crossed over to Ireland to support the cause of Dermod, king of Leinster; that they did not consider themselves less his subjects there, and that they acted altogether in his name.

Raymond being intrusted by the assembly with this avowal of their fidelity, set out for Aquitaine, where Henry II. still was, who gave him an audience; after which the king returned to England, and appointed him to be the bearer of a letter to Richard, wherein he commanded the latter to return immediately to England, and render an account of his conduct.

About this time, Asculph, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who had escaped with his fleet from the last siege, returned with sixty vessels and a great number of troops, with the intention of besieging it, and encamped before the eastern gate, called Dame's-Gate. The attack was so brisk, that the English, finding themselves unable to resist the superior force of the Danes, had recourse to stratagem. Milo Cogan, who was then governor of the city, sent out by the southern gate, called St. Paul's, a body of cavalry under the command of his brother, Richard Cogan, to attack the enemy in rear. The Danes, struck with consternation, thinking it to be a fresh reinforcement that had come to the assistance of the city, took to flight: the slaughter was immense, and the loss of the Danes considerable; their chief, Asculph, was led captive into the city, and beheaded, contrary to the laws of war.

Dublin was attacked soon afterwards by the monarch himself, with as little success as the Danes. The art of besieging was then quite unknown to the Irish, who never made use of fortifications. They were accustomed to fight only in the open field, and present their bodies to the enemy, unprotected by walls, or any defence except their valor and their arms; consequently, they were unacquainted with the use of battering-rams, and such machinery employed by other nations to destroy fortified places.

In order to secure more firmly the conquest of the city, Roderick O'Connor and Laurence, the archbishop, wrote to Gottred, king of the Isle of Man, to request of him, in virtue of the ancient alliance existing between him and Ireland, to send a fleet to block up the harbor of Dublin, and cut off all communication between the garrison and England, (which was already interrupted by the proclamation of Henry II.;) while on his part, he would take care to close every avenue by land. These plans appear to have been well laid. The city was soon surrounded by sea and land, and famine was already beginning to be felt by the garrison.

At the same time, Domnal, son of Dermod the late king of Leinster, more anxious for the welfare of his country than his father had been, collected a few troops and besieged Robert Fitzstephen in the fort which he had built at Carrick, near Wexford. The English captain having found means to make his situation known to earl Richard, to Raymond le Gros, (who had lately returned from England,) to Maurice Fitzgerald, and the other commanders of the garrison of Dublin, he sent them word, that if he did not receive succor before two or three days, he would inevitably fall into the hands of his enemy. This information, and the unhappy state of their other affairs, gave them great uneasiness; but inspired them with a resolution which succeeded to their most sanguine desire. The siege of Dublin had already lasted for two months; the besieged were much weakened, and the besiegers, fearing nothing from an enemy they intended to reduce by famine, became negligent, and too confident of their security, of which the latter found means to take advantage. The besieged, having determined to attack the besiegers, sallied forth at the break of day, forced the sentinels to give way, and falling, sword in hand, on their enemies, who were still in bed and asleep, killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight.* This victory enabled the English of Dublin to send assistance to Fitzstephen, who was besieged in the fort of Carrick; but the detach-

* "They fly on a sudden, armed, out of the city, and fall, sword in hand, on a foe unprepared and half sleeping. It cannot cause surprise, if lethargy should have seized on numbers of the besiegers, when none were upon guard, and none could foresee that so few would sally out against an army."—*Stan.* p. 117.

ment commanded by Strongbow for this purpose, having been harassed by the Leinster people in the defiles of Idrone in the county of Carlow, arrived too late. The fort of Carrick had been already taken by prince Domnal, part of the garrison put to the sword, and the rest (among whom were Robert Fitzstephen and William Notton) made prisoners of war, and brought to the island of Beg Erin, at a short distance from Wexford.

Richard Strongbow, coerced by the orders he had just received from his master, Henry II., embarked immediately for England, leaving his affairs in Ireland in a very bad state. He was presented to the king at Neweham, near Gloucester, where the prince was collecting an army for his expedition to Ireland, and was very badly received by him. The king upbraided him bitterly with the robberies and devastations he had committed in Ireland, inasmuch as, not content with the honorable conditions which were granted him by the king of Leinster, he had acted the tyrant by usurping the properties of others. It might be imagined that this was the language of a man of honor, who would be incapable of committing an unjust act himself; yet it would be difficult to decide which of the two was the more worthy character. After the king had given vent to his anger and reproaches against the earl, he was at length appeased by the submission of this nobleman, and a promise that he made him of putting Dublin, and the other places he held in Ireland, into his power. In the mean time, O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, attacked the English who were in Dublin. He attempted to besiege the city, and having drawn Milo Cogan, the governor, and his garrison outside of the fortifications, a bloody battle was fought between them, which produced no other effect than the loss of many lives. The son of O'Rourke, having signalized himself by his valor in the thick of the battle, was mortally wounded, with several of his followers, who sold their lives dearly to the English, of whom also a great number fell on the field of battle.*

Every thing being ready for the expedition to Ireland, Henry set sail from Milford in the month of October, 1172, in the forty-first year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign, with a formidable and well-provided army. He landed safely at Waterford on St. Luke's day, where he established his head-quarters. The news of his arrival being spread, his English subjects who had settled in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, &c., came to pay him homage and renew their oath of allegiance; and their example was soon followed by some of the princes of the country, who had the baseness to submit to a foreign yoke, instead of uniting together to preserve their liberty. Dermod More Mac-Carthaig, (Mac-Carty,) king of Cork, was the first among these proselytes. He presented himself before the king of England at Waterford, and paid him homage.

After a conference with his English subjects, on the measures to be adopted for the reduction of the island, Henry II. collected his forces and marched to Lismore, where, having stayed two days, he set out for Cashel, and was met upon his march, on the river Suire, by Domnald O'Brien, king of Thuomond and Limerick, who made a similar submission to that of the king of Cork, and their examples were followed by the other princes of Munster. Henry sent detachments to Limerick and Cork, to secure the possession of those cities; after which returning to Waterford, he there received the homage of Domnald More Mac-Giolla-Phadruig, (Fitz-Patrick,) prince of Ossory, and Malachi O'Faolan, lord of Desie. He treated those princes honorably, made them magnificent presents, and promised to secure to them their possessions and dignities.* On the interference of the English, the king restored his liberty to Robert Fitzstephen, whom he had some time before committed to prison on account of the complaints which had been made to him of the tyranny of this officer over the inhabitants of the country. The conditions, however, on which he obtained his freedom were dishonorable to the king, and strongly marked his insatiable thirst for the riches of others. Fitzstephen was obliged to give to him the town and county of Wexford, which he held from the liberality of the king of Leinster.

Robert Fitz-Bernard being appointed to the government of Waterford, Henry II. proceeded on his route to Dublin, where his government was acknowledged by several princes of Leinster, among whom was Morrough Mac-Floinn, prince of Meath. The king, as an able politician, treated all these princes with politeness, and loaded them with presents, which blinded them to such a degree that they could not perceive

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, cap. 123.

* "Henry received the princes, on their arrival, with great honor; he promised not only to take care of their safety, but to advance them in dignity; and loaded them besides with magnificent presents." —*Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest.* 125.

the chains which he was preparing for them. He likewise promised to maintain them in the possession of their estates and dignities; but he was too perfidious to keep his word with them: such has ever been the course which the English nation has observed towards Ireland.

Roderick O'Connor, finding himself almost universally deserted, was obliged to yield to the necessity of the times. Henry sent two noblemen, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, to request an interview with him, in consequence of which the two princes met on the banks of the river Shannon, where the time was spent in paying mutual compliments, and nothing was determined upon.

The monarch's army was posted in marshes and in woods, where Henry thought it imprudent to attack him; but a treaty was concluded between them some years afterwards at Windsor, during the octave of St. Michael, through the mediation of Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus, or Codla O'Dubhay, archbishop of Tuam.* The copy of this treaty is to be found in Roger Hoveden, an English writer of the same century, under date of the year 1175.† The conditions were, that Roderick should pay an annual tribute to the king of England, as lord of Ireland; that he should always retain the title of monarch, and that the provincial kings should be dependent on him as previously.‡

In his expedition to Ireland every thing succeeded to the wishes of Henry. In a short time he found himself master of a considerable part of the island, without shedding a single drop of blood. The Hy-Nialls of Ulster alone, namely, the O'Neills, O'Donnels, and other princes of that province, with a few in Connaught,§ (whose minds were too noble and generous to bend to him,) refused to submit to a foreign yoke, at the expense of their liberty. This revolution in Ireland, under Roderick the monarch, is very similar to that which occurred in Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, in the reign of Roderick. The names of the princes are alike, and the causes were almost the same. Roderick, king of Spain, lost his life together with his crown, on account of his crimes; Roderick, monarch of Ireland, was dethroned for having punished crime. In Spain, Count Julian, a Spanish nobleman, not only took revenge on Roderick, his king, who had violated his daughter Cava, but sacrificed his country to his revenge, by introducing into it the Moors, by whom it was afterwards conquered. In Ireland, Dermod, king of Leinster, introduced the English, to recover a kingdom from which he had been expelled for a similar crime to that of Roderick of Spain, and caused his country to submit to a yoke which it has never since been able to shake off.

The success of Henry II. was followed by much trouble and uneasiness. Having retired to Dublin for the purpose of spending the winter there, the weather became so tempestuous, and the storms so frequent, that all communication with England was broken off, which filled him with apprehensions. The martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, happened about the same time, and the first news which the king received from England on the return of fine weather, was, that Pope Alexander III. had sent two cardinals to inquire into the circumstances attending the murder of that prelate, with orders to excommunicate the king, and put the country under an interdict, if he did not exculpate himself from the crime. He also learned by the same messenger, that in England his son Henry, whom he had caused to be crowned some time before, had been suspected of endeavoring to take advantage of his absence, to stir up a revolt against him, in conjunction with his brothers.

These were powerful reasons for requiring the king's presence in England, notwithstanding the design he had formed of remaining for some time in Ireland, and causing fortifications to be built, by which means it would be easy, he thought, to keep the Irish in subjection. In order, however, that his affairs in this island might not be neglected, he confided the command of the important posts to men of trust, and set sail for England during the festival of Easter.

* Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 56.
† War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.
‡ Cambr. Evers. cap. 9, p. 89.
§ "Not a dynasty in Leinster, nor indeed in any corner of Ireland, except Ulster, which did not submit to the sovereignty of Henry."—*Stanihurst.*

CHAPTER XVII.

The Irish nation has, since the 12th century, been composed of two races, namely, the ancient Irish, and the English colonists who established themselves in Ireland after that epoch. We have, in the first part of this history, given an account of the origin and settlement of the ancient Irish in the island,

and it is but fitting to say something of the origin of the Anglo-Irish, who have played a prominent part in it for nearly 600 years. In doing so, we must consider them both before and since the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The English who passed into Ireland in the twelfth century, are called the *Old English*, and sometimes Strongbownians, from Richard Strongbow, one of their chiefs. In this class, indeed, may also be placed the English who arrived there during the subsequent period, until the reign of Elizabeth; but both these must be distinguished from the swarm of English adventurers who arrived in Ireland subsequently to her reign. We must not confound them with the infamous parricides who infested that sacred island, after staining their sacrilegious hands with the blood of their king.

There was nothing culpable in the enterprise of the first English who landed in Ireland; they presented themselves there much less as enemies of the nation, than as friends and allies of Dermod, king of Leinster. This prince invited them to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom. He rewarded them liberally, and gave them the city of Waterford, with two cantreds* of land in its environs. These first concessions were reasonable, being a recompense for the valor of their new proprietors; and had they been content with them, the Irish would have had no ground of complaint. But the success of the first settlers tempted others of the English to similar enterprises. Henry II. conducted thither, in the year following, a powerful band, whom he was desirous to enrich. Leinster, Meath, and a part of Munster, were parcelled out and sacrificed to the ambition of these strangers; and every succeeding age furnished new colonies, who went to seek their fortune in that fertile country.

It cannot be asserted that each individual in an army, or in a body, which undertakes the conquest of a country, is noble. There must be among them under-officers and common soldiers, who cannot be presumed of illustrious birth. Doubtless the majority of those chiefs who led the English colonists into Ireland, were of noble rank. They were knights, and the younger sons of families distinguished by birth and valor, who had retained those lofty and humane sentiments which characterize men of worth, and (if we must draw a veil over the injustice of the fathers) their children, at least, merit the highest degree of praise. They became attached to the country of their adoption; they united themselves by marriage with the natives; they adopted its language and its manners; and for some centuries past they have formed with the old inhabitants but one people, yielding to them neither in zeal for their religion, nor fidelity to their lawful princes. They have been victims as well as the former, and are comprised under the same anathema, as objects of hatred and envy to the English, who think to insult them by the taunt that they are "more Irish than the Irish themselves," "ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores;" and can boast of a nobility in the island for nearly 600 years, sustained by their virtue and by their generous sentiments. If they rest satisfied to confine themselves to that limit, (many might aspire to higher antiquity,) the period is sufficiently respectable.

The leaders of the first divisions of the force which joined the king of Leinster, were Robert Fitzstephen, Hervy de Monte Marisco, nephew of Strongbow, Maurice Prendergast, Maurice Fitzgerald, Barry, Cogan, Raimond le Gros, and some others. They were relatives or kindred, and engaged in the same cause, and became possessors of large estates in Ireland.

The first establishment of Maurice Fitzgerald was at Wicklow, and in the country of Ofaly, county Kildare, which was granted to him by his relation, Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke. The family of Fitzgerald was, according to Nichols, descended from Otho,* an Italian baron, who drew his origin from the dukes of Tuscany. The son of Otho, named Walter, having passed into England with William the Conqueror, was appointed baron and constable of Windsor Castle, and became possessed of many lordships in England. Gerald, the eldest son of Walter, went, on the affairs of the king, into the principality of Wales, where he built the castle of Pembroke: he was generally called Fitz-Walter. The king gave him, as a reward for his services, considerable estates in Wales, where, having fixed his residence, he married Nesta, daughter of Rees Gruffydh, prince of that country. She had been originally the concubine of King Henry I., by whom she had a son, who was called Henry. The latter was father of Meyler, and Robert Fitz-Henry, who arrived in Ireland with Richard Strongbow. Nesta was married afterwards to Stephen, constable of the castles of Cardigan and Pembroke. She had

* A cantred of land is a Breton term which signifies a hundred villages.

* Lodge's Peerage.

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by this marriage Robert Fitzstephen, of whom we have already spoken. After the death of Stephen, she became the wife of Gerald Fitz-Walter, and the mother of Maurice and William Fitzgerald.

Maurice left a numerous issue in the provinces of Leinster and Munster. John, one of his descendants, was created earl of Kildare in 1316, by king Edward II. Maurice, brother of John, was made, in the following reign, earl of Desmond, by Edward III. This house was sacrificed, in the reign of Elizabeth, for its attachment to religion and country, and its large estates confiscated and bestowed upon English adventurers. The house of Kildare is still in being, with the rank of the premier earldom of Ireland. From these two stocks sprung a number of distinguished branches, holding large possessions, and characterized by their high and generous sentiments. Of these were the Fitzgeralds of Laccagh, Allen, Blackhall, Blackwood, Ballisonnan, Rathrone, Teiroghan, Windgate, and others in Leinster. From them were also descended the knights of Kerry and Glynn; the knight Blanc, who took the name of Fitzgibbon; the Fitzgeralds of Carrigilleere, Carrigrohan, Castlemore, Moyallow, Rathgrogan, Imokilly, &c., in the county of Cork. Several of these noblemen were dispossessed of their estates on account of their religion, in the various revolutions which happened in the country; others among them, by conforming to the times, saved the patrimony left them by their fathers. William, son of Gerald Fitz-Walter by Nesta, and brother of Maurice Fitzgerald, was father of Reymond le Gros, or the *Fat*, who had a great share in reducing a part of Ireland to the sway of Henry II. Reymond married Basilia, the sister of earl Strongbow.* This count gave him for a dowry the lands of Idrone, Fothard, and Glascarrig in the county of Carlow, and named him Constable of Leinster.

In an expedition which Reymond undertook against Donald O'Brien king of Limerick, Dermod M'Carty, king of Cork, sent to ask his aid against his son Cormac O'Lehanagh, who rebelled against him. The cause of this rebellion of the son, was his father's weakness in having submitted to Henry II. Reymond did not hesitate; he marched against the disobedient son of M'Carty, caused him to be arrested, and delivered him to his father, who ordered him to be beheaded. In reward for his services, Reymond received from M'Carty a large district in the county of Kerry, which formed at that time part of the kingdom of Cork. Reymond granted this territory to his eldest son Maurice: the latter became powerful, his descendants took the name of Fitzmaurice, and the district was called Clan-Maurice. Reymond, it is said, had another son named Hamon, Hamo, or Heimond, surnamed like his father, le Grosse; it is from him that the family of Grace is descended; which is a corruption of Grosse. This family has been in high repute, for some centuries, in the county of Kilkenny, where they possessed a large district named Grace's country.

The Fitz-Maurices of Kerry were much renowned in succeeding ages for their virtues, wealth, and connections. Edmond, one of the chiefs of the family, was created by Henry VIII., in 1537, Baron of Odorney and Viscount of Kilmaule. The same prince gave him, by letters patent, the spoils of several abbeys and religious houses in his district. This noble family often gave proofs of their attachment to religion: the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw greatly distinguished themselves in the war of the Confederates against Elizabeth; so much that, when proclaiming a general pardon to those who had borne arms against her, she made an express exception of the earl of Desmond, his brother John, Pierce Lacy, the knight of Glinn, and Thomas Fitz-Maurice, son of the late baron of Lixnaw: but Fitz-Maurice got into favor again, upon the accession of James I. to the throne.

Historians are not quite agreed respecting the origin of the noble family of the Barrys in Ireland.* According to Camden, the Barrys derive their name from an island belonging to Wales, called Barry. That island was so named from Barruch, who having lived there in the odor of sanctity, was interred in it. Others say that the name of Barry is found in a roll of Battle-Abbey,† among the number of those who had assisted the duke William in the conquest of England; from hence it is presumed that the family of Barry has its origin from Normandy. However this be, William de Barry was the common ancestor of different branches of that name in Ireland. He married Angareth daughter of Nesta, and sister of Robert Fitzstephen: he had by her four sons, namely, Robert, Philippe, Walter, and Girald, or Girard, surnamed Cambrensis, of whom we have spoken in the first part of this history. Robert Barry accompanied

* Lodge's Peerage.

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honor. Brit. p. 837
† Lodge's Peerage.

Robert Fitzstephen to Ireland, he was wounded at the siege of Wexford, and was killed afterwards at Lismore. Philippe de Barry, brother of the latter, crossed into Ireland some time afterwards, at the head of some troops, to assist his uncle Robert Fitzstephen, and Reymond le Grosse,* to keep the kingdom of Cork against the efforts of the Mac-Cartys, its ancient proprietors. Robert Fitzstephen gave him the lands of Olethan, of Muskerry, of Dunegan, and Killede, where he built some castles. This donation was confirmed to William, son of Philippe, by king John. Sir David Barry, son of William, was Lord Justice of Ireland. He made war against the M'Cartys and the Fitz-Geralds of Coshbride. He increased his possessions in the county of Cork, and became lord of Castle-Lyons, Buttevant, and Barrys-court. This high family supported the splendor of their origin down to our time; their attachment to the interest of the English government, particularly under the reign of Elizabeth, has well earned its favors to them. David Barry, the head of it, already baron of Ibawne, and viscount of Buttevant, was created earl of Barrymore in 1627 by Charles I.

The origin of the Butlers of Ireland is undoubted. The best authors give them an illustrious descent from Normandy; but the author who seems to have best fathomed the antiquity of that house is Mr. John Butler, resident at his benefice in the county of Northampton. He makes it a younger branch of that of Clare, formerly so illustrious, so numerous, and so powerful in England. According to him, Richard, first count of Clare, had two sons. The descendants of the elder took by degrees the surname of Clare, from the manor of that name situate in the county of Suffolk. The posterity of the younger, after having borne for some time the name of Walter, or Fitz-Walter, took that of Butler, when the office of Grand Butler became hereditary in Ireland, and was conferred on them as a favor. They enjoyed the same office in England, and inherited the land of Baynard Castle, which was annexed to it as a perpetual fief.

When M. Nichols gives to the family of Butler a descent from the ancient counts of Brionne in Normandy, he must have been led to think, according to Oldaricus Vitalis, hat the family of Clare was sprung from that of Brionne, which house of Brionne, according to the same Oldaric, is descended from the dukes of Normandy.

* Ware's Antiquities of Hib. c. 27.

Mr. Carte, in his life of the duke of Ormond, has left us a long dissertation upon the origin of this family, but it is more calculated to embarrass than throw light on the subject, if there was a necessity for it.

If Mr. Lodge had condescended to give in his peerage a more copious and accurate genealogy, he would have rendered an important service to this family. But our author was as modest as he was learned, and did not wish to undertake the task. He has refrained from ascending higher than the father of Hervy Walter, who was father to the first grand butler of Ireland.

Camden says that the name of Butler is derived from the office of honorary grand-butler of Ireland; that the Butlers are descended from a sister of Thomas-à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and that Henry II. had heaped upon that family, already so illustrious and wealthy in England, possessions and honors in Ireland, in order to allay in some degree the hatred which the murder of that holy prelate had drawn on him.

William Dugdale, king-at-arms under Charles II., makes mention of Hubert Walter, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: he speaks of five sons of Hervy Walter, whom he had by Maud, daughter of Theobald de Valoines; also of the extensive influence of Hubert, one of their sons, archbishop of Canterbury, and of the lordship of Preston in Amunderness, in the county of Lancashire, which Richard I. gave to Theobald, brother of the prelate, who, according to him, was very wealthy, and had founded monasteries and endowed churches. He mentions, likewise, the great wealth brought him by his wife Maud, daughter of Robert Vavasour, and adds, that from one of their sons named Theobald, who first took the name from the office of grand-butler, the noble family of Butlers, since earls of Ormond, is descended.

The same author likewise mentions that the counts of Ormond are descended by the paternal line from Hervy Walter, premier baron of England in the time of Henry II.

While Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, was supporting the interests of the king of Leinster, and something beyond, Theobald Walter was with Henry II. in Normandy, where he succeeded in influencing the prince to restore his favor to Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. This holy prelate was his maternal grand-uncle, Hervy, the father of Theobald, having been married to Maud, daughter of Theobald Valoines and of Matilda Becket, sister

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of the prelate. Hubert Walter, brother of Theobald, was one of the successors of his uncle Thomas à Becket, in that see.

After the martyrdom of the primate, which happened December 28, 1171, Henry II. passed over to Ireland, and was accompanied in the expedition by a great number of lords, among others, by Theobald Walter. He contributed to the reduction of a part of the kingdom; his services merited for him more and more the favor of the king, who rewarded him liberally, and bestowed on him large possessions, besides the hereditary office of grand-butler in Ireland, a situation that his ancestors had filled in England.

Theobald was powerful in England, and one of the wealthiest of the great old feudatories of the crown, and his descendants enjoyed without interruption during 350 years, the same privileges in that kingdom; but in 1515 they were reduced to the estates and honors held by them in Ireland only. Thomas, earl of Ormond, who died in that year, left only daughters after him, who brought their English estates to the families of St. Ledger and Bollen. Peter Butler, a member of the house, found means to possess himself of the estates in Ireland, as well as the titles of honor which they bore in that country, and his posterity during the two last centuries supported the splendor of their family from 1515 till 1717, when James, peer of the three kingdoms and duke of Ormond, having taken measures in opposition to the reigning family, was attainted, and his title and estates confiscated.

The family of Burkes, otherwise de Bourks, or de Burgo, in Ireland, derives its origin from William Fitz-Adelm, one of the first English who landed in Ireland under Henry II. Fitz-Adelm was descended from Serlo, or Harlowen de Bourgo, son of a Norman lord named Eustace. Serlo having espoused Arlotte, mother of William the Conqueror, passed over with that prince into England. Of this marriage of Serlo with Arlotte, was born Robert, earl of Cornwall, from whom descended William, who succeeded to the dignity of the earl. The latter was father to Adelm and John, who was father to Hubert de Burgo,* Chief-Justice of England and earl of Kent. He was deprived of his office, judged by his peers in full parliament, and degraded, for having counselled king Henry III. to annul the grand charter and the privileges of his subjects.

* Cox is not in accordance with Nichols respecting the descent of William Fitz-Adelm; we do not mean to reconcile them, they may be consulted by the reader.

Adelm was father to William, known under the name of William Fitz-Adelm; he went with Henry II. to Ireland, who confirmed to him by charter five military fiefs in a place called Toth, where the castle of Canice, at present Castleconnel, is situated; he then gave him large estates in Connaught, where the noble family of the Burkes, his descendants, became settled. William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, and chief of that family, having been assassinated in 1333, without leaving any male heirs to succeed to the possession of his estates in Connaught, two noblemen of his name and family made themselves masters of all his lands in that province, and formed two powerful families distinguished by the names of Mac-William Eighter, and Mac-William Oughter, a distinction which continued for a long time. These houses produced several collateral branches, which gave origin to many private families.

The sept of the Burkes was honored with four peerages in the persons of Ulysses Burke, created earl of Clanrickard in 1543, by Henry VIII. Theobald Burke, (commonly called Tibbod ne Lung, that is to say, the naval, because he was conversant in naval pursuits,) who was created viscount of Mayo in 1627, by Charles I., both which titles are still in being. There have been also two lord-barons in the family, namely, Castleconnel and Brittas. These titles do not exist at present in Ireland, but are united in the person of N. Burke, captain in an Irish regiment in the service of his most Christian Majesty.

The noble family of the Lacys in Ireland derive their origin from Normandy. Walter and Ilbert de Lacy, having accompanied the duke William into England, they had a share in the conquest of that kingdom, where they were amply rewarded with donations in lands by that prince.

Hugh, grandson of Walter de Lacy, accompanied Henry II. to Ireland in 1172. The king, to reward him for his services in England and Ireland, gave him for the service of fifty knights, the territory of Meath, to be possessed by him and his descendants in the manner in which it was held by Murchard O'Melachlin, the ancient proprietor of that county. He left him also all the fiefs which he had around Dublin, and all which he might acquire afterwards. He then named him governor of the city of Dublin, and Lord Justice of Ireland. Hugh employed many workmen to build castles; one among whom, named Malva Miadaiah, cut off his head with the stroke of an axe, either to take

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revenge for the severity which that nobleman had practised against his companions, or for the injustice done to O'Melachlin, whose patrimony he had seized. Walter left two sons named Walter and Hugh; the first inherited the lordship of Meath, and the latter was made earl of Ulster, in consequence of the disgrace of Sir John de Courcy. These two lords having left none but daughters after them, their vast estates fell into the hands of strangers.

The posterity of Ilbert de Lacy, of whom we have already spoken, settled in England. The Conqueror gave to this nobleman the castle and lordship of Pontfract in the county of York, and several estates in the county of Lancaster and elsewhere, together amounting to the number of 150 lordships in England. We discover in the county of Limerick, in Ireland, some families of Lacys, very distinguished for their virtues and attachment to the interests of religion and country, and are able to trace their genealogy to one or other of the two houses of which we have just given an account.

It was in the reign of Henry II. that the noble family of Nugent established themselves in Ireland. They are of Norman descent, Sir Gilbert de Nugent, with his brothers, having accompanied in 1172 Hugh de Lacy in the expedition to Ireland.* This nobleman, in gratitude for his services, gave him in marriage his sister Rosa, and the fortune he received with her was the territory of Dealma, or Delvin, in the county of Westmeath, with all its dependencies, to be held by him and his descendants for ever. Gilbert divided the estate with his brothers and other relatives. From this stock numerous branches, eminent for noble and generous sentiments, were produced. The chief of the family was first called to parliament in 1486, in quality of baron of Delvin. His descendants were created peers of the realm, under the title of earls of Westmeath, by James I.

The liberality of Hugh Lacy was not confined to the Nugents. He gave estates to the Tyrrels, the Petits, Nangles, Tuites, Missets, Husseys, Flemings, and to many others.

Sir John de Courcy of Ulster,† (part of which he had conquered,) was celebrated in the twelfth century. He left a son named Milo, or Miles, who was deprived of the succession by his father's disgrace and the influence of Hugh de Lacy, who was a favorite at court.* King Henry III. wishing to indemnify Milo de Courcy, gave him the barony of Kinsale in the county of Cork, with the title of baron: this family is still in being, and enjoys a peculiar privilege granted by King John to Sir John de Courcy and his descendants, of remaining covered in the presence of the king. Genealogists give to this family a very illustrious origin. They trace their descent in the male line from the house of Lorraine, of the race of Charlemagne, and in the female line from the house of Normandy.

The Birminghams of Ireland are of English extraction; they derive their name from the town of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, of which Peter de Birmingham was the possessor in the time of Henry II. His son William, or according to others, Robert de Birmingham his grandson, passed over to Ireland in the twelfth century with Earl Strongbow. This earl gave him considerable possessions in Ofaly, particularly the barony of Carbry in the county of Kildare.

John de Birmingham, one of the descendants of Robert, was created knight in the fourteenth century, by Roger Mortimer, at that time Lord Justice of Ireland; he was afterwards made baron of Athenry (in Irish Agh-na-Ry) and earl of Louth, for having killed in battle Edward Bruce, brother of the king of Scotland. The Birminghams frequently filled public offices in the state. They were invested during some time with the title of barons of Carbry. The house of Athenry is still in existence, with the title of premier baron of Ireland.

The noble family of Preston derives its origin from Robert Preston, Esq., lord of the manor of Preston, in Lancashire, England, in the reign of Edward III. In the year 1470 he was first created knight of the order of the garter, and in 1477 viscount Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, and his descendants have filled with distinction places of trust and honor.

Roche, otherwise de la Roche, or *de rupe*, i. e. of the rock, lord of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, was created, the same year, viscount of Fermoy. This noble family is descended from Hugh de la Roche, whose ancestors had followed William the Conqueror into England. Hugh crossed afterwards, with Strongbow, into Ireland, in the twelfth century, under Henry II., where he obtained a Cantred, called to this day Roche's country, with its dependencies.

* Ware's Antiquities, Hib. cap. 27.
† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

* Lodge.

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Ralph, son of Alexander de la Roche, one of the descendants of Hugh, married, in the fourteenth century, Elizabeth, third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, to whom Nichols, in his rudiments of honor, gives a descent from Charlemagne, through a great number of kings and sovereign princes. Such is the origin of that house, which subsisted in splendor until the revolution of Cromwell; when David Roche, Viscount Fermoy, sacrificed for his loyalty to his legitimate sovereigns, Charles I. and II., an extensive estate, which still bears the name of Roche's country.

The Barnewalls are from Little Brittany, in France, where some of their ancestors were allied to dukes of that province. Having accompanied William the Conqueror to England, they passed afterwards with Henry II to Ireland, where they became possessed of Beerhaven, and other estates that belonged to the O'Sullivans, in the county of Cork; but the O'Sullivans, with others of the Irish, having conspired against them, they were all massacred, except the wife of the head of that family, who was pregnant of a male child at the time, and escaped the carnage. This murder happened about the middle of the fifteenth century, according to a letter from the inhabitants of Cork to the duke of York, as mentioned by Campion in his history, p. 184. This letter makes mention of the Barnewalls, as the possessors of Beerhaven at that time. It also speaks of the Irish taking advantage of the disputes of some lords in the county of Cork, having fortified themselves in the country, a great part of which had fallen into their possession. The letter adds, that there remained but Roche, Courcy, and Barry, who possessed something of their patrimony. Madam Barnewall withdrew to Dublin, where she lay in of a son, who raised the family, which was almost extinct. He established himself at Dromenach, in the county of Dublin, and married a rich heiress, by whom he had two sons; from the elder of whom were descended the Barnewalls of Crickston, in the county of Meath, and the Viscounts Kingsland, and from the younger the barons of Trimblestown.

These two houses gave rise to several important branches of the name in Ireland, who sustained in splendor the cause of religion and of their country, among the several revolutions which happened in it.

The noble family of Flemings in Ireland,* take their origin from Michael Fleming, a native of Flanders, whence the name is taken. He was related to Baldwin, earl of Flanders who sent him with some troops to assist his son-in-law, William the Conqueror, in his expedition into England. After this he was sent with an army to the north of England, to oppose the incursions of the Scotch. William Rufus subsequently gave him some estates in the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, as rewards for his services. Archibald Fleming, one of his descendants, having accompanied Earl Strongbow to Ireland, received the estate of Slane, in the county of Meath, with its dependencies. This family always supported itself with honor in the country. James Fleming, lord baron of Slane, was created Knight of the Garter in 1479; and lastly, Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, signalized himself in the revolution, under James II., and sacrificed his fortune for the good cause.

The noble family of the Plunkets, more anciently called Plugenets, of Danish extraction, were established first in England. They came afterwards to Ireland, under Henry II., and settled in the counties of Meath and Dublin. Many great men were descended from them, who were remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith, and loyalty to their legitimate princes; this family gave many peers to Ireland, viz., the barons of Dunsany, of Killeen, and Louth, and the earl of Fingal

The Dillons* hold a distinguished rank among the Irish nobility. Lodge gives to this family a very illustrious and ancient origin. He says that they are descended from Lochan, or Logan, son of Hugh Slaine, of the race of the O'Neills, and monarch of Ireland towards the end of the sixth century. Lochan having killed his cousin, Colman Kimidh, whom the monarch had united to him in the government, he was named Deloun, or Dillon, which signifies brave or valiant. In order to escape from the anger of his father, enraged against him for causing the death of Colman, Lochan went into foreign countries, and entered into the service of the duke of Aquitaine, at that time at war with the king of France, and contributed greatly, by his valor, to keep that prince in his sovereignty. The duke, to reward the services of Lochan, gave him his only daughter in marriage, and by virtue of this alliance he became prince of Aquitaine after the death of his father-in-law, who left no

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

* Lodge's Peerage.

male children after him. The descendants of Lochan ruled for a long time in Aquitaine. In the twelfth century this family were dispossessed by William, prince of the house of Burgundy. Two male children of the race of Lochan, Thomas and Henry, were still living. Henry II., king of England, having espoused Eleanor, daughter of William, and heiress of Aquitaine, thought it prudent to remove the two young pretenders to the principality; and in order to take every opportunity from them of seeking after it, had them conducted to England, where he provided for them an education suitable to their birth, and on attaining manhood, Henry received the order of knighthood.

Sir Henry Diloune, or Delion, now called Dillon, was sent to Ireland as first gentleman and secretary to John, earl of Mortagne, afterwards king of England. This prince gave him the territory of Corkny, which belonged to Mac-Carron, in Westmeath, with a part of Annaly. The domains of M'Geoghegan and O'Malachlin extended from the river Shannon, as far as Cloghanenumore, to the east of Mullingar. The family of Dillon became very numerous and renowned in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, and in other districts of the kingdom.

The Dillons have filled high places in the church and state. There were two peerages in the family; Sir Robert Dillon was created baron of Kilkenny West, in 1619, by James I., and in 1622 the same king created him earl of Roscommon. He who ought to be his representative now, and heir to his fortune as well as title, is brigadier in the king of France's armies. The second peerage was given in 1621 to Sir Theobald Dillon, who was created viscount of Castillo-gillen, in the county of Mayo, by James I. This family is well known in France, where an Irish regiment bears the name of Dillon. In 1745 and 1747, two brothers of the family were successively its colonels, and shed their blood at the head of that regiment, in the battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeld, in the service of France.

The family of Nettervil is very ancient in Ireland; they have their origin from Charles, duke of Normandy. Sir Formal Nettervil passed over into Ireland in the twelfth century. He married Phaladelphia, daughter of William Vesey, by whom he had a son named Richard, who espoused Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh de Lacy. This family continued in splendor until the reign of James I., who created Nicholas Nettervil viscount of Louth, in the county of Meath, which house is still in being.

The family of Bedlows, or Bellews, owe their descent to Normandy, as appears from the rolls of the abbey of Hastings. A nobleman of that name accompanied William the Conqueror to England, in quality of marshal of his army. His descendants afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where they established themselves, and still hold large estates. Sir John Bellew was honored with the peerage in 1686, by king James II., under the title of Lord Baron of Duleek, in the county of Meath. This family is still in being.

The Taffes of Ireland are originally from England; their first appearance in Ireland was at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. William Taffe, one of the descendants of the family, espoused warmly the cause of Queen Elizabeth against the Catholics of Ireland. He served that princess with zeal in her last campaigns in Munster, for which he was well rewarded; he received his share of the confiscations made of the Catholic properties, in that, and in the succeeding reigns.

James I., wishing to compensate the services of the father, created Sir John Taffe, his son, baron of Ballymore, and viscount of Coranne, in the county of Sligo, where the estates of Mac-Donough were given him. Theobald, son of John, was created, in 1662, earl of Carlingford, in the county of Louth, by Charles II. Nicholas, son of the latter, was the third viscount, and second earl of Carlingford; he was killed at the head of his regiment at the battle of the Boyne. Francis, his brother, was the third earl; he served with distinction during 30 years in the empire, where he was lieutenant-general of cavalry, and colonel of the Royal Cuirassiers. This earl having died without issue, his nephew Theobald became the fourth earl of Carlingford, and the title became extinct by his death in 1738, at Lisle, in Flanders. Lambert Taffe, brother of the earl, colonel of cuirassiers in the service of the emperor, was killed in 1702, at the famous battle of Cremona, where the French and Irish tore from Prince Eugene the city and victory which that general enjoyed for a few hours.

The name of *le Poer*, at present Power, is an ancient one in Ireland. Sir Roger le Poer entered the country with Strongbow, in the twelfth century. He accompanied the knight Courcy to Ulster, where he shared largely in the conquest of a part of that province.

His descendants possessed Curraghmore, Cowleftyn, Gortbady, and other estates in the county of Waterford. Richard le Poer was created lord baron of Curraghmore, in 1452, by Henry II. Another Richard Poer was created, in 1673, viscount of Desies and earl of Tyrone, by Charles II., but the title of Tyrone afterwards passed into another family.

A descendant of Roger le Poer, named Eustace, in the beginning of the 14th century founded the illustrious house of Fitz-Eustaces, created viscounts of Baltinglass by Henry VIII. Under the reign of Elizaeth, this family was sacrificed for their zeal in the Catholic cause. There are two families of the name still in being, viz., the Eustaces of Gammonstown, and those of Cradokstown.

Although the following families are not found in the list of Irish peers, still there are many among them not inferior in either nobleness of extraction or in those qualities which characterize good citizens.

The Walshes of Ireland are originally from Great Britain. The Britons, says Camden, exhausted by the long war they were forced to maintain against the perfidious Saxons, were constrained to seek a country even in their own. They retired into the district that lies west of Britain, since called Wales by the Saxons, and the inhabitants Welchmen, which signifies strangers. A striking picture of the conduct of the English in Ireland, where the ancient inhabitants have been treated as strangers among them, and compelled to obtain letters of naturalization in the country which gave them birth. Two noblemen named Welshes, went to Ireland in the reign of Henry II. One of them, called Philip,* was mentioned by Ware as a valiant young man, from the bravery he displayed in a naval engagement with the Danes of Cork: the other, named David, distinguished† himself particularly at the passage over the Shannon, when Reymond le Gros attempted to lay siege to Limerick.

These were the two stocks of the different families of the Walshes (called by the Irish Brannaghs) established in Ireland. We discover them in the counties of Kilkenny, Kildare, and Dublin,‡ where the Walshes of Carrickmain were lords of Oldcourt. Their power, says Camden, equalled their nobleness in that country.

We see, at the present day, two brothers, who are offshoots of the noble family of Walshes in Ireland, established in France one of whom conducted Prince Edward into Scotland in 1745, which would have earned for him the title of lord. The other has purchased the beautiful estate of Seran in Anjou, and has been honored by the king of France with the title of count.

The Warrens are of Norman extraction. William, count of Warren in Normandy, being allied to the duke of that province. He was nephew to the countess of Gunnora, great-grandmother of that prince. He accompanied the duke in his famous expedition to England in 1066, and distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Hastings, which transferred the crown of England to the conqueror. The king, in consideration of the services of Count Warren, gave him estates and lordships in the counties of Norfolk and Lincoln.* He was created in the following reign count of Surrey, and the house became powerful in England. William, count of Surrey, left after him a son also named William, who inhabited his estates and titles. The latter had three sons, one named William, who succeeded him, besides Reginald and Ralph. Reginald having espoused Alice, heiress of Wirmgay, in the county of Norfolk, founded a second family of Warren.

The descendants of that family removed afterwards to Ireland, where they became very numerous and influential, as well by their virtues as their possessions. In addition to public notoriety, this account is strengthened by topographical proofs which are not to be despised. We discover in the maps on Ireland, places which bear their name in two different provinces. The name Warrenstown, that is, the town or borough of Warren, is found in the King's county in Leinster, and in Down in Ulster clearly indicating the old proprietors. There was a family of the name in the county of Meath near Dunshaughlin, who possessed a large estate; but it has undergone the same lot with others, and there remains of these different branches, only Warren of Corduff, near Dublin, who still possesses a part of the family estate.

A cursory piece written by Sir James Ware, and printed under his own inspection in London, A. D. 1657, gives a very remote origin to the Whites of England and Ireland. The venerable Bede, in his ecclesiastical history of the English nation, supplied him with the materials for it.† Ware gives the

* Annal. Hib. c. 5.
† Cox. Hist. of Irel. p. 28
‡ Camden Brit

* Baker's Chron. on the reign of William
† Book 1, c. 15.

opinions of Polidore Virgil, of Speed, Camden, Florentius Wigorn, Gratzius, and others; and from drawing a comparison of all, he concludes, with a great probability of truth, that White is a Saxon name, derived from Vitus, Wite, or Weight, according to the different changes which have occurred to the name since the establishment of the Vites in England, in the beginning of the fifth century.

Sir Walter Whyte removed with his brothers into Ireland in the time of Henry II.; his father was governor and justice of South Wales, which had then the title of a kingdom. The Whites became settled in different counties of Ireland, where they held a distinguished rank among the nobility. Camden, in his description of the country, places them in the counties of Kildare, Wexford, and Down. Among the different families of the Whites, that of Lexslip ranks the highest, from their merits, wealth, and connections.

Chance has put into my hands some very interesting and ancient documents respecting the Whites in general, but more particularly a branch of that name established in Limerick, before the revolution fomented in Ireland by the tyrant Cromwell. These documents are legally authenticated copies, collated with their originals at Brussels.

The first is a patent of the Emperor Maximilian I., written in the Latin language, dated at Tournay, A. D. 1513. By this patent, the emperor created Dominic White baron of Albis, both for himself and his descendants. The motives which induced the emperor to grant the patent are particularized, which are, the origin of the name, taken from Viti, a people of Germany, (being attested by letters from Henry VIII. to the emperor;) the bravery which that nobleman displayed at the sieges of Terouene and Tournay; the goodness of his disposition, and finally the beauty of his person, a quality hereditary in that family.

The second document is a certificate of the earl of Strafford, viceroy of Ireland. It is dated Dublin, 25th December, anno 1639. It is followed by another, signed by the bishop of Limerick, the mayor, and other magistrates of that city. We have already noticed the fragment of Sir James Ware, dated London, 1657. Charles II., king of England, likewise gave a diploma at Brussels, in 1658, which is in conformity with those now mentioned The purport of all is to authenticate the origin and nobility of this ancient family.

The Wales of Ireland take their origin from a barony of Northampton in England, of which they had been the possessors in the time of William the Conqueror.

William Wale, son of that ancient family, went over to Ireland in the twelfth century, when Richard Strongbow was invited thither by the king of Leinster In the second division which Strongbow made of the estates in Leinster, he gave to William Wale that of Johnstown in the county of Carlow, to reward him for the services he had rendered in the reduction of that district. This first inheritance was afterwards increased by the acquisition of other estates, viz., those of Coolnamuckie, Ballynakelly, in the Queen's county, and several others. This family was distinguished by their virtues and merited the confidence of their sovereigns, who frequently appointed them to offices of high trust in the state; but their attachment to the religion of their fathers caused them to share the same lot of many among their countrymen. Count Wale, minister to the court of Spain, is descended from this noble house.*

The family of the Stacks is of considerable antiquity in Ireland. It derives its origin from the ancient Gauls. Some of the family having followed the fortunes of William the Conqueror into England, established themselves in Wales. It is asserted, that before the time of Henry II., Mac-Carty More had married a lady belonging to it, and that he brought over with her into Ireland her four brothers, to whom he offered estates in the county of Kerry. However this may be, it is certain that the family settled in the country at a very early period, and formed several branches which possessed considerable property in the neighborhood of Ardfert, as far as the river Smearlagh. There is still a district of the country called *Poble-Stuckagh*, that is, the country of the Stacks, who were proprietors of it. This topographical proof is not to be disregarded, being a public testimony to the antiquity of the family. Its alliances too with the best families of the province, namely, the Mac-

* It is a singular feature in the character of the virtuous and renowned family of the Wales, that the author of this translation is enabled to bear testimony to the nobleness of sentiment and reputation sustained by their descendants. While residing at Versailles, immediately before the abdication of Charles X., M. de Wale, captain in the regiment of cuirassiers quartered then in that city, was very intimately known to him. His father, Count de Wale, was military commander and governor of Paris at the particular juncture of Louis Philippe gaining the throne of France; the de Wales are of the Carlist party, taking no place under L. Philippe. —*P. O'Kelly.*

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Mahons, the Fitzgeralds, the McCarthys, the Burkes, the Fitzmaurices, and others, shew the consideration in which it was held. The Stacks met the fate of so many of their fellow-countrymen ; their zeal for religion and attachment to their legitimate monarch, were crimes with them as with others. They were on these grounds deprived of their possessions, some under Elizabeth, others by the usurper Cromwell. Ponsonby, a soldier of fortune and a creature of his, obtained the estates of Stackstown and Crotto.

To establish the antiquity of the noble family of the Darcys in Ireland, it is sufficient to say that they are descended from Sir John Darcy, lord-justice and viceroy in that kingdom in the fourteenth century. The first stock of that name was Norman de Arcy, who had entered England with William the Bastard. The Conqueror gave him thirty-three lordships in the county of Lincoln,* the chief of which was Nocton, where he established his residence ; his son Robert succeeded him, and Thomas succeeded the latter. These noblemen founded and endowed religious houses. They filled high places in the military and civil departments, and were greatly esteemed by their sovereigns. The name de Areci was afterwards changed into that of d'Arcy ; the accent was at length suppressed, and at present it is written Darcy.

John Darcy, mentioned above, was frequently named lord-justice of Ireland. Edward III. to reward his services gave him by letters patent the estates of Rathwer and Kildalk, in the barony of Farbile, in Ireland. His first wife was Emelina, daughter and heiress of Walter Heron. He had by her three children, John, Eleanor, and Roger ; this was the stock of the house of Holderness, in England. Having become a widower, he married Joanna, daughter of Richard Burgh, earl of Ulster, and the widow of Thomas, earl of Kildare. He had by this marriage a son named William, from whom the Darcys of Plattin are descended, and those of Dunmow, in the county of Meath ; the first were dispossessed in the late revolution for their attachment to the loyalist cause.

The Darcys of Connaught were a collateral branch of the house of Plattin. Nicholas, brother to John Darcy of Plattin, and descended in the fifth degree from John Darcy, lord-justice of Ireland, having married the daughter and heiress of O'Duraghy, lord of Partry, in the county of Mayo, became possessed of the whole fortune of that family. This branch multiplied exceedingly ; several other families sprang from it, viz., the Darcys of Kiltolla, of Clunuane, of Gorteen, and others in Connaught. Some other families may be introduced here, which, according to Camden, were of English descent, to wit, the Jordans, the Nangles of Castlough, and the Prendergasts of Clan-Moris.

The family of the Aylmers were established at Lyons in the county of Kildare, in Ireland, at the end of the thirteenth century. It is said that they have their origin from Aylmer, earl of Cornwall in the reign of Ethelred, king of England in the tenth century. However this be, history mentions Ralph Aylmer and William his brother, to have been in possession of Lyons in the year 1300. This family multiplied themselves exceedingly, and subsequently gave out the collateral branches of the Aylmers of Ballykenan, Donadea, Dullardstown, and of Balrath. They were distinguished by their virtues and high connections, as well as for their attachment to the Roman Catholic religion. The houses of Lyons and Balrath are still in being.

There are several families of Browns in Ireland. They are not less respected for their virtues and nobleness than for their extraction. They are of English descent, and there is in England a viscount Montague who bears that name.

The Browns of Kenmare are established in the county of Kerry since the reign of Elizabeth. The first of that noble family who went to Ireland, was Sir Nicholas Brown, of Tataridge, in the county of Hertford. This family was allied to the O'Sullivans, McCartys, Fitzgeralds, Butlers, and other noblemen of that province. They received the honor of the peerage from James II., who created Valentine Brown baron of Castleross and viscount Kenmare, in the county of Kerry.

Some families of Browns were established in Connaught, viz., those of Neal, Westport, Elystren, and others. Some also were of the counties of Limerick and Waterford ; we discover a family of the name in the county of Kildare in possession of the lordship of Castlebrown.

The noble family of the Wogans of Rathcoffey is well known in that district. They are descended from Sir John Wogan, lord-justice of Ireland at the close of the thirteenth century. We find also in the county of Kildare, the Husseys of Moyle-Hussey ; there are also the Husseys of Oldtown, near Kilcock, and some others. Camden places in the same county, the de la

* Dugdale's Baronage of England, b. 2, p. 369

Hides, the Boiseles, the Suttons, and others.* These last, as well as the Suttons of Wexford, have their descent from Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, viceroy in Ireland in the beginning of the fifteenth century.†

The family of Devereux, in Wexford, have the same origin as the Devereuxs of England, sometime earls of Essex. They are descended from a count d'Evreux in Normandy, who was archbishop of Rouen. The other good families of the county of Wexford are the Sinnotts, Staffords, Cheevers, Furlongs, Fitzharris, Mastersons, Hores, Hates, Coddes, Maylers.

In the county of Kilkenny are found the Graces, Lovels, Foresters, Shortels, Blanchfields, Drilands, Comerfords. The Carews were established in the county of Carlow, the Herberts, Colbys, Moores, in the King's county. The respectable family of the Tyrrels are said to have been first of Castleknock, in the county of Dublin, and to have had the title of barons. They were transplanted afterwards into the barony of Fertullagh in the county of Westmeath, where they supported for a long time the nobleness of their origin.‡

There are, in the county of Dublin, the Talbots, of Malahide, who are yet in being, the Holywoods, Lutterells, Burnills, Fitzwilliams, Gouldings, Ushers, Caddels, Finglas, Sarsfields, Purcels, Blackneys, Cruces, Baths, and others.

The county of Meath, besides titled families, contains the Husseys, barons of Galtrim, Cusacks, and Garvys. In Westmeath, the Petits, Tuites, Nangles, Daltons, and other names may be discovered.

In the county of Waterford, an ancient family named Strange is established. They are descended from Sir Thomas Strange,§ a deputy in Ireland in the 15th century. This family was transplanted by Cromwell into Connaught. According to Camden, the Hurleys, Chaceys, Suppels, Purcels, all of English origin, are to be met with in the county of Limerick.

The expedition which Sir John Courcy conducted into Ulster, afforded an opportunity to some English families to establish themselves in that province. In the county of Louth, the Verdons, Tates, Clintons, Dowdals, Gernons, Hadsors, Wottons, Brandans, Moors, and Chamberlans, are to be found; and in the county of Down, the Russels, Audleys, Savages, Ridells, Mandevills, Jordans, Stantons, Stokes, Passelevys, Copelands, Martels, Logans, Sandals, and the Camerars, appear to be established. Besides the families mentioned, according to Camden and Ware, the following are discovered to have been found in Ireland in the 12th century, and afterwards in the time of Henry VIII., when they were in possession of estates.

In Leinster, the Wolwostons, the Peppards, the Wallases, Blacks, Redmonds, Esmonds, Chettens, Tobins, Allens, Gennits, Wades, Sweetmans, St. Logers, Grants, Archers, Rochfords, Datons, Rothes, Wares, Purfields, Smiths, Cooks, Hooks, Taylors, Dens, and Archdekins.

In Munster, there were the Lacys, Cantillons, Mathias, Nagles, Morres, Keatings, Johns, Piercies, Comminges, Rices, Moclers, Cantwels, Stapletons, Mandevills, Lombards, Tallons, Golds, Baggots, Bagnels, Coppingers, Porters, Cosbys, Dennys, Terrys, Goughs, Stritches, Pickets, Dondons, Waters, Skiddys or Squiddys, the Woulfs, of Tirry-Callane, in the county of Clare In the county of Galway, we see the Blakes Keerevans, Lynches, Frenchs, Bodkins, Martins, Craftons, and others.

In Meath are found the Everards, Garlands, Griffins, Biataghs, Dungans, Ivers, Dardis, Ledwidges, Pallas, Allens, Deases, Cheevers, Dowdals, Cruces, Malpas, and others: and lastly, a family named Dromgolds, in the county of Louth.

* Dugdale's Baronage, book 2, p. 215.
† Ware's Annals.
‡ Camden's Description of Ireland.
§ Ware's Annals.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY II., having received the submission of some of the principal lords in Ireland, established a colony of English in Leinster; and having settled governors in the important places, (as has been observed in the preceding chapter,) sailed for England during Easter, A. D. 1172.* He went afterwards to Normandy, where his son Henry, to whom he had given a share in the government some time before, rebelled like a second Absalom against his father and benefactor. The king's debaucheries were in a great degree the cause of this revolt. Eleanor, his queen, jealous of the number of concubines he supported, in violation of all conjugal fidelity, excited her son Henry, who had been crowned with Marguerite, his princess, daughter of Louis

* Christophori Pembrige Annal. Hib. à Camd edit. ad calcem Britan.

VII., to lay claim to his father's throne.* This young prince was abetted in his rebellion by his brothers, Richard and Geoffroy, and supported by his father-in-law, Louis VII., and Philip Augustus, his son and successor. The consequences of this rebellion, were the invasion of his states by the neighboring princes, and by his own subjects; the taking of Verneuil in Normandy, in the time of Louis VII., and of Mans, his native city, under Philip Augustus. So strongly was he affected by the loss of Mans, that he cried out in blasphemous imprecations, "I shall no longer love God, who has permitted that I should be deprived of a place so dear to me."

Henry II. was too busily employed on the continent, to attend to the affairs of Ireland himself. As a skilful politician, he considered it necessary to induce his English subjects, whom he had left there, to support his interests for the sake of their own. Among the English chiefs he divided the lands of those princes who had just acknowledged his dominion by a voluntary submission, violating thereby the treaties and solemn promises which he had made to maintain them in their wealth and dignities.

Notwithstanding the jealousy which the success of Richard Strongbow, and his alliance with the royal house of Leinster, excited in Henry, he granted to this nobleman, as a military tenure, the entire of the country, except Dublin and other maritime towns, with their dependencies, and the strong places, which he reserved for himself.† This donation was afterwards confirmed by a charter granted by King John to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who had married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Earl Richard. The copy of this charter is among the archives in the tower of London.

Strongbow found himself enabled, through the liberality of his prince, to be generous to his favorites, and created vassals for himself by sub-infeudations. He first gave to Raymond, who had married his sister Basilea, the lands of Fothert, Odrone, and Glascarig; to his cousin Hervey, surnamed *de Monte Marisco*, the district of Obarthy; to Maurice Prendergast the lands of Fernegenelan; to Myler Fitzhenry the district of Carbry, at present a barony in the county of Kildare; Naas, a considerable town in this country, with its dependencies, extending to Kildare town, which gives name to the country, and which formerly belonged to Mackelan, were given to Maurice Fitzgerald, together with the town of Wicklow. This concession was confirmed, after the death of Maurice Fitzgerald, to his son, by King John, the charter of which is in Bermingham tower, in Dublin.

In this distribution of the properties of the Irish, Walter Ridelesford had the district of Omorthy, in the county of Kildare, near Castledermot, given him; Vivian de Cursun received the district of Ratheny, near Dublin, (formerly the patrimony of Gilcolm;) John Clahul, the lands extending from Aghavo, in Ossory, as far as Lechlin, with the office of Marshal of Leinster; and Robert Bermingham got, as his portion, O'Faly, that is, that part of the domain of O'Connor Faly, in the county of Kildare, extending towards the river Boyne. Adam of Hereford, one of his favorites, obtained extensive possessions, which are specified in an ancient registry in the monastery of St. Thomas, Dublin: namely, a territory in the county of Kildare, near the waterfall called the *Salmon leap*, on the river Liffey, at present the barony of Salt; the lands of Cloncoury, Kille, Houterard, and the district of Donning, with its dependencies. Adam, who never had or would have been so rich in his own country, sent to England for his brothers John and Richard, the better to defend himself against any attempts of the ancient proprietors. With them he shared the property thus obtained, reserving to himself the territory of Salt and its dependencies.

Strongbow likewise conferred on Milo Fitzdavid the district of Overk, in Ossory. He made some other grants also: namely, the lands of Arde to Thomas Le Fleming; to Gilbert Borard, those of Ofelmith; to a certain knight* called Reinand, fifteen military fiefs along the sea-shore; and to one Robert, son of Richard, who was afterwards killed in Connaught, the barony of Norragh,

* Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 54. Abridg. Chron. of the Hist. of France, on the reign of Louis VII., and Philip Augustus.

† Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 27. Idem. in Annal. cap. 3.

* The word knight was anciently called *Miles*. Knights, in general, had neither regiments nor even companies; they were commonly volunteers, formed into corps like our Gendarmes. It is not easy to decide what was the pay of a knight: Sir John Davis, in his historical narrative, wherein the different ranks of officers who accompanied Prince Lionel, son of Edward III., to Ireland, in the fourteenth century, are given, makes it two shillings a day. Troops were not raised in those times in the name of the king, nor by commission, as at present; but the lords had to supply forces for their prince, in time of war, either by paying a sum of money, or by a portion of land, the proceeds of which were to be applied to that purpose.

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on the river Barrow, in the county of Kildare. At length the earl having come to Ferns, gave his natural daughter in marriage to Robert de Quincy, with the district of Daffren as a dowry, and afterwards appointed him constable of Leinster. After the celebration of the nuptials, the earl departed for Kildare, whence he set out in the beginning of the year, at the head of a thousand horse and foot soldiers, to invade the possessions of O'Dempsy, in Offaly, where he pillaged and burned some villages, and carried off considerable booty to Kildare; but he had the mortification to lose Quincy, his son-in-law and general, who was killed at the head of his troop in a defile, where he was attacked by O'Dempsy. Quincy left an only daughter, who was afterwards married to Philip, son of Maurice Prendergast.

However weak Henry II.'s claim may have been to the province of Leinster,* he had still less to the territory of Meath, which had been for many ages the domain of the monarchs of Ireland, and in no way dependent upon Leinster. Nevertheless, by a charter, dated at Wexford, he granted this extensive territory to Hugh de Lacy, (on condition of keeping fifty knights for his service,) and to his descendants, as possessed by Murchard O'Melaghlin before him. This grant was confirmed in favor of his son, Walter de Lacy, by King John, as we discover by a charter, among other registries in the tower of London; whereby he added some other fiefs which belonged to the crown, in the territory of Fingal, near Dublin, to the grants made by his father Henry.†

To secure himself in the possession of Meath, Hugh de Lacy exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the inhabitants of the country. Not content with depriving the old proprietors of their possessions, he caused a great number of them to be massacred. He afterwards penetrated into the territory of Annaly, (Longford,) sword in hand, where he committed horrible devastations, and killed, in a skirmish, Donald O'Ferral, prince of that country. O'Melaghlin, hereditary prince of Meath,* overwhelmed with grief at the hostilities exercised against his native country, came to Dublin, to Lacy, to complain of the outrages perpetrated in Meath and other districts. These two lords, unable to bring their differences to a conclusion in Dublin, agreed to meet at Tara, in Meath, and explain matters more fully, in order to bring about a reconciliation The number of persons that were to accompany each party was fixed upon, and also the kind of arms they were to carry.

The prince of Meath inveighed loudly at their conference, against the injustice of the king of England, who, notwithstanding the promises he had given of supporting him in the possession of his wealth and dignities, had sent robbers to invade his patrimony; and who, although avaricious and sparing of his own possessions, was lavish of those of others, and enriched libertines and profligates, who had consumed the property of their fathers in debauchery. However just these reproaches were, it may be readily inferred that they were not palatable to De Lacy. He was highly offended with the rebuke, but still dissembled for the moment.

Stanihurst, who was in heart as much an Englishman as if born in London, being desirous to cast a doubt upon the honor of O'Melaghlin, dares to affirm that this prince had posted at the foot of the hill on which the conference was held, a body of armed men, ready to appear on the first signal.† He also adds, that the prince of Meath struck De Lacy with an axe, and that missing him, he killed his secretary. The same author, however, acknowledges that there was a body of English, well mounted and armed, lying in ambush at a short distance from the place of meeting, to await the event; and in order to warrant such precaution, he artfully introduces a dream, that he said Griffin, brother of Raymond le Gros, had, which portended evil to De Lacy. However this be, O'Melaghlin was struck by Griffin with a poniard in the back, as he was mounting his horse; and was then beheaded, and his body interred with the feet upwards. This head was sent to Dublin, and thence to England, as the head of a traitor and a rebel.‡

* The right of Henry II. to the crown of Leinster was founded upon the settlement, only, which the king of this province had made of it on Richard Strongbow, in consequence of the assistance he had given him in the recovery of it, and the forced abdication which Strongbow had made in favor of Henry II.

† The military fief was a certain portion of land, producing twenty pounds a year; the county comprised about twenty military fiefs, and the barony nearly thirteen.—*Selden. Titul. Honor.* part 2, cap. 5.

* The same as we have in another place called Mortough Mac-Floinn, father of Derforguill, who had married O'Rourke, or O'Rork.

† De Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, page 133.

‡ The English had scarcely set their foot in Ireland, when they began to treat the natives, who so justly defended their homes against them, as rebels. Such has been always since the manner in which that imperious nation had acted This cannot

Stanihurst, who mentions O'Rourke to have been prince of Meath, ascribes this catastrophe to him. The tyranny of De Lacy drew on him afterwards the execration of all good men, and merited for him a violent death in the end.

This English nobleman, eager to have his vassals, divided Meath into dynasties, which he conferred on his favorites.* To Hugh Tirrel, his friend, he gave the territory of Castleknock; and to William Petit, that of Castlebreck. He also granted to the latter, according to an ancient charter, the lands of Magherithirnan and its dependencies, except the lake and town, called Dissert. To Meiler Fitzhenry, he gave the lands of Magheran, Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athinorker; to Gilbert De l'Angle, or Nangle, the land of Magherigallen; to Joceline, son of Gilbert Nangle, the town of Navan, and the lands of Ardbraccan; to Robert De Lacy, those of Rathever; to Richard Tuit, and Richard De la Chappelle, he gave several districts; to Galfrid Constantine, the lands of Kilbixy and Rathmarthy, near the river Inny. A charter granted by Walter De Lacy, son of Hugh, treats more largely of this grant; according to it, it consisted of five fiefs in the Theof of Kilbixy, with a castle, and of fifteen in the district of Conemake (Conmacne) in the neighborhood of the castle, beyond that river. To Adam De Feipo, Gilbert De Nugent, William De Misset, and Hugh De Hose, he granted extensive possessions; namely, to Adam De Feipo, the territory of Skrine, in Meath, with the fiefs of Clontorht, and Stantreff, near Dublin, as appears by the copy of the charter, which has been preserved in a registry in the monastery of the blessed Virgin, near Dublin. To Gilbert Nugent he granted the district of Dealbna, (Delvin,) which had till then been the patrimony of the O'Finellans, with its towns and dependencies, except the town of Torrechelasch, belonging to the abbot of Foure. Lastly, he conferred on Misset the lands of Luin; on Hose, or Hussey, the whole district of Deldies, formerly belonging to Schaclin, or Moelsachlin; on Adam Dullard, the lands of Dullenvarthy; on one Thomas, the lands of Cramly, Timlath-Began, east of Kenlis, Lathrakalim, and Sendevonath; and on Richard Le Fleming, he bestowed the lands of Crandon.

he wondered at, since in latter times we find that their writers look upon those troops as rebels, who supported the cause of their lawful prince, James II., against a usurper.

* War. de Antiq.

In the year 1172, died Giolla Ada O'Mugin, bishop of Cork, and previously abbot of the abbey of St. Finbar near that city, a man distinguished for his piety. About the same period Dubhay, archbishop of Tuam, convoked a provincial council in that city. This prelate consecrated three churches at the time mentioned.*

The king of England finding himself hard pressed by his enemies in Normandy, A. D. 1173, sent in the month of April, in the year following, an order to Earl Strongbow, to repair immediately to him with all the forces he could collect.† Having placed garrisons in the towns and castles which were in the power of the English, the earl obeyed with alacrity, and set out with a few chosen troops for Normandy, where, Regan says, he remained for some time as warden or governor of Gisors. The king, however, who knew that his sway in Ireland was not firmly established, desired that Strongbow should return thither as chief-justice or viceroy, in order to keep his new subjects firm in their allegiance to him. The earl, in obeying the king's orders, represented to him, that as great envy prevailed among his countrymen, it was necessary he should have a colleague to be witness to his administration, in order to remove any suspicions which might attach to his conduct; and required, therefore, that he would send Raymond Le Gros with him to Ireland. The king was much pleased by this apparent modesty, and granted his request; and as a stimulus to his zeal in his service, he gave him in perpetuity the town of Wexford and the castle of Wicklow.

On Strongbow's return to Ireland with Raymond, Hugh De Lacy gave him up the city of Dublin, where he was joyfully received. At the same time Robert Fitzbernard, Robert Fitzstephen, and Maurice Prendergast, were ordered to proceed to England, where they joined the English army, and defeated Robert, earl of Essex, who had revolted against the king. The earl was made prisoner, and brought over to the king, who was still in Normandy.

In the mean time, the Irish, convinced of the injustice and tyranny which the English exercised among them, began to have recourse to arms, to defend their properties, and revenge the loss of their liberty. The present they thought a favorable opportunity for their purpose. The affairs of the

* War. de Episc. Corcag. Idem. de Archiep. Tuam.

† Stanihurst, ibid. lib. 3. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 5.

strangers were in a bad state, and part of their army absent; the exchequer was drained by the imprudence of Strongbow, and those to whom it had been intrusted; the troops were in want of every thing, and began to mutiny against Hervey De Monte Marisco, who commanded them in the absence of Raymond Le Gros. He kept his men under severe discipline, and was obnoxious to the soldiery, from his desire to restrain them in their thirst for plunder. In order to allay among the troops a discontent which might be attended with dangerous consequences, Strongbow gave the command to Raymond, who possessed their confidence, and they then left the fortresses to go in quest of plunder. Raymond led them into the territory of Desie, belonging to the O'Faolans, and from thence to Lismore, where they laid waste the whole country. The booty was so considerable, that he was obliged to dispatch part of it by sea to Waterford, under the command of Adam De Hereford, A. D. 1174.

The Danes of Cork, determined to intercept this convoy, equipped thirty-five vessels and attacked the English fleet. They, however, lost the victory through the valor of Philip Walsh, who leaped, sword in hand, on board the admiral's ship, and killed Gilbert, son of Turgesius, who commanded the Danes, when the latter, finding themselves deprived of their chief, thought prudent to withdraw, and De Hereford continued his course to Waterford. In the mean time, Raymond with difficulty marched his army thither by land, with the remainder of his spoils from the province, consisting chiefly of cattle, to the number of four thousand. He had to contend with Dermod, king of Cork and Desmond, who opposed him in his march. On his arrival at Waterford, he received intelligence of the death of his father, William Fitzgerald, which obliged him to cross over into Wales; but others say that displeasure caused his sudden departure. According to Regan, he loved Basilia, sister of Earl Strongbow, who refused her to him, and also the office of constable of Leinster, during the minority of Quincy's daughter, which made him adopt that line of conduct. He retired to the castle of Carew in Wales, and determined to lead a private life.

This year was remarkable for a plague which desolated the provinces of Munster and Connaught, and for the death of the following illustrious personages: Maurice O'Coffy, bishop of Derry, (where he was interred, in the monastery of St. Columb,) one whose memory was always held in high veneration for his eminent virtues; Celestinus, or Hyned O'Ronan, bishop of Glendalough; and Melissa Mac-Award, bishop of Clonfert. Dunleve, prince of Ulidia, was likewise killed by his own subjects; and was succeeded in the government of his principality by his son Roderick.

After Raymond's retirement to Wales, the army being without a chief, Strongbow appointed Hervey to the command. This general, desirous of trying the success of an incursion upon Limerick, collected the troops of Waterford and Dublin, and marched towards Cashel; but being met by the monarch, Roderick O'Connor, at Durlas Hy-Ogarta, at present Thurles, in the territory of Ormond, his army was completely defeated, and seventeen hundred English left dead upon the field.* Ware ascribes the glory of this action to Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, and calculates that the loss of the English was not so considerable. Strongbow was so much affected by the disaster, that he kept himself secluded for some time at Waterford, without seeing any one.

Animated by this success, Roderick marched at the head of his army into Meath, which was then in possession of the English; pillaged and burned their habitations, and laid the whole country waste. Hugh Tyrrel, governor of this part of the country, in the absence of De Lacy, who was in England, finding himself unable to oppose so superior an army, led his troops towards Dublin, and destroyed the fortifications of Trim and Duleek. According to Regan, the allies of Roderick in this expedition were, beside the princes of Connaught, O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, and others.

Strongbow's alarm, while he remained secluded at Waterford, was greatly increased by the intelligence he received of the loss of Meath. The natives were rising on every side, as well as the Danes who inhabited the coasts, and he saw himself on the eve of sharing the evil fortune of his countrymen. In order to avert the danger, he consulted with his friends, and wrote to Raymond, who had withdrawn the preceding year into Wales, an affectionate letter, in which he represented the unhappy posture of his affairs in Ireland, and entreated him to return immediately with some assistance to extricate him from his embarrassments; proposing, as an inducement, to give him his sister Basilia

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 9, page 89. Annal c. 6, regnant. Hen. II.

in marriage, with whom he knew that he was deeply in love. It may be easily inferred, that Raymond felt pleased with a proposal that flattered both himself and his inclinations. Without loss of time, he, in concert with his cousin Milo, collected thirty young men of his own family, who were desirous of making their fortunes,* and one hundred horsemen, besides three hundred foot-soldiers, and with this force he embarked for Ireland. On his arrival at Waterford, finding the inhabitants ready to attack the place, he facilitated Strongbow's escape, and brought him to Wexford. After this retreat of the earl, the Danes made themselves masters of the city, and put the English to the sword, without sparing either age or sex; but being unable to force the tower of Reynald, which part of the garrison had shut themselves up in, and defended with obstinacy, the Danes, dreading the consequences of their rash enterprise, surrendered the city on unfavorable terms.

Earl Strongbow was not unmindful of his promises to Raymond; he sent to Dublin for his sister Basilia, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Wexford. Raymond was immediately appointed constable of Leinster, in the room of Hervey, by whom that office had been held since the death of Quincy.

Raymond now began to collect his forces, and putting himself at their head, led them, by order of Strongbow, towards Meath. Roderick's army was already weakened by the retreat of his allies after the reduction of the province, so that his own troops alone remained, with whom, according to Cambrensis, he retired into Connaught, finding himself quite unable to keep the field against a general of Raymond's high military reputation. Regan, in whom more reliance can be placed than in Cambrensis,† asserts that the earl was there himself; that having attacked Roderick's rear-guard, one hundred and fifty men were killed; and that having reinstated Tirrel at Trim, he returned to Dublin. However this be, it is certain that the English remained in possession of Leinster and Meath.

In the course of this year, Hervey de Monte Marisco married Nesta, cousin to Raymond, and daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald; and the earl gave his daughter Aliva in marriage to William Fitzgerald, eldest son of Maurice

* Ireland was at that time another Peru for the English, who were poor. The law which forbids us to usurp the goods of others, had no weight among them.

† He was a near relative of Raymond's.

In the same year died Gelasus, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland; Eleutherus, bishop of Clogher, in Meath; Melissa O'Conactain, bishop of Elphin; Patrick O'Bannan, formerly bishop of Connor, who had retired to the abbey of Hy-Collum-Kill; and Florence, or Flamin O'Gorman, a celebrated professor in the university of Armagh.

We discover at this time many celebrated writers in Ireland, even before the arrival of the English. Giolla, or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, wrote some epistles, and a treatise on the state of the church, which Usher deemed worthy of being published.* Celsus or Celestinus, archbishop of Armagh, wrote an abridgment of theology, which, according to Ware, was published at Vienna. According to Bede, he wrote several letters to Malachi, and certain ordinances, which were probably those enacted in the celebrated synod held at Usneach in 1110, or 1112, in the reign of Moriertach O'Brien.

Malachi O'Morgain, archbishop of Armagh, wrote many epistles to St. Bernard; he gave a compilation of the general statutes, and wrote laws on celibacy; besides traditions, and the life of St. Cuthbert, which he dedicated to David, king of the Scots. A prophecy respecting the popes is ascribed to him, which was published by Arnold Wion, in his *Lignum Vitæ*.

Tundal, or Tungal, a native of Cashel or Cork, in Munster, flourished about the year 1159. He had frequent visions, which he himself, or some other person for him, has described. They are quoted by Tinmouth and Vincent, and are preserved in manuscript in the library of the university at Oxford.

Congan, a Cistertain monk, lived in 1150 It is said that he wrote the life of Malachi archbishop of Armagh, and some epistles to St. Bernard. It was at his request that this saint composed the life of Malachi, as appears by the preface, in which he styles him his reverend brother and dear friend. It is said that he also wrote the acts of St. Bernard.

Maurice Regan, secretary and interpreter of Dermod Mac-Murrough, last king of Leinster, lived in 1171. He wrote with care a history of the affairs of Ireland in his time, which was put into French verse by one of his friends, and translated into English by Sir George Carew, president of Munster in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

In this century, Concubran wrote three books on the life of St. Moninna, or Modwen,

* Vet. Epist. Hib. Syllog

a virgin. He composed also two hymns in her praise. The original of these works is in the Cottonian library, from whence Ware says he obtained the copy. There is, in the same library, another manuscript, on the birth and dignity of St. Cuthbert, composed according to the ancient histories of Ireland, by Eugene, bishop of Ardmore, a suffragan of Cashel.

Mathew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, lived about the end of this, and perhaps in the beginning of the following century. Among other things, he wrote the life of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarn, and some epistles to the popes Celestinus III. and Innocent III.

About this time, says Ware, following the English authors, by whom alone it is mentioned, Henry II. sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, afterwards abbot of Malmsbury, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland, A. D. 1175, with the bull of Alexander III., which they say was read and approved of in an assembly of bishops at Waterford. This bull, according to them, confirmed that by which Adrian IV. had already granted to this prince the title of lord of Ireland, and other privileges.*

Strongbow being anxious to paralyze the efforts which Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, was making in that country, sent Raymond with forces sufficient to reduce the capital in which he had taken shelter. On his way he met Donald Mac-Giolla-Phadruig, (Fitzpatrick,) prince of Ossory, the avowed enemy of Donald O'Brien, who joined him in his expedition. Limerick was, at the time, open, and without fortifications; the great difficulty being in crossing the river Shannon, by which it was surrounded. This was removed by the intrepid boldness of David Walsh, a young man of Wales, and nephew to Raymond; he swam across the river, and by the goodness of his horse, surmounted the danger caused by the rapidity of the waters. This example was followed by the army, part of whom crossed by swimming also, and the remainder by a ford. When the English reached the opposite bank, they repulsed a detachment of the garrison which had made a sally against them, and pursuing that portion of it now in disorder, made themselves masters of the city. It was then given up to pillage, and Raymond, having placed a garrison in it, under the command of Meyler de St. David, returned to Wexford. Roderick O'Connor witnessed with grief the tyranny which the English were practising in Ireland, and finding it impossible to put an end to the disorders, judged it prudent to yield to the necessity of the times by a voluntary submission to the king of England. For this purpose he sent to him, as ambassadors, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brendan of Clonfert, and Laurence his chancellor, who were received by Henry on the 8th of October, 1175, at Windsor, where he was holding his parliament.* The king of England, flattered by this embassy, granted peace to Roderick, with the title of tributary king, which was transmitted to some of his successors. His son is called king of Connaught, in a roll in the tower of London, dated the sixth year of the reign of John. In the fifth year of the reign of Henry III., he sent letters patent to the kings of Connaught and of Kinel-Ean. Mathew Paris mentions, in the year 1240, the dispute between Fedlim O'Connor and John de Burgo, and the complaints which the former made to Henry III. in presence of his court, in London;† this historian calls him king of that part of Ireland called Cunoch, (Connaught.)‡ Lastly, Henry III. granted to O'Brien, by charter, the lands of Thuomond, with the title of king. There is no charter to be found respecting Ulster, the kings of which had not as yet submitted to the English yoke.

About this time the kings of England began to nominate to the vacant benefices in that part of Ireland which was under their dominion. Hoveden says that Henry III. had appointed to the bishopric of Waterford, Augustin, an Irishman by birth, and that he sent him to Ireland with Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, to be consecrated by Donatus, archbishop of Cashel. According to annalists, Flathbert O'Brolcan, bishop of Derry, Malachi, or Melissa Mac-Inclericuit and Gelasus Mac-Cormac, both successively bishops of Down, died during this year. O'Brolcan was celebrated for his learning and generosity; he resigned the episcopal see of Derry a short time before his death,

* Annal. Hib. cap. 7, reg. Hen. II.

* "This was the final agreement made at Windsor, on the 8th of October, 1175, between Henry, king of England, son of the Empress Matilda, and Roderick, king of Connaught, through Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brendan, and Laurence, chancellor of the king of Connaught, viz., that the king of England granted to the aforesaid Roderick, liege king of Connaught, that he shall continue king under him so long as he shall serve him faithfully, and shall be prepared for his service as his subject."—*Hoveden, ad ann.* 1175.

† Hist. Anglic. page 365.

‡ Rotulus Chart. an 6, Hen. III., Memb. 2.

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and confined himself to the government of the abbey of St. Columb, having refused that of Hy.

The alliance which Hervey had formed the preceding year with Raymond, by his marriage with his cousin Nesta, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, was insufficient to remove the secret jealousy he entertained of him, caused by the loss of the office of constable of Leinster, which Strongbow had given to Raymond, and the preference testified towards the latter by the troops, who are generally good judges of a general's merit; he therefore determined to injure him.* He wrote a letter to the king of England, dictated with all the art that malice could devise, A. D. 1176; in which strong suspicions were cast upon the conduct of Raymond, representing him as an intriguing and popular character, likely to corrupt his majesty's subjects in Ireland. The too credulous Henry dispatched four commissioners to Ireland in the spring; namely, Robert Poer, Osbert de Herlotera, William de Bendenges, and Adam de Gervensan, two of whom were ordered to bring Raymond to England, and the other two to remain with Earl Strongbow in Ireland. When the commissioners presented their commands to Raymond, he immediately obeyed; but while they were waiting for a favorable wind to embark, news arrived that Limerick was besieged by Donald O'Brien, at the head of a powerful army, that the city was in want of provisions, and consequently that it should surrender if relief was not sent in time.

Strongbow held a council of war to deliberate on the means of sending succor to Limerick, but finding that the troops refused to serve if they were not commanded by Raymond, he, as well as the commissioners, considered this captain's presence necessary in so critical a conjuncture; so that instead of embarking for England, Raymond resumed his command by order of the earl. He marched with all possible diligence towards Limerick, at the head of eighty knights, two hundred horsemen, and three hundred foot-soldiers, with the troops of Murchard, prince of Kinseallagh, and Donald, prince of Ossory, who both joined him as allies. The king of Limerick, informed of the march of the English, raised the siege, and came to meet them as far as Cashel, where he fell into an ambuscade on Easter Saturday: his army was surrounded by the superior forces of the English, and routed, after a vigorous resistance. The English then marched to Limerick, which they entered three days afterwards. We here discover the perfidy of the prince of Ossory, who had contributed much to the gaining of this battle: although an Irishman, he sacrificed the welfare of his country to his private hatred against Donald O'Brien; and not content with aiding the English against him, he signalized himself in the beginning of the action by encouraging them to the combat. The English general had separate interviews with Roderick, king of Connaught, and Donald, king of Limerick. They agreed on both sides to make peace, and Raymond received hostages from them.

About this time, Dermod Mac-Carty, king of Cork and Desmond, wrote to Raymond, requesting him to send him some assistance against Cormacleiavac, his eldest son, who had rebelled against him with a design of dethroning him. This captain marched towards Desmond, at the head of some troops, and having quelled the revolt, and reinstated Dermod in the possession of his kingdom, he returned to Limerick. This unnatural son again conspired against his father, and put him into confinement; but a violent death, by which this horrid action was punished, restored the unhappy father to his liberty. Mac-Carty, filled with gratitude for the services he had received from Raymond, conferred an extensive territory on him in the county of Kerry, where he established his son Maurice, who became powerful by his marriage with Catherine, daughter of Miles Cogan, and gave his name to his descendants, as well as to the territory, which is called Clan-Morris.

In the beginning of June, 1176, according to Keating, the celebrated Richard Strongbow died a miserable death in Dublin, having exercised his tyranny over the inhabitants of Leinster for the space of seven years, sparing neither the clergy, churches, or monasteries.* His sister Basilia, wife of Raymond, did not fail to give timely information to her husband of an event which was so likely to change the aspect of their affairs. Raymond having consulted with his friends, it was determined that they should abandon Limerick, which was too distant from the centre of their possessions; that Raymond's presence was necessary in Dublin to guard the ports and fortresses belonging to the English; and that the troops, which had been scattered in the different quarters, should be collected to secure the possession of Leinster. On leaving Limerick, Raymond gave the command of

* Stanihurst, ibid. lib. 4. War. Annal. Hib. cap. reg. Hen. II.

* History of Ireland, book 2.

the place to Donald O'Brien, who set fire to it immediately.*

Raymond repaired with all possible diligence to Dublin, where they waited his arrival, to attend the funeral ceremonies of Strongbow, in accordance with the last will of that nobleman. His body was interred with great pomp, by Laurence O'Tool, archbishop of the city, in the cathedral of the holy Trinity, since called Christ's Church, where his tomb is still to be seen.

The commissioners who were sent some time before by Henry II. to bring Raymond to England, finding the face of affairs altered by the earl's death, intrusted that general with the government of the colony till other arrangements could be made, and set out for England to render to the king an account of his affairs in Ireland. Upon their arrival Henry immediately sent over William Fitz-Adelm, with the title of viceroy, and appointed for his colleagues John Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Milo Cogan, who had rendered him important services during the war in which he had been engaged during two years, both in France and England.

By his marriage with Eva, daughter of Dermod, king of Leinster, Strongbow had one daughter, called Isabella, heiress of his extensive possessions in that province. Some time afterwards this princess married William Marshal, an English lord, by whom she had five sons, and as many daughters: the sons all died without issue; the daughters were married to English noblemen, who, in virtue of their alliance, claimed extensive estates in Leinster. It was thus the race of this celebrated man became extinct, whom the English have ranked as a hero, but who in reality was an extortioner and a tyrant; it might be said of him, as the royal prophet said of the wicked man, that, having been raised above the cedars of Mount Libanus, there remained no vestige of him, but a horror for his memory.† "He carried nothing with him," says Nubrigensis, "of the spoils of the Irish, for which he had evinced such greediness, and left to ungrateful heirs all the riches which he had amassed at the risk of his salvation; his fall furnishes a salutary warning to posterity."*

The Irish still retained a passion for founding religious houses, even in the midst of the troubles with which their country was agitated. In the history of this period we discover a strange mixture of cruelty and religion; at one time an inclination to mutual destruction, at another to raising monuments of religious devotion. A people stripped of their possessions, to be given away in alms; what justice! what charity! Little did these pious founders think that their zeal would be soon made unavailing by the impiety of their descendants. Although the account of those foundations may appear tedious to the reader, still, as they are facts which do not admit of doubt, my respect for religion, and consideration for the great number of virtuous persons that are yet in being, and interested to know the good actions of their ancestors, will not allow me to pass them over unnoticed.

Richard Strongbow, head of the English colony, was the first who gave the example to his fellow-citizens: being desirous of devoting to God, before his death, part of what he had taken from man, he founded a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, in 1174, so called from St. Mainan, or Maignan, a bishop who lived in the seventh century. This house was magnificent, and considered one of the finest in the kingdom before the suppression of religious houses in Ireland. It was the grand priory of the order of Templars, which was reunited in the fourteenth century with its eight commanderies, namely, Kilclogan, in the county of Wexford; Killergy, in the county of Carlow; Kilsaran, county of Louth; Kilbarry, Kilure, and Crooke, county of Waterford; Clonaul, county of Tipperary, and Teach-Temple, in the county of Sligo, to the order of Malta.

The order of Malta was inconsiderable before this reunion, having but one priory, namely, that of Wexford, and nine commanderies, which were, Kilbeg, Kilheal, and Tully, in the county of Kildare; Kilmainan-Beg, and Kilmainan Wood, in east Meath; St. John the Baptist of Ardes, county of Down; Morne, or Ballinemony, county of Cork; Any, county of Limerick, and Kilnalekin, county of Galway; so that by this union there were two grand priories of the order of Malta in Ireland, and seventeen commanderies.

* This action of O'Brien, which the English have treated of as a signal perfidy, is not so atrocious as may seem at first view. It should be observed, that as it was the want of any other defender which induced the English to confide the place to Donald, it is evident that the latter considered himself under no gratitude for a forced mark of their confidence. Besides, O'Brien was the lawful master of the country; it therefore appears just that he should have used the only means of recovering it from unjust usurpers, which was to destroy their settlements altogether.

† Ps. 36, ver. 38, 39.

* Nubrig. de Reb Anglic. lib. 2.

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When William Fitz-Adelm arrived in Ireland as chief-justice or viceroy, Raymond went to Wexford to congratulate him, and gave up the government with which he had been intrusted by the commissioners; whereupon the new viceroy took possession, in the name, and by order of the king, of all the places which had belonged to Strongbow.

According to Stanihurst, Fitz-Adelm was neither a foolish nor a wise man; he was hostile to the Fitzgeralds, and frequently made them feel that he was possessed of more will than power to injure them. This family was already firmly established in Leinster, and allied to the principal chiefs of the English colony. Maurice Fitzgerald died this year at Wexford, much regretted; he was the ancestor of all the noble families of that name in Ireland, by his three sons, William, Gerald, and Alexander. He was scarcely dead, when Fitz-Adelm seized upon the castle of Wicklow, which had been given him by Strongbow; and in order to give some color to so flagrant an injustice, by way of compensation he gave to the three brothers the little town of Ferns, where the fortresses had been the only security against the insults of the inhabitants, to which they were exposed. These brothers, wishing to render their new establishment secure, began to build a castle, which was immediately demolished by Walter Allemand, Fitz-Adelm's nephew, and a man of obscure origin, but who was become conspicuous through the influence of his uncle, who committed to him the government of Wexford.

About this time, Vivian, cardinal priest, with the title of St. Stephen *in Monte Cœlio*, was sent as legate, by Pope Alexander III., to visit the churches of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway. When passing through England, he was reproved by Henry II. for having entered his kingdom without permission, and was made to swear that he would not, in his capacity of legate, do any thing prejudicial to his interests, whereupon, he proceeded to Scotland, from whence he set sail for the Isle of Man, on Christmas eve, where he was honorably received by Godfrey, king of that island. He remained there for a fortnight, and from thence he went to Down, in Ireland.

The castle of Slane, in Meath, was taken he same year by assault, and destroyed by Melaghlin Mac-Loghlin, the former proprietor of that country; and Richard le Fleming, who was then master of it, having been given up to him by De Lacey, was killed, with several of his followers

John Courcy, a warlike but cruel man, seeing the rapid success of his countrymen in Ireland, and the extensive estates they had become possessed of by force, resolved to try his own fortune. With this view he turned his thoughts on Ulster, which had not been, as yet, entered by the English. He accordingly set out from Dublin, with four hundred men, in the month of January, A. D. 1177, for the county of Down, then called Ullagh, and arrived in the capital, called Down also, without meeting an enemy to oppose him.* The sight of these adventurers caused great consternation in a place not provided with means of defending itself against an enemy, who were thought too remote to be feared. The general having given his orders, the barbarians commenced to break in the doors in all directions, to force open the chests and presses, and to carry off the property of the citizens, to satisfy, says Stanihurst, their extreme indigence and poverty. Nothing was heard on all sides, but tears, groans, and lamentations, while the streams were dyed with the blood of the innocent inhabitants. Such was the manner in which the English carried on their warfare in Ireland—this was the mode in which they preached the gospel, and the example they gave to a people, whose morals they pretended to reform. The remonstrances of Cardinal Vivian, who was at that time in Down, produced no good; in vain he entreated of their leader to put an end to his cruel proceedings, and make peace with a people who were ready to submit to the king of England, and pay him tribute. Nothing could soften the barbarous heart of De Courcy, who only sought happiness in the misfortunes of others.

Roderick, son of Dunleve, prince of the country, finding the necessity of having recourse to arms, collected ten thousand men in one week, to deliver the city of Down from the tyranny of the English. When Courcy heard of the preparations that were making against him, he left the city, and gave battle to Roderick in the open plain, where, after a severe action, he put the Irish army to flight.

There is an obvious contradiction in the account which Stanihurst gives of this affair; according to him, Courcy had nearly four hundred men, who overcame ten thousand; the disproportion, as to numbers, is at the extraordinary rate of thirty to one; still he allows that the bravery and skill in arms were equal on both sides. "The men of

* Stan. ibid. lib. 4. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 9.

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Ulster," he says, "are naturally warlike, and accustomed to arms; they advance boldly and fearlessly against the Britons, engage with them in fight, and prove themselves equal in valor to their enemies."* How is it then possible that four hundred men could have conquered ten thousand, who were their equals in courage and experience.

In order to support the opinion which our author entertains of the bravery of the Ulster men, we should diminish their numbers greatly, or suppose them to have been taken from the plough, and to have faced the English without arms or discipline. In truth, their having been levied, according to Ware, in a week, favors this conjecture, and takes away considerably from the glory of this boasted achievement by the English. A company of grenadiers would easily put two hundred peasants, armed with sticks or pitchforks, to flight. It is true that the author resorts to the divine interference, in order to affix an appearance of probability to his account; saying, that God gave the victory to Courcy. God, of course, was peculiarly interested for the success of the English! as if robbery, rapine, and the fury of a band of adventurers, are virtues that can claim the protection of heaven. A young Englishman named Roger Poer, who signalized himself in the engagement, is much praised for his courage. Malachi, bishop of Down, was made prisoner, but restored to his liberty at the solicitation of Cardinal Vivian, and reinstated in his dignities. Courcy gained some further advantages over the people of Ulster in the month of June following; many, however, were killed and wounded on both sides; among the latter were Almerick de St. Laurence, and his son Nicholas.†

Courcy also made some incursions the same year into Tyrone and Dalrieda, burning and destroying all before him, and carried off considerable booty. He was extremely superstitious, and thought himself to have been designated in the prophecies of Ambrosius Merlin, as the conqueror of Ulster; when the mind is enthusiastically smitten, every thing that flatters hope being readily believed. He likewise held the prophecy of St. Columb in high veneration, in which it is said the destruction of that province had been foretold; and John Courcy persuaded himself that the prophecy applied to him. This, which was written in the Irish language, he kept with great respect about him, and concealed it while he slept under the head of his bed.

The legate, who seemed to have come to Ireland but to hasten its subjugation to the English, convened a council of bishops and abbots at Dublin; in which he endeavored to make good Henry II.'s right to the throne of Ireland, in an eloquent discourse, and enjoined the Irish people to obey him under pain of excommunication. From thence he set out for the coast of England, where he requested a passport to continue his embassy to Scotland.

During this prelate's stay in Dublin, Fitz-Adelm founded the celebrated monastery called Thomas-Court, in that city, by order of the king his master, for regular canons of the order of St. Victor. The king bestowed for ever on this house, the land of Donoure as an offering for the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, and the empress Matilda, his father and mother, and likewise for the souls of his other ancestors, for himself and his children, as is expressed in the charter; he should have added the souls of those whom he had deprived of their lands.

About this time, says Hoveden, Henry II., with the approbation of Pope Alexander III., gave his son John the title of king of Ireland, in a parliament held at Oxford. This year, says Brompton, the king obtained the pope's leave to crown whichever of his sons he thought fit, as king of Ireland, and to reduce the lords of that country under his dominion. However, in the charter granted by Henry for that purpose, and confirmed by Richard I., John Lackland is only called lord of Ireland and earl of Mortagne, and his successors were content with that title till the reign of Henry VIII., who was the first to assume that of king of Ireland.

The ready submission of the kings of Cork and Limerick, and the other princes of Munster, did not secure them from sharing the fate of their countrymen. By a charter, given at Oxford about the year 1177, Henry granted to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo Cogan the kingdom of Cork and Desmond, reserving for himself the city of Cork, the cantred of the Ostmans,* and all the land lying between Waterford and the river that separates Lismore and Cork, and which now

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. page 182.

† The barons of Howth are descended from Almerick. The land of Howth and its dependencies were confirmed to his son by a charter of John, earl of Mortagne and lord of Ireland, given to S. Edmond in presence of John de Courcy, Godfrey de Constantine, Gilbert Angulo, and his brother Jordan.

* The Ostmans were the Danes or Normans who inhabited Cork and a few other maritime towns in Ireland. The cantred was a tract of land containing about one hundred villages or town lands. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 27.

forms the county of Waterford. He also confided to them the regency and government of the city of Cork, the cantred of the Ostmans, and the other districts he had reserved for himself, making about twenty-four cantreds. Two years afterwards, Fitzstephen and Cogan divided the seven cantreds which the king had given them; Fitzstephen taking the three which adjoined the sea, and Cogan the remaining four.

It appears from the charters of King John, dated in the ninth year of his reign, that Fitzstephen had given to Philip de Barry, his nephew, and son of Philip, three cantreds in the county of Cork, namely, Olethan and its dependencies, Muscherie, Dunegan, and Killede; to Adam de Rupe, (De la Roche,) the cantred of Rosselihir and its dependencies; to Richard de Cogan, the cantred of Muscherie O'Millane, together with twenty-five military tenures; and lastly, some fiefs to Robert Fitzmartin, and to Henry and Maurice, brothers, (and sons of Philip,) a cantred where Dunalahoth lies.

The kingdom of Limerick shared the same fate as that of Cork. The king of England ceded it to Philip de Breus, or Braos, reserving, however, for himself, the chief city, the cantred of the Ostmans, the holy island, and the power of nominating to the bishoprics and abbeys.

After Philip de Braos, the principal personages who settled in this county were Hamo de Valois, (Walsh,) Philip de Wigorn, Theobald Walter, William Fitz-Adelm, and Thomas Fitz-Maurice.

All these grants of extensive estates from Henry II. to the principal English chiefs, and the lesser fiefs which the latter bestowed on their creatures, were given on condition of military service; which consisted in a certain number of armed men furnished by each in proportion to the extent of land which he held.

The king of England confided to Robert Puher, or Le Poer, the government of the city of Waterford, and the surrounding country; to William Fitz-Adelm, that of the town of Wexford and its dependencies; and to Hugh de Lacy the government of Dublin, and all the country depending on it. He made other arrangements relative to the counties which were to be subservient to the cities of Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin.

We have now reviewed Ware's researches respecting the distribution of the lands of the Irish by Henry II. and his son John; on which head he mentions some letters patent, granted by these two princes, and also quotes contemporary authors: namely, Regan, the secretary and interpreter of Dermod, king of Leinster, and an eye-witness to the facts which he advances: the Abbé Benedict, who wrote the life of Henry II., and Giraldus Cambrensis. Still the account he gives is very general, considering the great number of English families that settled in this country in the twelfth and succeeding centuries, who are possessed of immense landed property.

The rebellion of Conchovar and Murchard, sons of Roderick O'Connor, broke out at this time. These unnatural children, wishing to usurp their father's rule, had recourse to the enemies of their country, and applied to Milo Cogan, who had been lately appointed warden of Dublin by Fitz-Adelm, for assistance. The Englishman, who only thought of extending his power, seized the opportunity with avidity, and taking Ralph, son of Fitzstephen, as his lieutenant, crossed the river Shannon at the head of forty knights, two hundred horsemen, and three hundred archers, and entered Connaught, which had been till then unknown to the English. He advanced as far as Tuam; but as Roderick had caused the provisions, in every place through which he had to pass, to be either burned or removed, he soon saw his army ready to perish, which obliged him to return. After a march of eight days, he was attacked when crossing a wood, by Roderick, who killed several of his men. As usual, Cambrensis makes the loss but very trifling. Having conquered the English, Roderick turned his thoughts towards chastising his rebellious children; he condemned Murchard to perpetual imprisonment, and caused his eyes to be put out; and banished Conchovar to an island in the lake Lochcuan, from whence he was taken a year afterwards, by the faction of the O'Flahertys, and other friends, who restored him to his father's favor. About this time, Hugh O'Neill, king of Tireon, or Tyrone, was killed by Melachlin Mac-Loghlin, and his brother Argal.

Courcy had not abandoned his enterprise in Ulster: he marched towards Uriel at the head of his army, A. D. 1178, where he was vigorously attacked in his camp at Gliury, by Murtach O'Carwil, prince of that country, in conjunction with Roderick, prince of Ullagh, (Ulidia.) The action was brisk, and Courcy and his army were completely routed.*

* Stan. ibid. lib. 4, page 182 War de Annal. Hib. reg. Hen. II. cap. 10

This English general soon afterwards gave a second battle to the same princes on the frontiers of Dalaradie, near Fernia, which was altogether fatal to him. After witnessing the total defeat of his army, he escaped with much difficulty, and was obliged to walk thirty miles without any sustenance, and in continual danger of losing his life, till he arrived at the castle of Down.

William Fitz-Adelm, viceroy of Ireland, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his office: he was succeeded by Hugh de Lacy, to whom the king gave as colleague, Robert Poer, warden of the cities of Waterford and Wexford.

When the viceroy was changed, Cogan and Fitzstephen were recalled to England, to give an account of their conduct, which had always been looked upon with suspicion by the king, as indeed had that of all the chiefs of the English colony in Ireland.

In the mean time Robert Poer, warden of Waterford, sent troops to lay waste the district of Imurede, in the county of Wicklow, whence they returned to Wexford, loaded with booty, having assassinated Dunlang O'Toole, lord of that country.

The English who had settled in Meath built a castle at Kenlis, to preserve themselves against the incursions of their neighbors, the people of Ulster.

The abbey called Monasterevan, or Ross-Glass, *de Rosea Valle*, in the county of Kildare, on the river Barrow, was founded this year, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin and St. Benedict, for Cistertian monks, by Dermod O'Dempsy, lord of Clanmalire; but others say it was founded so late as 1189. This abbey was a branch of that of Baltinglass.*

Donald O'Fogarty, bishop of Ossory, died this year, and was succeeded by Felix O'Dullany, of the order of Citeaux.

Robert Fitzstephen and Milo Cogan, whom the king had recalled to England the preceding year, repaired to Waterford in the month of November, accompanied by Philip de Braos. to whom the king had granted the district of Limerick, A. D. 1179. These noblemen brought a reinforcement of Englishmen to Ireland, consisting of one hundred and ten knights, as many horsemen, and a considerable number of foot soldiers. They went from Waterford to Lismore, and from thence to Cork, where they were honorably received by John de Londres, on whom Fitz-Adelm had conferred the government of that city. They then marched towards Limerick, intending to besiege it; but their new troops were disheartened by the difficulty of crossing the river which surrounds it, and prevailed on Philip de Braos to return to England, rather than incur the risk of a hazardous war in an enemy's country. Fitzstephen and Cogan proceeded to Cork, to watch over the safety of the English colony in that district.

The abbey of Ashro, or Easrua, called also *de Samario*, for Cistertian monks, was founded in Tirconnel, near the mouth of the river Erne, by Roderick O'Cananan, an Irish lord, about this period, or according to others five years later, by his successor Flahertach. Jungelinus mentions the abbey of Kilfothuir, in the same country, founded by O'Dogharty. The wars having subsequently forced the monks to abandon this house, it was united to the abbey of Ashro, of which it was a branch.

An abbey of Bernardines, under the title of our Lady, a branch of the abbey of Baltinglass, was also founded at this time, at Geripont, or Jeripont, a small town on the river Nure, in the county of Kilkenny, by Donald Fitzpatrick, prince of Ossory.*

About the end of December in this year, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin; Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam; Constantius, bishop of Killaloe; Felix, bishop of Lismore; Augustin, bishop of Waterford; and Brice, bishop of Limerick, set out for Rome, where they attended at the third council of Lateran, convened by Alexander III. As they passed through England, Henry II. made them swear they would do nothing prejudicial to his welfare, or that of his kingdom. The pope appointed Laurence legate for Ireland; and on his return, according to the author of his life, he discharged the duties of that office. If we can believe Cambrensis, this holy prelate never returned to Ireland, having incurred the king's displeasure by obtaining some privilege from the pope in favor of his country, which this prince looked upon as opposed to his authority.

John Courcy, who had been already created earl of Ulster by the king, though he owned but a very inconsiderable part of it, made an alliance with Godfry, king of the Isle of Man, by marrying his daughter Africa, A. D. 1180, in order to secure the interest of that prince.† The island being but a short distance from the coasts of Ulster, it was easy to draw resources from it.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 176.

* Allemand, ibid. page 175.

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 12.

This year, according to Hoveden, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, accompanied a son of Roderick, king of Connaught, who was sent as a hostage to Henry II., for the payment of the tribute agreed upon between his father and that king.* The holy prelate fell sick at Eu, where he died in the odor of sanctity, on the 14th of November, and was interred in the church of our Lady, in that city.† His life, quoted by Surius, was accurately written, according to Baronius, by an anonymous author, of the college of Eu. The miracles which God wrought through his intercession, both before and after his death, induced Pope Honorius III. to place him among the number of saints in 1225, by a bull dated the eleventh of December, in the tenth year of his pontificate, a copy of which is in the collection of bulls of Laurent Cherubin. The relics of this saint were removed to Dublin, and deposited in the cathedral of the holy Trinity. Henry II. took care to send his chaplain Geoffry de Haya, and another to collect the revenues of the archbishopric, while it continued vacant.

The abbey of Chore, or *De Choro Benedicti*, called by the Irish Monaster-Ore, in the county of Cork, was founded this year for Bernardins, by the Geraldines, or Fitzgeralds.‡ Jungelinus says it was founded by the Barrys; however this be, this abbey, founded under the title of our Lady, was a branch of that of Nenay, or Magio.

It was about this time that St. Patrick's crosier, called, in the language of the country, *Baghal Phadruic*, that is, the staff of Patrick, and sometimes the staff of Jesus, which, according to St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachi, was ornamented with gold and precious stones, and preserved with veneration in the church of Armagh since the death of the apostle, was carried away, by orders of Fitz-Adelm, and placed in the cathedral of the holy Trinity, in Dublin, A. D. 1181, where it was carefully preserved till the suppression of the monasteries.

The death of Gilbert O'Caran, archbishop of Armagh, is said to have occurred about this date, some time before which the cathedral church, the monastery of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, two nunneries, and a great part of the city, were consumed by fire, a frequent disaster in Ireland in ancient times, on account of the prevalence of wooden buildings. It is to prevent similar accidents, which still often occur in the north of Europe, particularly in Sweden and Denmark, that privileges are granted by the governments of those countries to those who build of stone. The holy prelate of Armagh was the benefactor of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin. He added the village of Ballibaghal, situated in the county of Dublin, to the revenues of that house. Moelisa Mac-Carwil, bishop of Clogher, was elected to succeed him in the see of Armagh, but died on his way to Rome.

As the churches and monasteries were the only places of safety in those disturbed times, the Irish carried thither their gold, silver, and other valuable matters, as to a secure asylum; but as nothing is held sacred by the wicked, these places were often violated. The church of Ardfert, and the priory of Inis-Fallen, in lake Lene, in the county of Kerry, were pillaged this year by Milduin son of Daniel O'Donagha, and those of his retinue, and the lives of several of the community lost.

Having settled his followers in Meath, Hugh de Lacy turned his thoughts towards defending it against its former masters; for which purpose he built strong castles in different parts of this province. This ambitious nobleman, finding himself supported by his colonists, and encouraged by his alliance with Roderick O'Connor, began to extend his views, and to think himself possessed of more power in Ireland than the king of England.

Henry II. having been informed of the intentions of De Lacy, sent him an order to return to England; but the latter confirmed the suspicions entertained of his presumption, by refusing to obey. Cambrensis says that De Lacy was suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty, from the vast estates he had acquired, the immense wealth he had amassed for himself and his dependents by the oppression of others, and the familiar and popular manners he had assumed towards every one.* Henry was already dissatisfied with him for having married without his permission the daughter of O'Connor, king of Connaught, after the death of his first wife, Rosa de Munene: and he therefore sent John, con-

* This account appears rather incredible; for why should the king of Connaught have sent a hostage this year to the king of England, when, according to the same Hoveden, (in the year 1175,) peace and unity had been ratified between these princes five years previously. It is, however, well known that English writers are fond of claiming honors which they never enjoyed.

† Messingham, Florileg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. Sanct. Laurent.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26 Allemand, ibid. page 181.

* Hib. Expug. lib. 2. cap. 19, 20.

stable of Chester, and Richard de Pech, to Ireland, in the beginning of May, as chief-justices in room of De Lacy, who repaired to England and removed all suspicion from the king's mind in the short space of six weeks. Before his departure for England he had given a plan to the English who possessed land in Leinster, to fortify this province as he had done in Meath, which plan was executed in the ensuing summer. The castle of Fort O'Nolan was built by Raymond le Gros, and another by his brother Griffin. A third was built at Tristle-Dermot, in the district of Omorthy, by Walter de Ridlesford; John de Clahut built a fourth at Leighlin, on the river Barrow, and a fifth was constructed at Kildroghed. by John de Hereford.

During Lacy's absence, and the administration of the justices whom Henry had sent to Ireland, Myler Fitzhenry was forced to give up the land of Carby, which he had received from Strongbow in the county of Kildare, and to be satisfied with an equivalent in the county of Lese, where he was more exposed, being surrounded by the O'Mordhas, or O'Mores, a warlike people, and lords of that district; but Lacy, whose niece he had married, caused the castle of Temogho to be built for him some time afterwards.

Lacy having been restored to the king's favor, was sent back to Ireland the winter following as chief-justice, accompanied by Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, as his colleague, who was, however, to keep watch over his conduct. He filled the post for nearly three years, during which time he built several castles in Leinster and Meath; among others, that of Oboney, in the county of Lese, the government of which he confided to Robert de Bigarz; another in the district of Omurthy, near the river Barrow, of which he made Thomas le Fleming governor; and that of Norragh for Robert Fitzrichard. The castles he caused to be built in Meath were those of Clonard, Killair, Delvin, and that of Adam de Ruport.

The English had now usurped both the spiritual and temporal government of Ireland. Henry II. nominated John Comin, a native of England, to the archbishopric of Dublin, (vacant by the death of St. Laurence;) an eloquent and learned man, according to the writers of his own country. The election took place on the sixth of September, in the monastery of Evesham, in England, by the clergy of Dublin. The candidate was ordained priest on the 12th of March following, at Velletri, in Italy, and consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius III. Some time afterwards this prelate obtained a bull from the same pope, dated the thirteenth of April, (convocation 15,) by which the holy father granted several privileges to the see of Dublin. It was forbidden by this bull that any archbishop or bishop should hold assemblies in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, or take cognizance of the affairs of that diocese without the consent of the archbishop, or a special license from the pope or his legate. The copy of this bull may be found in an old registry in the archbishop's palace of Dublin, beginning with the words, "*Crede mihi.*" This bull was the cause of warm debates between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, respecting the primacy, which have lasted to our time: the subject of them being whether the archbishop of Armagh, as primate of Ireland, possessed the right to hold visitations in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, or to carry the cross raised, and receive appeals there.*

In the month of May of this year, Flahertach O'Meldory, prince of Tirconnel, indignant at the unnatural conduct of the princes of Connaught, who were still in arms against their father Roderick, entered their province at the head of his troops and gained a complete victory over them and their allies. Many lives were lost, among them those of sixteen distinguished persons, of the royal race of Connaught.

In the beginning of summer, A. D. 1182, Courcy marched at the head of his troops into Dalrieda, or Route, county of Antrim, where he defeated a body of troops commanded by Donald O'Loghlin, and pillaged the whole country.†

About this time Hugh de Lacy founded two chapels or priories, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, one at Colpa, a small village on the sea-shore at the mouth of the river Boyne, below Drogheda, and the other at Duleek; one of these houses depended on the priory of Lauthon, in Monmouthshire, England, and the other on that of Lauthon, near Gloucester.

Edan O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher, died this year, and was interred in the priory of St. Mary, which he had founded for regular canons in Louth, in 1148, with the aid of Donat Mac-Carwell, king of Ergalic. This prelate was disciple of St. Malachi, by whom

* We discover in this an act of English policy; they caused the see of Dublin, situated in the English province, to be erected into a primary, in order to cause a schism in the church of Ireland, by withdrawing from the jurisdiction of Armagh the churches under their dominion.

† War. de Annal. cap. 14.

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he was consecrated in 1140, and having filled the see of Clogher for forty-two years, he was succeeded by Malachi Mac-Carwel. Edan was the confessor of Dermod, king of Leinster; he endowed the monastery of Knock, near the town of Louth, (otherwise called St. Peter and St. Paul's Mount,) which Donat caused to be built. This place was more anciently called Knock Na-Sengan, that is, the Mount of the Ants. Philip Seguin and Christopher Henriques are wrong in placing Edan among the prelates of Armagh.

About this time died also Donald O'Hullucan, archbishop of Cashel, who was succeeded by Maurice, called by Cambrensis a learned and discreet man, "Vir literatus et discretus."*

We must not omit to introduce in this place, the sharp and satirical, though indirect answer which Maurice gave Cambrensis in presence of Gerald, the pope's legate, who was then on some mission in Ireland, in which he alludes both to the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the cruelties which the English had after that committed in Ireland. Cambrensis reproached the prelate, in his accustomed haughty manner, with the indolence of the Irish clergy, and the little care they took to instruct the people, the result of which was a degeneracy in their morals; and as proof of what he advanced, he alleged that he had never known any in Ireland to have suffered martyrdom for the church of Jesus Christ. "It is true," replied the prelate of Cashel, modestly, "that our people, who are said to be barbarous, rude, and even cruel, have always behaved with honor and respect to the clergy, and none have yet been found among them impious enough to raise their hands against the saints of the Lord. But there are men now among us who can make us suffer martyrdom, and Ireland, like other nations, shall henceforward have her martyrs;" which prediction has been amply verified.

Courcy being master of the episcopal city of Down, A. D. 1183, changed the constitution of the cathedral church, by substituting Benedictine monks for the secular canons to whom it belonged till that time: those monks came, by his directions, from St. Werburgh's abbey, at Chester, and he appointed William Etleshale, a monk of their fraternity, as prior over them.† He also changed the invocation title of the church from the Holy Trinity to that of St. Patrick, which, according to the general opinion of the times, says an English author, was the cause of the misfortunes that afterwards befell this nobleman.

Malachi, bishop of Down, endowed this church with several tracts of land, reserving for himself the title of warden, or abbot, and half of the offerings of the five grand festivals of the year; namely, Christmas, Candlemas, the festival of St. Patrick, Easter, and Pentecost.* It was much frequented, on account of its containing St. Patrick's tomb, and the transferring to it of the bodies of St. Columb and St. Bridget.

Courcy founded other houses, viz.; the priory of Toberglorie, at Down, (so called from its having been built near a fountain of that name,) for the cross-bearers of the order of St. Augustin, and the abbey of Nedrum, for Benedictines, which was connected with that of St. Bega, in Cumberland.

While Courcy was acting in Ulster the parts alternately of a robber and a bigot, fresh disturbances broke out in Munster. Milo Cogan and Ranulph Fitzstephen, his son-in-law, with five knights, were killed on the road to Lismore, by a band of men under the command of a celebrated leader called Mactire. This news having spread over the country, Dermod M'Carty, king of Desmond, and some other princes of the province, being determined to make an effort to recover their liberty, took up arms and invested the city of Cork, where Robert Fitzstephen was. However, a reinforcement of twenty knights, with a hundred men, both horse and foot, brought by Raymond le Gros by sea from Wexford to Cork, together with the strength of the place, frustrated their attempt, and averted the storm which threatened the English. Richard Cogan was afterwards sent to Ireland by the king of England, with a body of troops, to replace his brother Milo.

About the end of February, Philip Barry and his brother Gerald, known by the name of Cambrensis, crossed over with a reinforcement to Ireland, both to assist their uncle Fitzstephen, and recover the estate of Olethan, which had been given them by Fitzstephen, and was usurped by his son Ralph.

Hervey, surnamed *De Monte Morisco*, (in English he was called Heremon Morty,) wishing to expiate the crimes of his past life, particularly his having pillaged the churches of Inis-Catha in concert with William Fitz-Adelm, (the revenues of which they appropriated to their own use,) founded an abbey for Bernardine monks this year, at Don-

* Topograph. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 32.
† War. de Annal Hib. cap. 15.

* War. de Præsul. Dunens.

brody, or Dun-Broith, in the county of Wexford, near the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suire; he afterwards became a monk in Christ's Church at Canterbury, where he was interred.*

About this time was founded, also, an abbey of Bernardine monks on the river Nore, in that part of the Queen's county called Loise.† This abbey was called "*De Lege Dei*," or "of the law of God," and was founded by an Irish lord of the ancient and noble family of the O'Mordhas, (in English Moore,) to whom the country belonged for many ages. Flatzburius fixes the foundation of this house in 1180.

Henry II., being desirous of transferring the lordship of Ireland to his son John, sent John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, in the beginning of the month of August, to prepare the minds of the people for his reception, A. D. 1184.‡ He also recalled Hugh de Lacy in the month of September following, and granted the office of chief-justice to Philip de Wigorne, who came to Ireland accompanied by forty knights, to take possession of the government.§ The new viceroy having reannexed to the king's domain the privileges which Lacy had alienated, marched the Lent following, in the beginning of the month of May, with a powerful army to Armagh, where he imposed a heavy tribute on the clergy, which he made them pay by a military execution.‖ He had scarcely left the city, when he was seized with an attack in his bowels, so violent that he was very near dying; which was considered a just punishment for his crimes. Hugh Tirrel was an accomplice of the viceroy in his depredations; having retired to Down with his share of the spoils, he witnessed the fruits of his robberies, the house in which he lodged, the stables, horses, and a considerable part of the city, being destroyed by fire the night following; by which he was so much affected that he immediately restored all that remained of the plunder of the churches of Armagh. Lacy, his friend and benefactor, returning from England some time afterwards, he conceived an implacable hatred towards him, and declared war against him; but after several battles, in which much blood was spilled, Tirrel was obliged to bend to the authority of his rival.

* Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2, page 117.
† Allemand, ibid. page 177.
‡ Westmon. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1184.
§ Stanih. ibid. lib. 4. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 16.
‖ Cambrens. Top. Hib. distinc. 2, c. 50. Stan. ibid. lib. 4.

How edifying it is to behold the spoliators of churches and of the goods of others, founding religious establishments! This extraordinary devotion was introduced into Ireland by the English. Philip de Wigorne, viceroy of Ireland, who a short time before had pillaged the clergy of Armagh, founded a priory for Benedictine monks at Kilcumin, in the county of Tipperary, dedicated to St. James and St. Philip.* It appears by the act of its foundation, the original of which has been discovered in the Cottonian library, that this English nobleman bestowed several estates which he possessed in Ireland on the abbots of Glaston in England, on condition that they would build a house of their order at Kilcumin, in Ireland, the land of which he had also given them; this priory consequently depended on the above-mentioned abbey.

About this time Arthur O'Melaghlin, chief of his tribe in Meath, was killed by the English; he was succeeded by O'Melaghlin Beg, or the little. Three English noblemen shared the same fate as O'Melaghlin; namely, Robert Barry, who was killed at Lismore; Raymond, son of Hugh, at Lechana; and Cantilon, at Idrone.

In the month of June, on Saint Barnaby's day, Henry the younger, son of Henry II., died in the castle of Martell, in Gascony, at the age of twenty-eight years; he was the cause of frequent troubles to his father during his reign. His body was brought to Rouen, and buried in the cathedral there near the grand altar.

John, earl of Mortagne, named lord of Ireland, having been created a knight at the age of twelve years, by the king his father, at Windsor, set out in the month of April for Milford, where a fleet was waiting to convey him to Ireland, A. D. 1185.† He set sail during the Easter, accompanied by Ralph Glanvill, chief-justice of England, and his preceptor, Gerald Cambrensis; and attended by four hundred knights, and some troops, among whom were several young men of dissipated habits, who possessed his entire confidence. As soon as they landed at Waterford, the Irish lords of the neighborhood hastened to greet the young prince on his arrival. The manners and customs of the two people were very different; the Irish were naturally hospitable, familiar, and polite towards the strangers; while the English,

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, ibid. page 149.
† "John, the younger son of King Henry, was created knight by his father, and sent into Ireland."—*Ware's Annals.*

who rarely possess these qualities, received them with coldness and contempt. In consequence, therefore, they on a sudden withdrew, with the determination of being revenged. The kings of Cork, Limerick, Connaught, and other princes of the country, were soon informed of what had occurred: they looked upon the whole nation to have been insulted in the persons of these noblemen, and foresaw, by the conduct of the strangers, what they might expect from them if they became absolute masters of the country. These considerations for a time putting an end to all domestic quarrels, they formed a general league, and took up arms indiscriminately and without leaders, throughout the several districts, against the English. Many lives were lost in this conspiracy, which was followed by no other result than that of disturbing the pleasures of the young prince, (who, together with his courtiers, spent their days and nights in debauchery,) and inspiring him with a dislike for his newly-acquired dignity of lord of Ireland. He resolved therefore to return to England, leaving Ireland, which he found in peace, a prey to tumult and sedition. During his stay in the country he caused three castles to be built, one at Tibract, one at Ardfinan, and another at Lismore, to defend his subjects against the insults of their enemies. According to Hoveden, John appropriated the chief part of the money intended for the payment of the troops to his own purposes; the rest he squandered in a petty warfare with the Irish, and his funds being at length exhausted, he placed garrisons in all the strong places, and returned to England, leaving the government to De Lacy. The only good action attributed to this prince, during his stay in Ireland, was the foundation of the priory of St. John the Evangelist, at Waterford, for Benedictine monks. Cambrensis, his tutor, and Bertram de Verdon, remained after him in Ireland, to execute, it is said, a commission which this prince had intrusted them with; but more probably to collect the fables of which Cambrensis composed his history. However this be, the prince granted them four cantreds and a half of land in the territories of Uriel and Luva, (Louth,) in the neighborhood of Dundalk, where Verdon founded, some time afterwards, the priory of St. Leonard.

The bodies of St. Malachi, St. Columb, and St. Bridget, having been discovered this year at Down, Malachi, bishop of that place, sent intelligence of it to Pope Urban III.* The holy father immediately sent a legate (probably Cardinal Vivian) to Ireland, who performed the translation of the bodies of these saints on the fifth of June.

The Irish and English carried on a continual petty warfare in the southern parts of the island.* Four English officers, with a detachment from the garrison of Ardfinan, were put to the sword by a body of men under the command of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick. Another detachment from the same garrison, having been taken in the act of plundering near that city, shared the same fate.

When the king of England saw the ill-success of his son John in the management of his Irish affairs, he deemed it prudent to consign them to military veterans, who had been trained in the art of war and were acquainted with the country, and he therefore gave the viceroyalty of Ireland to John Courcy the following winter.

This skilful general made frequent incursions into the kingdoms of Cork and Connaught, with unequal success; but though he was not always victorious, his reputation rendered him very formidable.

In the mean time, O'Connor, surnamed Maonmuighe, son of Roderick, still entertained the horrible design of dethroning his father, notwithstanding a recent reconciliation between them. Having collected his vassals, and all those who were attached to his interest, he entered Connaught in a hostile manner, where he treated his father's subjects with great cruelty, but was checked in his career by the united forces of Roderick and Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, who gave him battle. The victory of the two kings put an end to the rebellion, and a solid peace was concluded between O'Connor and his father through the mediation of their mutual friends.

The fatigues and grief which Roderick O'Connor had undergone having given him a disgust for governing, he abdicated the monarchy. He sent back the hostages which he had exacted from those princes who had acknowledged his sovereignty, and gave up to his son Conchovar (O'Connor) the tottering throne of Connaught. He then withdrew to the abbey of Cong, where he spent the remainder of his life, thirteen years, in preparing for eternity. He died on the 28th of November, at the age of 82 years, and left several pious legacies to the churches of Ireland, Rome, and Jerusalem. His body was removed from Cong to Cluan-Mac-

* Usser, in Indice Chron. ad an 1186.

* Trias. Thaum. not. 2, 3, in Vit. 6 Sanct. Patr.

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Noisk, and interred in that church with great pomp and solemnity. Thus ended, with this prince, the monarchy of Ireland, which had lasted for more than two thousand years.

Amlave O'Murid, or O'Murry, who had been nominated to the archbishopric of Armagh, after Mælisa Mac-Carwel, who died on his way to Rome, soon followed his predecessor, and was succeeded by Tomultach, or Thomas O'Connor. The latter had already been archbishop of Armagh, upon the death of Gilbert, which took place in 1180; but the tumults of war having caused him to resign, he ceded the archbishopric to Mælisa Mac-Carwel in 1184, and resumed it again on the death of Amlave. He was a noble and prudent man, says the author of the annals of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin near Dublin, and governed that diocese the second time for nearly sixteen years.

About this time Dermod M'Carty, king of Desmond, having placed too much reliance on the good faith of the English, was sacrificed to their fury. He was killed, with all his retinue, by Theobald Walter and the Englishmen of Cork, at a conference which he was holding with them for the regulation of some affairs, near that city.

John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, assembled a provincial council the following Lent, in the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, which he opened by a sermon on the sacraments of the church. Aubin O'Molloy, abbot of Baltinglass, and afterwards bishop of Ferns, preached the day following on the chastity of ecclesiastics; he inveighed in strong terms against the impurity of those who came from England and Wales, and attributed the corruption which was beginning to creep in among the Irish clergy to their evil example. This sermon caused a warm altercation between the abbot of Baltinglass and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was present at it. Cambrensis repaired soon afterwards to his archdeaconry in Wales, where he completed his Topography, and his history of the Conquest of Ireland.

Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, having persecuted the Irish for a considerable time, and committed the most flagrant acts of injustice upon the inhabitants of Meath, ended his days miserably at Dermagh, now Durrogh, A. D. 1186.* The tyrant's head was cut off by a blow of an axe, which he received from a young Irish nobleman in the disguise of a laborer, while he was superintending the building of a strong castle in that place. The person who performed this deed (whom some call Malachi Maclair, and others Symmachus O'Cahargo) fled to a neighboring wood. The English who belonged to De Lacy's retinue were attacked also, and put to the sword. If we cannot justify this action, which was barbarous in itself, circumstances must at least extenuate its atrocity. The dead body of the English nobleman was deprived of burial by the people for the cruelties he had committed, and kept concealed for some time; it, however, was discovered in 1195, and interred with great pomp in the abbey of Bective, on the river Boyne, by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and apostolical legate; assisted by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin. The head of De Lacy was brought to Dublin, and buried with Rosa de Munemnene, his first wife, in the abbey of Thomas Court. Lacy left two sons, Walter the elder, lord of Meath, and Hugh, afterwards earl of Ulster.

Geoffroy,* fourth son of Henry II. by his wife Eleanor, and duke of Brittany, died August 16th, 1186, and was buried in the choir of the church of Notre Dame, at Paris. He had by his wife Constantia (who was the daughter and heiress of Conon, count of Brittany,) two daughters, and a son named Arthur, who was born after his death.

Henry II., upon hearing of the tragical end of De Lacy, dispatched his son John, with a large army, to resume the government of Ireland; but the news of Geoffroy's death at Paris having reached him while the prince was detained at Chester by contrary winds, orders were sent for him to return, and the command of the expedition to Ireland was given to Philip de Wigorn.. Some people say that Henry himself sailed with it.

The destruction which now threatened the country from the continual incursions of the English, was still insufficient to unite the people in its defence, and to suppress the factions which prevailed among them. Donald, son of Hugue O'Loghlin, prince of the family of the O'Neills, and king of Tirven, was dethroned, and Roderick O'Lachertair was declared king in his stead. The year following Tirconnel was invaded by the latter, who was killed, and Donald restored to the throne.

The death of Christianus O'Conarchy, the late bishop of Lismore and apostolical legate, is said to have occurred in this year,

* War. de Annal. Hib. c. 18. Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.

* Westmonast. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1186

1186; he was buried in the abbey of O'Dorny, where he spent many years after he had retired from the attractions of the world.

This year was also remarkable for the death of an illustrious woman, namely, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., king of England, wife of Henry IV., emperor of Germany, and the mother of Henry II. She, like her father, died at Rouen, in Normandy, and was interred in the abbey of Bec. Others say that she was buried in the abbey of Reading, in England, where the subjoined epitaph on her may be seen.*

Cardinal Octavianus and Hugue Nunant, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, were sent in quality of legates by Pope Urban III., at the solicitation of Henry II., to assist at the coronation of his son John as king of Ireland. But this ceremony, says Hoveden, was dispensed with on account of the affairs of Henry, who brought with him to Normandy these two legates, to be present at a conference which he was about to hold with Philip Augustus, concerning a peace, A. D. 1188.

The viceroy of Ireland, together with Conchovar O'Dermod, carried their hostile intentions into Connaught,† and having advanced as far as Esadar, pitched their camp there with a design of desolating and ravaging the country of Tirconnel. The news, however, of Flahertach O'Maolduin marching with an army from that quarter, made them abandon this project; they set fire to Esadar, and returning into Connaught met the united forces of Conchovar Maonmuighe, king of the province, and of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick. The viceroy gave them battle, which, however, proved fatal to him; he lost the flower of his forces, besides sixteen persons of rank in his army, and the remainder were put to flight. About this time Roderick O'Gavanan, king of Tirconnel, together with his brother and several persons belonging to his suite, were killed near the bridge of Sligo, by Flahertach O'Maolduin.

The annals of Ulster mention a sanguinary conflict that took place in the same year, between Donald, son of Hugh O'Lochlin, king of Tyrone, and the English garrison of the castle of Moycava, or Cava-na-Cran The action was brisk, and the victory for a long time doubtful; but was at length gained by Donald, with the loss of his life. The body of this celebrated prince was removed to Armagh, and interred with great pomp

Alured le Palmer, of Danish extraction, founded the priory of St. John the Baptist, of which he was the first prior,* outside of the new gate of Dublin. This house was afterwards endowed, and changed into an hospital, with accommodations for one hundred and fifty-five patients, besides the chaplains, and other necessary attendants. It belonged in latter times to hermits of St. Augustin.

Courcy suppressed the abbey of Carrick, founded near the bridge of St. Finn, by Magnal Mac-Eulof, one of the kings of Ulster, and appropriated its revenues to a new house which he founded at Inis, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and to which he brought over Cistertian monks from the abbey of Furnes, in England. It was the policy of the English to make the monks interested in the success of their arms. One of these monks, called Jocelin, wrote the life of St. Patrick, at the request of Tomultach O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, Malachi, bishop of Down, and De Courcy. Martan O'Broley, a celebrated professor in the university of Armagh, died about this time; he is highly eulogized for his learning in the annals of Ulster.

The Irish princes having determined to make an effort to rescue themselves from the slavery of the English, and finding no remedy for their misfortunes but uniting under one chief, offered the sovereignty to O'Connor Maonmuighe. The princes who formed this league were, Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, Roderick, son of Dunsleve, king of Ullagh, Donald Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, O'Melaghlin, surnamed Beag, or the little, king of Meath, and O'Rourke, king of Brefny and Conmacne. This confederacy, however, was productive of no good result, in consequence of the accidental death of O'Connor, at Dun-Leoga, in Hymaine, where he held his court. He left a son called Cahal-Carrach.

John Courcy, accustomed, like most of his countrymen in Ireland, to live by pillage, laid waste the neighborhood of Ullagh, (county of Down,) not sparing Armagh, A. D. 1188.† His accomplices there were the Audleys, Gernons, Clintons, Russels, Savages, Whites, Mandevils, Jordans,

* Ortu magna, viro major. sed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.
Matth. Paris, ad an. 1196, p. 99.

"Here lies the daughter, wife, and mother of Henry; great by birth, greater by her husband, but greatest by her offspring."—*Matthew Paris, ad an.* 1196, p. 99.

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 20

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 21

Stantons, and Poers, who had followed his fortune, and on whom he had bestowed estates and lordships which did not belong to him. It is easy to be generous at the expense of others.

While De Courcy was carrying on his military expeditions in Ulster, Roger Poer, a brave man, of noble family, was killed, with the garrison, in the castle of Dangisdrony, in the district of Ossory, which the Irish took by assault. They also reduced the castle of Lismore; but finding it impossible to hold out against the English, they determined to destroy it.

Murchard Mac-Carwel, king of Ergail, finding his end approaching, retired to the abbey of Mellifont, where he was buried near his father Donat, by whom it had been founded. I have now given an imperfect sketch of what passed in Ireland from the first invasion of the English, under Henry II., to the death of that prince, which took place on the sixth of July, in his castle of Chinon, in Normandy.* His body was interred with great pomp in the monastery of Font Everard, which he had founded. He had been for some time in a declining state of health, overcome with grief and sorrow; but the list which Philip Augustus sent to him of those who had conspired against him, among whom was his favorite son John, was the immediate cause of his death.

The following ceremony was observed, according to Baker, at his funeral obsequies: "He was clothed in his royal robes, his crown on his head, white gloves on his hands, boots and spurs of gold on his feet, a valuable ring on his finger, the sceptre in his hand, his sword to his side, and his face uncovered.

"As they were carrying his body to the grave, his son Richard approached it with eagerness, in order to look at it, whereupon a quantity of blood issued from the nose. Although the above fact," continues our author, "was not a proof of the innocence of Richard, the torrent of tears which he shed on the occasion was a sign that he had repented." Baker speaks of a princess of the house of Anjou, from whom Henry was descended, who was suspected of being a sorceress, and who, it is said, flew through the windows of the church when it was required of her to receive the blessed Eucharist; and that it never could be discovered what became of her. This story, he says, which has been published by every writer, might have afforded to Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, (who solicited the aid of Henry against Saladin,) the opportunity of foretelling many misfortunes that should befall that king, and of announcing to his children, that they should return to the devil, from whom they had gone forth. But he remarks, with justice, that historians ought rather to have passed over the subject in silence.

I have already portrayed the morals of Henry II.; let English writers therefore draw his panegyric. A flatterer has written the following line, in itself fine, and very laudatory of the memory of that prince, and of Richard, his successor.

"Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est."

John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, Aubin O'Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, and Concort, bishop of Enaghdun, assisted at the coronation of Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, on the third of September following, at Westminster, which was performed by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. His brother John, earl of Mortagne, was content with being lord of Ireland. The marriage of William Marshal with Isabella, daughter of Earl Strongbow, took place about this time; by which he acquired extensive possessions in Leinster, and the title of earl of Pembroke.

CHAPTER XIX.

As soon as Richard I., surnamed Cœur de Lion, was crowned king of England, he determined to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1190, in order, it is said, to make atonement for the rebellion which he had been guilty of against his father. He set out for Palestine, where he arrived the year following with a numerous army, without leaving any orders relative to the government of Ireland, thinking, perhaps, that he had no right to interfere in the affairs of that island, since Henry II. had granted the sovereignty of it to his brother John. He sent a deputation, however, to Pope Clement III., requesting him to appoint William de Long-Champs, bishop of Ely, legate of the British dominions, and of that part of Ireland which was subject to his brother John. It appears by the pope's rescript, quoted in the history of Matthew Paris,* that the English then owned but a

* Baker, Chron. of England, on the year 1189.

* "Richard, king of England, sent William, bishop of Ely, with a deputation to Pope Clement, from whom he obtained the following rescript—

small portion of that country. We do not discover that the legate had ever been in Ireland, or made any regulations concerning it.

The O'Connors had still retained a vestige of sovereignty in Connaught. Cahal-Carrach, son of O'Connor Maonmuighe, succeeded his father; but had a formidable rival in his grand-uncle, Cahal-Crovedarg, brother to Roderick the monarch. These princes had each his party to vindicate their respective claims, and the province suffered greatly by their disunion. They even sought for partisans among the English.* William Fitz-Adelm declared in favor of Cahal-Carrach, and Crovedarg was supported by John de Courcy. After many acts of hostility on both sides, they at length came to a decisive engagement. Both armies were composed of Irish and English, who performed prodigies of valor, and the victory was long doubtful; but the troops of Cahal-Carrach beginning to give way, were at last put to flight. The prince himself, and several nobles of the province, were found among the slain, and Fitz-Adelm returned to Limerick with the troops that remained. Cahal-Crovedarg then besieged a strong castle which Fitz-Adelm had built at Mileach O'Madden, in the district of Siolapamchad, to favor his retreat in case of need: the garrison, which was composed of Englishmen, finding themselves unable to defend the place, and dreading military execution in case of resistance, withdrew during the night, and the victorious prince caused the castle and all its fortifications to be razed to the ground.

As an act of thanksgiving, Cahal-Crovedarg founded an abbey for Bernardine monks in a place called Knock-Moy, in the county of Galway, where he had gained the victory, which he called *De Colle Victoriæ*, or the Mount of Victory.† This house was a branch of the abbey of Boyle, of the order of Clairvaux. Jungelinus places this foundation in 1190, and others so late as 1200: however this be, Crovedarg soon afterwards finding his end approaching, assumed the monastic habit in this house, where he was interred, having governed the province as chief of the Hy-Brunes and of Clan-Murray. The descendants of this valiant prince never accepted of titles of honor from the kings of England; titles which most of the ancient Irish families then despised, and looked upon as marks of slavery. The name of O'Connor Don, which belonged to the chief of this tribe, as well as those of other chiefs of great families, was much more noble, according to the genius and manners of the nation, than the title of earl or marquis. The present chief of this illustrious house of O'Connor, is Daniel, son of Andrew O'Connor, of Ballintobber, who still retains a small portion of the vast possessions of his ancestors in Connaught.

Ware mentions the foundation of a priory at this time, under the title of Saint Mary, at Kenlis,* in the county of Kilkenny, by Galfridus, seneschal of Leinster, for regular canons of St. Augustin. But in the additions made to the *Monasticum Anglicanum* of Dugdale and Dodswort, this foundation is fixed earlier, that is, in 1183, under the reign of Henry II.

At Navan, a considerable town in Meath, at the confluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater, there was an abbey founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Jocelin Nangle, (*De Angulo*,) an English lord, who had settled in this country.†

In the neighborhood of the town of Wexford, we discover the priory of Saints Peter and Paul, called Selsker, founded in this century, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by the Roches, lords of Fermoy.

John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, employed himself in beautifying the churches of that city; he had the cathedral, called Christ's Church, repaired; and St. Patrick's Church, which was falling into ruins, completely rebuilt. He founded thirteen prebendaries, which number was afterwards increased to twenty-two. He also founded a nunnery in that city for regular canonesses of St. Augustin, called *De Gratia Dei*, "of the grace of God."‡

The war between the O'Briens of Thuomond, and the Mac-Cartys of Desmond, had lasted for a considerable time; and though peace was at length concluded between these

"Clement, bishop, &c., according to the commendable desire of our dearest son in the Lord, Richard, the illustrious king of England, we have by our apostolical authority decreed that the office of legate be intrusted to thy charge over England, Wales, including the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, and those parts of Ireland in which John, the noble knight of Moreton, and brother of his majesty, exercises control and dominion." "Given on the fifth of June, in the 3d year of our pontificate."—*Matthew Paris, on the year* 1188, part 108.

* Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 189

* War. de Antiq. cap. 26.

† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 32.

‡ Idem. page 341.

two septs, it was, unluckily, but of short continuance. Heaven itself seemed displeased with the discord of these people at a period when union was so necessary for the defence of their country. Munster was visited at this time by dreadful storms and hurricanes, which destroyed several houses and churches, and caused the loss of many lives.

About this time was celebrated, in the monastery of Clairvaux in France, the festival of the translation of the relics of St. Malachi, archbishop of Armagh. They were afterwards removed to the abbey of Mellifont in Ireland, and particles of them distributed to the different houses of the Cistertian order.

Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, having been nominated legate of Ireland by Pope Celestinus III., convened a council in Dublin, A. D. 1192 ; but we are unacquainted with what passed in it. About this time the city suffered considerably by fire.

While some of the English were occupied in building the castles of Ballinorcher and Kilbixi, in Westmeath, and that of Kilkenny, in Leinster, others of them were completely destroyed at Dunlus O'Fogerte, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick ; after which the English, in revenge for their losses, collected a force and pillaged the country of Thuomond.

About the same time an abbey of Benedictines was founded at Glascarrig, in the county of Wexford ; an abbey also of the Cistertian order at Ballinamore, in Westmeath, and one in the city of Down.*

There were two priories in Eastmeath, one near the town of Trim, and the other at Kells, in the same county. Both belonged to the order of the Holy-Cross. The former was founded by a bishop of Meath, the latter by Walter de Lacy.†

Richard, king of England, whom we left in Asia, was shipwrecked in the Adriatic sea, on his return to Europe. In order to conceal his coming to England, he took the road through Germany, where he had the misfortune of falling into the hands of Leopold, marquis of Austria. This prince had not forgotten the insult he had received at the siege of Acre, from Richard, who tore down the standard he had set up on the top of a tower, and placed his own in its stead. He sold Richard to the Emperor Henry VI., who detained him a prisoner for fifteen months. His brother John, lord of Ireland, wishing to take advantage of this opportunity, and, according to Ware, at the instigation of Philip Augustus, made some attempts to usurp the crown of England ;* but being doubtful of success, he only fortified some castles in England, and went to Normandy, where Philip Augustus then was, by whom he was honorably received.

Richard having been released from his captivity, returned to England, where he was joyfully received by his subjects ; and then went to Normandy, to put a stop to the progress of Philip.† His brother John followed him thither, and implored his forgiveness in the humblest manner, promising him fidelity for the future. He granted him his pardon, through the solicitation of his mother Eleanor, saying, "I wish I may forget your crime, and that you alone may preserve the remembrance of it."‡

In Ireland the O'Briens were still opposed to the M'Cartys, and in 1193 the king of Limerick consented to the building of the castle of Briginis, in the country of Thuomond, to favor the incursions of the English into Desmond. These strangers still continued their depredations ; they held nothing sacred. Gilbert de Nangle pillaged the island of Inisclohran, in lake Ree, and also the abbey ; while Africa, wife of John de Courcy, founded the abbey of our Lady of Leigh, or *De Jugo Dei*, in Ulster, in which she was afterwards interred. About this time died Derforgill, wife of Tigernach O'Rourk, whose misconduct had drawn irremediable misfortunes on her country. She had been at first confined, by order of Roderick O'Connor, in the abbey of St. Bridget in Kildare, from whence she was removed to the abbey of Mellifont, where she died.

The year following was much more memorable by the death of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, A. D. 1194. This prince was no less pious than warlike ; he founded several monasteries, and made also many efforts, though too late, to shake off the yoke of the English. His first fault was irreparable : instead of joining the other princes of Ireland in the common cause, he had been one of the first to submit to Henry II., without making the least resistance, and thereby afforded the English an opportunity of becoming strong in the country. Although the last king of Limerick, he was succeeded in the government of that part of the island by his son Donogh Cairbreach. The eyes of his second son, Mortough, were put out by the English.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
† Allemand, Hist Monast d'Irl

* Annal. Hib. ad an. 1193.
† Westmonast. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1192.
‡ Walsing. Ypodig. Meust. ad an. 1193, 1194. Bak. Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Richard.

The affairs of the English in Ireland were in a very precarious state, A. D. 1195; after being defeated in several engagements, they were expelled from Limerick by Donald M'Carty. The Irish knew how to gain victories, but had not the art of turning them to advantage; the superiority of their arms was soon counterbalanced by the stratagems of war skilfully made use of by the English, and by the succor these strangers were continually receiving from England. Philip de Wigorne landed this year on the coasts of Munster, with a strong reinforcement, which changed the aspect of their affairs. In Ulster, Roderick, son of Dunleve, with a body of troops composed of both English and Irish, made incursions into Tyrone; but was repulsed, and attacked in his retreat at Armagh, by Mortough O'Loghlin, prince of that district, who destroyed a considerable part of his army. This prince, celebrated in the histories of the country, was killed some time afterwards, by Donough M'Bloschy O'Cahan, and his body interred with great pomp at Derry.

About this time Pope Celestine III. confirmed the foundation of a monastery for Augustin nuns at Termonfechau, in the county of Louth, by the M'Mahons, lords of the country.*

Courcy having taken the castle of Kilsandall, placed a garrison in it, A. D. 1196, under the command of one Russell, who, to try his fortune, made some incursions with the troops of his garrison into the country of Tirconnel, from whence he carried away considerable booty; but he was attacked on the way and killed, with several of his followers, by Flahertach O'Maolduin, prince of Tirconnel.

In Munster, Donald M'Carty put the English garrison of Imacalle to the sword, and razed the castle to the ground. He treated the garrison of Kilfeacle in the same manner, and pillaged the castle. In order to put a stop to the enterprises of M'Carty, the English sent an army, composed of the garrisons of Cork and other places, against him; but did not, however, come to an engagement. A truce was concluded, and hostilities ceased for some time.

Gilbert de Nangle, a man of considerable power in Meath, put himself at the head of a body of troops, and committed dreadful devastation in the surrounding country; but finding himself threatened by Hamon de Valoines, who had succeeded Peter Pippard as lord-justice of Ireland, he laid down his arms and took to flight, after which his castles were seized, and his estates confiscated.

A serious dispute occurred, A. D. 1179, between John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, and Hamon de Valoines, and other ministers of John, lord of Ireland, who were encroaching on the privileges of his church. The prelate excommunicated them, and then went to England, where he in vain complained of the injustice of these ministers. It has since been discovered in the registries of the church of Dublin, that Hamon granted to the successor of Comin, twenty carucates or quarters of land, in compensation for the wrongs he had done it.

John de Courcy continued his tyranny in Ulster. He made the people suffer for the crime of an individual; putting several innocent persons to death in order to be revenged for the death of his brother Jordan, who was killed by his own servant. He laid waste the country of Tirconnel, from which he carried off much booty, after having killed O'Dogherty, who became prince of that country after the death of Flahertach O'Maolduin. The latter, who was so celebrated among the Irish for his military exploits, and other virtues, died at Inis-Samer, on the 10th of February, after a long illness, and was buried, with pomp, at Drum-Tuama.

Hamon de Valoines, lord-justice of Ireland, was at length recalled, A. D. 1198. He was succeeded by Meyler Fitzhenry, renowned in history for his exploits against the Irish.

The castle of Ard-Patrick, in Munster, was built this year by the English; and the year following, that of Astretin, in the same province.

Richard I. survived his captivity but five or six years. He was almost continually at war with Philip Augustus.* Several truces were concluded between them. Richard was at length wounded in the arm by an arrow that was discharged by Bertram de Gordon, otherwise called Peter Basile, when he was endeavoring to enter the castle of Chalus, near Limoge, by force.† His wound having mortified through the ignorance of the surgeon who dressed it, he died after a few days. His body was interred at Fonteveraud, near the tomb of his father, and his heart brought to Rouen, in gratitude for the love which that city had always manifested towards him.‡

* War. de Antiq. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 349.

* Westmon. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1199.

† Matth. Paris, Angli. Hist. Major. Vit. Richard.

‡ Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Richard I.

John, earl of Mortagne, lord of Ireland, who had endeavored to usurp the throne of England during his brother's lifetime, did not fail to lay claim to it after his death, to the prejudice of his nephew Arthur, son of Geoffry, of Brittany, his elder brother.* Arthur took up arms, and was supported by Philip Augustus ; but John made him prisoner at Mirabel, in Poitou, whence he sent him, under a strong escort, to Falaise, and thence to Rouen, where he had him put to death ; by which means he united the hereditary domains of his family, on the continent, with the kingdom of England.†

The English still continued their hostilities in Ireland, A. D. 1199. John de Courcy sent a body of troops this year to Tyrone, who laid the country waste and carried away several herds of cattle. They were not, however, so fortunate in a second enterprise. Hugh O'Neill, prince of the country, marched to meet them, and defeated them at Donoughmore. Meanwhile, the English of Munster continued to devastate the country of Desmond from the river Shannon to the Eastern Sea. About the same period, a fortified castle was built at Granard, in the district of Aumale, in the county of Longford, by Richard Tuite, to check the O'Reillys and other Irish chieftains, who were carrying on a continual warfare against the English, who had settled in that quarter.

The abbey of Comerer, or Comber, in the county of Down, was founded this year, for Cistertian monks, by the Whites, who had settled in that country.‡ This abbey was inconsiderable, and was a branch of that of Blancheland, in Wales, whence its first monks came over.

King John was not less avaricious than his father : he drew money from all quarters, and it may be said that his reign was one continual tax.§ According to Hoveden, he sold to William, nephew of Philip de Braos, for four thousand marks of silver, the lands of the O'Carrols, the O'Kennedys, O'Maghers, O'Fogartys, O'Ryans, O'Hifferans, and others, which Henry his father had given to Philip de Worcester, and to Theobald Fitzwalter. But Worcester, who was then in England, returned to Ireland through Scotland, and recovered his estates by open force. Fitzwalter, with the assistance of his brother De Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, compounded with De Braos for his estates, by paying five hundred marks.* Those lands were Truoheked, Eile-y-Carrol, Eile-y-Ogarthi, Orwon, Areth, and Owny Owny Hokathelan, and Owny Hiffernan. William de Braos gave up those lands to Fitzwalter, by a charter delivered at Lincoln in presence of the king. Henry II. had already conferred on Fitzwalter the office of grand hereditary butler of Ireland from whence is derived the name of Butler which was afterwards taken by the descendants of that nobleman.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, being in danger of shipwreck on his passage from England to Ireland, made a vow to build a religious house ;† in consequence of which he founded, A. D. 1199, the abbey called Little Tinterne, in Ireland, in a village of that name on the coast of Wexford. The abbey was so called to distinguish it from the great Tinterne, in Wales, where the Cistertian order was established, and of which it was a branch. This nobleman also founded two religious houses ; one at Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, for regular canons, and the other at Wexford, for hospitallers of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem, and St. Bridget.‡ Besides the latter house, which was the grand priory, the order of Malta had nine commanderies in Ireland before the suppression of the Templars.

About this time Donat, son of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, founded two abbeys, dedicated to the blessed Virgin ; one that of Corcumroe, or *de Petra Fertili*, in the county of Clare, of the Cistertian order ; the other that of Kilcoul, or *de Arvicampo*, in the county of Tipperary, a branch of the abbey of Jeripont.

We discover at the same time the foundation of two nunneries : one at Kilcreunata, in the county of Galway, called *de Casta Sylva*, founded by Cahal O'Connor, surnamed Crovderg, for Benedictines ; the other at Granary, county of Kildare, founded by Walter de Ridelesford, an English nobleman, for monks of St. Augustin.§ This monastery is, perhaps, the same as Grane, a priory of Benedictines in the same county, founded by the same nobleman ; the act of its foundation is mentioned by the authors of the " Monasticum Anglicanum," to have been inserted in a bull of Pope Innocent

* Westmonast. ibid. ad an. 1202.
† Matth. Paris, Angli. Hist. Major. ad an. 1292. Baker, Chron. of Engl. on the reign of John I.
‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 193.
§ Baker, Chron. of Engl. on the reign of John I. War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1200.

* Introduction to the life of the duke of Ormond, vol. 1, p. 18.
† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.
‡ Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irl. pages 24, 124.
§ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allem. ibid. p. 347

III., in the year 1207, by which it appears that this English nobleman, its founder, and baron of Bre, lord of Tristeldermot and other places, granted it to the lands of Grane, Dolke, and others.

At Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, there was a priory or hospital called Teach-Eon, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, founded by Theobald Walter, the chief of the Butlers,* A. D. 1200. At Athassel, a small town in the same county, was the priory of St. Edmond, king and martyr, founded for regular canons in 1200 by William de Burgo, from whom the Burkes are descended.

At Kilbeggain, in Westmeath, there was an abbey of Cistertian monks, called *De Flumine Dei*, founded by the Daltons, barons of Rathcomire.† It was a branch of the abbey of Mellifont, its first monks having come from that abbey.

At Tristernach, in Westmeath, there was also a priory for regular canons of St. Augustin, called St. Mary's, founded about this time by Geoffry de Constantin, an English lord. Dugdale and Dodsworth mention the act of its foundation in the additions to the "*Monasticum Anglicanum.*"

In the neighborhood of the town of Wexford, the priory of St. Peter and St. Paul was founded by the Roches, lords of Fermoy, for regular canons of St. Augustin. There was also a priory of the same order, under the title of St. John the Baptist, at Naas, in the county of Kildare, founded by a baron of Naas.

The church of Ireland lost two celebrated prelates at this period, (A. D. 1201;) Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, a noble and virtuous character, was one; he was interred in the abbey of Mellifont.‡ The English wishing to make themselves masters of the see, which had become vacant by his death, the king of England appointed Humfred de Tikhull to it; but he was prevented from acting by the pope, who conferred it on Eugene Mac-Gillevider, a native of Ireland. Eugene was a man of great virtue, "vir magnæ honestatis et vitæ laudabilis;" he died at Rome in 1216, after having assisted at the fourth council of Lateran.

Catholicus O'Dubhay, archbishop of Tuam, was the other prelate alluded to. He was a grave and learned man, and had made peace between Roderick O'Connor and Henry II.; he was also one of the six Irish prelates that had assisted at the council of Lateran. His death took place at Cong, at an advanced age,* and he was buried in the monastery of the regular canons of St. Augustin, and was succeeded by Felix O'Ruadan.

There had always existed a jealousy and secret enmity between the Lacys and John de Courcy, which broke out openly in the beginning of the reign of king John.† This king was abhorred by all good men, not only for having deprived Arthur of the crown, who was legitimate heir to it, but also for having imbrued his own hands in the blood of that innocent prince. Every one expressed his indignation openly, particularly John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, who was a violent and hasty man, and who, not content with the mere abhorrence which so detestable an act excited, gave vent to imprecations, of which the king was soon informed. In order to punish De Courcy's imprudence, John sent orders to De Lacy, whom he had just appointed lord-justice of Ireland, to have him arrested and brought to England in chains. Lacy was glad to receive these orders, so much in accordance with his own wishes, and lost not a moment in using all his efforts to execute the commission. Courcy, informed of the danger which threatened him, withdrew to Ulster, where he placed himself on the defensive, and defeated the king's troops, whom De Lacy had sent in pursuit of him, near Down. The viceroy finding it impossible to reduce his enemy by force of arms, published a manifesto, in the king's name, declaring De Courcy a traitor to the king, and a rebel to his commands, and offered a reward to whomsoever should take and bring him, dead or alive, to him. This reward some of De Courcy's own household were base enough to earn; he was arrested on Good Friday by some of his own attendants, and brought to the viceroy, who, after giving those who delivered him up the promised reward, had them all hanged. Lacy immediately set out with his prisoner for England, and presented him to the king, by whose orders he was confined in a dungeon. As a reward for this service, Lacy received from his royal master all the lands which belonged to De Courcy in Ulster and Connaught, together with the title of earl of Ulster.

The people of Tyrone deposed Hugh O'Neill this year, and placed Cornelius Mac-Laughlin in his stead, who was killed

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 65.
† War. de Antiq. ibid. Allemand ibid. p. 179.
‡ War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens
† Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest page 212.

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in battle a short time afterwards by Eigneachain O'Donnel; after which O'Neill was reinstated.

The discord which prevailed between Philip de Worcester and William de Braos, to whom the king had sold the lands of Philip, as has been already observed, was productive of great troubles in Munster, particularly in the district of Moy-Femin, which was pillaged: but the year following, the castle of Knockgrassan, and other places which had been seized by Philip, were restored to William by order of the king.

William Fitz-Adelm, or De Burgo, made some incursions into the country of Desmond, and carried off considerable booty. The king gave him by charter five military fiefs in a place called Toth, where the castle of Canic, now Castle-Connel, stands, which have remained in the hands of his descendants to the present time.

Keating mentions an expedition which Fitz-Adelm made into Connaught, where he committed dreadful devastations.* According to him, cruelty was the ruling passion of this nobleman; he put the priests and people to the sword without distinction, and destroyed the religious houses and other holy places in this province, so that his tyrannical conduct drew upon him the censures of the clergy, and he was solemnly excommunicated by the church; in which state he died of an extraordinary sickness, which caused frightful distortions. He gave no signs of repentance; his body was carried to a village, the inhabitants of which he had put to death, and was thrown into a well, from whence it was never afterwards taken.†

Stanihurst, following Cambrensis,‡ gives the following account of him. He was a man, he says, solely occupied in amassing riches, a mercenary governor, and detested both by prince and people; the duties of his office he discharged in a shameful and sordid manner, and disregarded justice when his own interest was in question. He concludes by saying it is not surprising that his memory should be held in abhorrence by the people: "ut non mirum fuerit, si incolis tristem horribilemque memoriam nominis sui reliquerit."*

Although the historians of the times have represented William Fitz-Adelm as a wicked man, he left a posterity in Ireland who were worthy of a better ancestor, and who were always distinguished for their religion, virtue, and fidelity to their lawful princes.

There were some religious houses founded about this time in Ireland. At Conol, a village on the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, a rich priory was established for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Myler Fitzhenry.† This priory depended on the abbey of Anthoni, in England, and the original act for its establishment is in the Bodleian library.

In a very pleasant situation on the right bank of the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, there was a handsome priory of the order of St. Victor, dedicated to St. Wolstan, who had been lately canonized by Pope Innocent III. This house was commonly called *Scala Cœli*, or the ladder of heaven. It was founded by Richard, the first abbot, and Adam de Hereford, both Englishmen, in 1235.‡

About this time Theobald Fitzwalter, first grand butler of Ireland, founded at Owny, or Wetheni, in the district of Limerick, an abbey for Cistertian monks;§ it was a branch of the abbey of Lavigni, diocese of Avranche, in Normandy, from whence its first monks were brought.

At Inistiock, in the county of Kilkenny, there was a priory for regular canons of St. Augustin, called after St. Columbanus, founded, according to Ware, in 1206, by Thomas, seneschal of Leinster, at the request of Hugh, bishop of Ossory.

Ware also mentions a religious house, founded in the neighborhood of Drogheda, which was called *De Urso*, having been founded by Ursus de Samuel; it was a priory and hospital for the order of the Holy Cross, the monks of which were called cross-bearers. Some believe that it was a custodia, or hospital, belonging to the regular canons of St. Augustin.

At Newtown, in the neighborhood of Trim, on the river Boyne, there was a rich and handsome priory, founded in 1206, for

* History of Ireland, book 2.

† Keating takes this fact from an authentic manuscript written three hundred years before his time, consequently in or about the thirteenth century. He calls this manuscript *Leavar Breac*, or the book of Mac-Eogain.

‡ The honors which he conferred on any one were always but a mask of his treacherous intentions, concealing poison beneath the honey, and resembling a snake lurking in the grass. Liberal and mild in his aspect, but carrying more aloes than honey within—

Pelliculam veterem retinens, vir fronte politus,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem;
Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens.
Hibernia Expugnata, c. 16.

* De Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 4, p. 185.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist Monast. d'Irl. page 22.

‡ War. de Antiq. ibid. page 120

§ Allemand, ibid. page 184

regular canons of St. Augustin, under the title of St. Peter and St. Paul, by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, who fixed his abode there.* This prelate having removed the episcopal see of Clonard to Trim, the bishops of that diocese were afterwards called *Episcopi Trimenses*, instead of *Cluanardenses;* but the diocese was commonly called the bishopric of Meath, taking its name from the county rather than from a city.

In his annals of the same year, (1202,) Ware fixes the martyrdom of St. Manon, a native of Ireland, whom Molanus ranks among the saints of Flanders. This saint was a disciple of Saint Remulch and St. John Agnus, bishop of Utrecht. He was massacred in the forest of Ardenne, and buried in a church which he had founded at Nassoin, in Ardenne, where he is acknowledged as the patron saint.

In the year 1207, a religious house was founded at Douske, in the county of Kilkenny, by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, for Cistertian monks. This abbey was called, "Valley of the Blessed Saviour." Another was founded at Atherdee, or *De Atrio Dei*, in the county of Louth, by Roger Pipard, a lord of that district, for monks called cross-bearers, under the title of St. John the Baptist.

Geoffry M'Moris, or Morich, an Irish nobleman, having caused a revolt against the English in the county of Tipperary, A. D. 1208, Hugh de Lacy marched as viceroy towards Thurles, with all the troops he could collect, where he destroyed the castle called Castle Meiler; but having lost several of his men at the taking of this place, and in the various conflicts he had with the Irish, he was forced to abandon his enterprise.

A tragical scene occurred in the year 1209, which gave rise to what the English have since called "black Monday." It was as follows:—A contagious distemper raged in Dublin, by which it was almost depopulated, and being deserted by the inhabitants, an English colony was sent for to Bristol to replace them. These strangers, who had been accustomed to go to the country on festival days for their amusement, left the city in crowds on Easter Monday; when approaching Cullin's Wood, (so called from the noble family of the O'Cullens, to whom it had formerly belonged,) they were attacked by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools, from the county of Wicklow, with their vassals, who massacred three hundred of them, sparing neither women nor children. At that time England was an inexhaustible source of men, particularly when to make a fortune in Ireland was in question, and the loss was soon repaired by a new colony from Bristol. The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Dublin, celebrated for many ages the anniversary of this fatal day, in the place where the massacre was committed, by feasting and rejoicings.

At Fermoy, in the county of Cork, on the river called Avoine Moer, there was an abbey called *De Castro Dei*, founded by the noble family of De Rupe, Roche, or De la Roche, lords of that place.* The monks of this abbey were of the Cistertian order, and came from the abbey of Suire; several were brought afterwards from the abbey of Furnese, in England. Jungelinus says it was founded in 1170, which does not accord with the period when the founder of it settled in Ireland. It should be fixed some years later, viz., about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In the neighborhood of Waterford, there was also the priory of St. Catherine, of the order of St. Victor, founded by the Danes, or Ostmans, of that city, and confirmed by Innocent III. in 1210.

At Lerha, near Granard, in the county of Longford, there was an abbey of Bernardins, founded by Richard Tuite, an Englishman, lord of Granard. The first monks of this abbey came from that of our Lady, of Dublin, of the order of the Clairvaux.† Some say that this house was founded in 1210, Jungelinus in 1211, and Flatzburi in 1212. The founder was killed the following year at Athlone, by the falling of a tower, and his body interred in this abbey.

At Beaubec, a place so called from its being situated on a delightful peninsula, formed by the confluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater, in Meath, there was an abbey founded by Walter de Lacy, lord of that district. This abbey was of the Cistertian order, and a branch of that of Beaubec in Normandy. It was afterwards united to that of Furnese in England. Ware mentions in his annals a monastery which he calls Fort, founded by the above-mentioned nobleman.

Courcy, whom we had left confined in England, found means to recover the king's

* Allemand, ibid. page 31

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 181

† War. de Antiq. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 180

favor,* and was restored by him to both his liberty and fortune. This nobleman was particularly desirous of returning to Ireland, where he had such extensive possessions. He set sail fifteen times for that country, and was as often driven back by contrary winds, as if some invisible and avenging hand would deprive him of the pleasure of seeing a country in which he had committed so many and such flagrant crimes. He was at length cast upon the coast of France, where he died. Such was the end of this great tyrant, whom the English call a great general. According to Stanihurst, he left no posterity, like many other chiefs of the English colony.† However, Nichols, the author of the "Compendium," alleges that he had a son called Myles, who was deprived of his father's title and possessions, which the king conferred on De Lacy. By way of indemnification, he was created baron of Kingsale, where his descendants have supported their dignity to the present time.

John visited Ireland in the twelfth year of his reign. He landed at Waterford, at the head of a numerous and well-provided army, to put down the Irish who had rebelled, and were continually pillaging and destroying his English subjects. It is affirmed by some, that their rebellion was caused by an exorbitant tax, which the king wished to lay on them in order to enable him to carry on the war against France, and that finding this tax too heavy to be borne, they determined to have recourse to arms rather than submit to it.

The king having marched with his forces towards Dublin,‡ the people, alarmed at his power, came from all quarters to submit to an oath of allegiance and to keep the peace. Twenty petty kings, called Reguli by the English authors, paid him homage in Dublin.§ There were others, however, who disdained to bend beneath the yoke of England. "Pauci tamen ex Regulis supersedérunt, qui ad regem venire contempserunt."

It appears that the object of this prince's expedition was not only to quell the insurrection of the Irish, but likewise to punish his English subjects who were oppressing them, and exercising an insupportable tyranny everywhere their authority extended. For this purpose he advanced into the country, and seized upon their castles and fortified places. All fled before him, and among others, William de Braos, his wife Matilda, his son William, and their whole retinue; but they were seized, brought to England under a strong guard, and confined in Windsor castle, where, by order of the king, they were starved to death.* Others, however, say that William de Braos, having been banished the kingdom, died of grief in Paris, and was buried on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the abbey of St. Victor, in that city.†

The De Lacys were not more fortunate than De Braos. Walter, lord of Meath, and his brother Hugh, earl of Ulster and lord-justice of Ireland, goaded by remorse for their extortions and tyranny, and also for the murder of John de Courcy, lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrock, near Dublin, (who was natural son to the former earl of Ulster, and whose death was so justly attributed to them,) as well as pressed by the complaints which had been made of them to the king, resolved to quit the kingdom, and accordingly took refuge in Normandy. The king immediately appointed John Gray, bishop of Norwich, his deputy in Ireland, in place of Hugh de Lacy.

In order to guard against every search which the king might make after them, the Lacys disguised themselves as laborers, and were admitted in that capacity into the abbey of St. Taurin of Evreux, where they lived by their labor during two or three years, cultivating the grounds of the abbey, and attending to the gardens. What a fall! The abbot being pleased with the two workmen, sent for them one day; and either from a previous knowledge of their situation, or from discovering something superior to what they professed to be in their comportment and manner, questioned them concerning their origin, birth, and country. Having obtained a knowledge of their entire history, he felt a deep interest and pity for them, and promised to restore them to their prince's favor. In this he was successful; the king gave them his pardon, and permitted them to ransom their estates. Walter paid two thousand five hundred marks in silver for Meath; and his brother Hugh a much larger sum for his possessions in Ulster and Connaught. These noblemen were so grateful

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. p. 217.

† "He was married to the daughter of the king of Man, but left no issue after him, like many of those who ruled over the Irish at that time; whose families, from want of children, were quickly reduced to a small number."—*Stanihurst*, b. 4, p. 218.

‡ Matth. Paris, Angl. Hist. Major. ad an. 1210.

§ This is an exaggeration of those writers. There never were twenty kings at one time in Ireland. The title of king was given only to the monarch and the four provincial kings

* Matth. Paris, ibid.

† Westmonast. Flores Hist. ad an. 1211.

for the services which the abbot of St. Taurin had rendered them, that they brought his nephew Alured with them to Ireland, and loaded him with riches.

In the city of Kilkenny, a priory and hospital of the order of the regular canons of St. Augustin were founded at this time, by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. The authors of the "Monasticum Anglicanum" mention, that this house, which was under the protection of St. John the Evangelist, was not founded till 1220. There was also a priory of the same order in the county of Kilkenny, founded by the Blanchfelds.

The king of England having allayed the troubles in Ireland, thought of giving a form of government to his new subjects. He divided that part of the island which obeyed him, into twelve shires or counties; and established sheriffs or provosts, and other officers of justice in those counties, to govern the people according to the laws of England. Lastly, he remodelled the coin, and decreed that the same should pass in England and in Ireland; after which he embarked for Wales, where he appeased some troubles as he passed, and took with him twenty-eight children of the first rank, as hostages, to secure the fidelity of the people;* but having heard some time afterwards that the Welsh were beginning to rebel again, he was so transported with rage that he had all these innocent victims hanged in his presence, as he was sitting to table, A. D. 1212.†

About this time died John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, who had governed that church for thirty years. He was interred in the choir of Christ's Cathedral, A. D. 1213.‡ His successor was Henry Loundres, so called from the city in which he was born. The latter was likewise nominated lord-justice of Ireland, which office he filled till the year 1215, when he was summoned to attend the fourth council of Lateran, and in his absence Geoffry de Mariscis performed the duties of lord-justice. He was appointed legate of Ireland two years afterwards, by Pope Honorius III. On his returning thither, he convened a synod at Dublin, in which useful regulations were made respecting the government of the church. Geoffry de Mariscis having been recalled to England in 1219, Henry Loundres resumed the administration of affairs by order of the king, during which period he built the castle of Dublin, in which the viceroys hold their court. He erected the church of St. Patrick, which his predecessor had rebuilt, into a cathedral, and founded the dignities of chorister, chancellor, and treasurer. He increased the revenues of the monastery of *De Gratiâ Dei*. He removed the priory of Holm-Patrick which had been founded by Sitrick in an island on the coast, for regular canons of St. Augustin, to a more convenient situation inland. Lastly, the see of Glen-da-Loch, which had become vacant by the death of William Piro, was annexed to the see of Dublin under his episcopacy.

The prelate of Dublin, though he governed the church and state with applause, was guilty of an act which left an indelible stain on his character. He sent orders to all the farmers to repair to him on a certain day, to show the leases and titles by which they held the lands of the archbishopric. These unsuspecting people obeyed his orders without hesitation; and produced their papers to him, which he threw immediately into the fire, before their faces. This naturally caused consternation and tumult among the people. Some were struck with horror at the injustice of his conduct, while others, forgetting all respect towards him, loaded him with insults, calling him, in the Gothic English of those times, *Schorch bill* and *Scorch villen*.* Others, still more indignant, ran to take up arms, and the prelate was too happy to escape through a back door, while his attendants were beaten, and some almost killed. This conduct of this prelate exasperated the king to such a degree, that he deprived him of all administration in the affairs of Ireland, and transferred them to Maurice Fitzgerald.

Some abbeys for monks of the order of St. Augustin were founded about this time: the principal of which were that of Tuam, in Connaught, built in the twelfth century, by the Burkes; that of Enachdune, in the county of Galway, called Our Lady of *Portu Patrum*, a branch of the abbey of Tuam; one in the island of the Holy Trinity, in lake Ree, county of Roscommon, founded in 1215, by an archdeacon of Elphin, called Mac-Maylin, a native of Ireland; and that of Goodborne, near Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, in Ulster.

At Ballintobber, in the county of Mayo, also, there was the abbey of the Blessed Trinity, called *De Fonte Sancti Patricii*, from the fountain of St. Patrick.† It was founded in 1216 for regular canons of St

* Matth. Paris, Angl. Hist. Major.
† Baker, Chron of England, on the reign of John.
‡ War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

* A countryman.
† War. de Antiq. Hib cap 26

Augustin, by Charles O'Connor, otherwise Cahal-Crovedarg, king of Connaught, some time before his death.

John Lackland was the most unfortunate of princes; he was despised by foreigners, and hated by his subjects. Having put his nephew Arthur to death, he was summoned before the court of peers in France, to be tried for his crime; but not appearing, he was declared a rebel, in consequence of which his possessions were confiscated and he himself condemned to death, as being guilty of the murder of his nephew, committed within the jurisdiction of the government of France.* Philip Augustus seized upon Normandy, which he annexed to his crown, about three hundred years after it had been separated from it; and likewise on Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, so that the king of England retained only the province of Guienne in France.

This unhappy prince having opposed the election of cardinal Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury, the pope put his kingdom under an interdict.

After this, John, not content with confiscating all the property in his kingdom which belonged to the church, drew upon himself the hatred of the lords, by refusing them the privileges and liberties which Henry I. had granted them by charter. Reiterated complaints of his conduct having been carried to the pope, he proceeded from the interdict to sentence of excommunication, absolving John's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and conferring his crown upon the king of France. John, finding himself abandoned by the whole nation, resolved to submit to the pope, and acknowledge his kingdom tributary to the holy see. This, however, did not reconcile his subjects to him; for he had made them promises which he did not fulfil. He therefore assembled his forces; the nobles raised troops, and were supported by the city of London, and hostilities began on both sides. The English having no longer any regard for him, appealed to Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who thereupon entered England and was crowned in London.

John, who was at Dover, thought it prudent not to wait for his rival, and having given the command of the place to Hubert Burgh, he marched with his army towards the north. Louis began his march also, took Norwich and Dover, and both armies committed dreadful havoc. In the mean time, John sent to implore the pope's protection, who excommunicated Louis and the English who had rebelled. This excommunication, however, did not better John's fortune, for his whole army, together with their baggage, were lost by the overflowing of the sea, on their march along the shore, near Walpoole, in the county of Norfolk. He died, after a few days, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, at Newark, and was buried at Worcester under the grand altar. With him died also the resentment of the English, who declared now in favor of his son Henry, against Louis.

About this time there were three commanderies founded for knights Templars; one at Kilclogan, in the county of Wexford, by the O'Morras, (Moore,) Irish lords; one at Killergy, in the county of Carlow, by Philip Borard, and a third at Kilsaran, in the county of Louth, founded by Matilda, a lady of the family of the Lacys of Meath. These houses were given to the order of Malta, after the abolition of the Templars.

The author of the first part of the annals of Innis-Faill lived in 1215. He first gave an abridgment of the general history, till the year 430; he then wrote with precision upon the affairs of Ireland down to his own time: this chronicle was continued then by another writer to the year 1320.

* Westmonast. Flores Hist. ad an. 1212, et seq. Matth. Paris, Angli. Hist. Major. ad an. 1212. Baker, Chron. on the reign of John

CHAPTER XX

Henry III., eldest son of John Lackland, succeeded him at the age of nine years, and was crowned at Gloucester, by Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Jocelin, bishop of Bath, in presence of Guallo, the pope's legate, A. D. 1216. After taking the usual oath, to respect God and his holy church, and to do justice to all his subjects, this prince paid homage to the church of Rome, and to Pope Innocent, for his kingdom. By another oath, also, he engaged to pay the thousand marks punctually which his father had sworn to give to the church.

Ambition and a desire of amassing wealth, which had at first united the English against the Irish, became afterwards incentives to discord among themselves. Unaccustomed to hold such extensive possessions at home, the spoils of the Irish served only to create jealousies among them, and a reciprocal dislike, which frequently led to the perpetration of dreadful excesses by them against each other, at the expense of the public peace. The wars of Hugh de Lacy the

younger, and William Marshal, caused many troubles in Meath.* The town of Trim was besieged, and reduced to the last extremity; but the disturbances being quelled, Lacy built a strong castle in that town to secure it against future attacks. The provinces of Leinster and Munster were frequently devastated by the quarrels of Marshal with Meyler Fitzhenry.† According to Hanmer, William Marshal took possession of some lands that belonged to the bishop of Ferns, and on his refusing to restore them, was excommunicated by that prelate.‡ He died afterwards in his own country, while under this anathema. His wickedness drew on him the vengeance of heaven: not one of the five sons whom he had by Isabella, daughter of earl Strongbow, and heiress of Leinster, to whom he was married, having left any posterity.

Meyler Fitzhenry, one of the first English adventurers who came to Ireland, and whose father was natural son of king Henry I., died about this time, and was buried A. D. 1220, in the monastery of Conal, of which he was the founder. He was naturally a cruel man. Independently of the tyranny which he practised against the people of his province,§ he attacked Cluan-Mac-Noisk, which he took by assault after a siege of twelve days, and put all whom he met to the sword. The houses were pillaged, the churches and monasteries, with their ornaments and sacred vessels, given up to plunder, and left a prey to his licentious soldiery. It was thus that the English continued to reform the morals of Ireland.

Henry Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, was succeeded by Lucas, dean of the church of St. Martin, in London, who was appointed through the influence of Hubert de Burgo, earl of Kent.

Eugene, archbishop of Armagh, died some time before, and was succeeded by Lucas de Netterville. Donatus O'Lonargan succeeded another prelate of the same name in the archbishopric of Cashel. Felix O'Ruadan then governed the metropolitan church of Tuam. Roger and William Peppard, successively lords of the Salmon Leap, died about this time.

About the same period, too, the following houses were founded for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin; namely, Aghmacart, in Clanmaltre, at present the Queen's county, by the O'Dempsys, lords of that country; one at Carrick-ne-Sure, on the river Suir, in the county of Tipperary, by William de Cantelo, (Cantwell;) one at Aghrim, county of Galway, by the Butlers, and one of the same order, called the monastery of O'Gormogan, or St. Mary, *De Via Nova*, in the county of Galway, by the O'Gormogans, Irish lords. About the same time the abbey of Tracton, or *De Albo Tractu*, was established in the county of Cork by the Mac-Cartys, Irish lords, for Cistertian monks.

Although Ireland was already well stocked with religious establishments, the devotion of its inhabitants was not exhausted They soon admitted the orders which had been recently instituted; namely, those of St. Francis of Assissium and St. Dominick, and also the hermits of St. Augustin, and the Carmelites.

The order of St. Dominick, says Allemand, is considered the first of the four mendicant orders, inasmuch as the bull by which the pope confirmed or established it is antecedent to those of the others.* However, Père Calmet alleges that the Franciscan friars were approved of in 1210 by Pope Innocent III., and places the confirmation of the order of Dominicans six years later, that is, in 1216, by Honorius III.† However men may disagree on this point of chronology, it is quite certain the Dominicans were the first who settled in Ireland.

If we can attach belief to the writers of the hermits of Augustin and the Carmelites, those two orders are the most ancient, not only in Ireland, but in all Europe. The former attribute their establishment to St. Augustin himself, and the latter to the prophet Elias. Both one and the other assert that St. Patrick, St. Congal, and the other saints in the first ages of the Irish church were of their order, which we can scarcery credit at present. We must therefore place them in the list of mendicant friars, whose first establishment we discover to have been in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the time that they were sanctioned by bulls from the popes.

The first foundation of the Dominicans in Ireland was in Dublin. We may judge of the extent and beauty of this convent, from its being at present the Westminster of Dublin,‡ in which are held the four principal

* Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.
† Keating, ibid.
‡ War. de Episc. Fernens.
§ Keating, Hist. of Irel. b. 2.

* Hist. Monast. p. 199.
† Chron. Abr.
‡ Westminster, in London, was formerly a celebrated abbey, which has since become a public building, in which the meetings of the superior courts of law are held.

courts of justice in Ireland; namely, the court of chancery, king's bench, common pleas, and the exchequer; on which account this extensive and splendid edifice is now called the Four Courts.* This convent was one of the most ancient of the order, having been established in 1223. The authors of the order, however, observe that this house had previously belonged to Cistertian monks, but that it was granted to the Dominicans on condition that they should present a lighted wax taper every year, on Christmas day, to the abbey of St. Mary, of the Cistertian order, which was in the immediate vicinity, as a mark that they held their convent from that abbey.

At Drogheda, in the county of Louth, there was a convent of Dominicans, founded in 1224 by Lucas de Netterville, archbishop of Armagh. It is mentioned in the registries of the order, and also by Ware.

In the city of Kilkenny one of the finest and most extensive convents, of the order of St. Dominick, was founded in 1225 by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke.

There was a convent of this order at Waterford, founded in 1226 by the citizens, called the convent of our Blessed Saviour. There was also one of the same order in Limerick, founded in 1227 by —— O'Brien, who was interred in it, and whose tomb, surmounted by his statue, is still to be seen there. Finally, at Aghavoe, in Ossory, the Fitzpatricks, whose descendants were barons of Upper Ossory, founded a house for Dominican friars.

Radulphus Petit, bishop of Meath, founded in 1227 the priory of St. Mary, which was formerly called *Domus Dei de Molingare*, in Mullingar, the chief town of Westmeath, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin. Lucas de Netterville, archdeacon of Armagh, having been appointed bishop of that see by the chapter, in 1217, held it for ten years. He died A. D. 1227, and was, according to his request, buried in the abbey of Mellifont, and was succeeded by Donat O'Fidabra.

During the lord-justiceship of Maurice Fitzgerald in Ireland, Pope Gregory IX. sent Stephen as nuncio, A. D. 1229, with an apostolical mandate, to require a tenth of the chattel property from the clergy and people of England, Ireland, and Wales, in order to enable him to carry on the war against the Emperor Frederick. The earls and barons in England rejected the demand, but the clergy, who dreaded his excommunication, submitted to it with reluctance. Though this tax was a burden to the Irish, many of them sold their furniture, and even the church utensils, to comply with the pope's request.

Fitzgerald being engaged in war, the king, during his absence, conferred on Hubert de Burgo, brother of William Fitz-Adelm, (of whom we have frequently spoken,) the office of lord-justice, with the lordship of Connaught, and the title of earl of that province.* Hubert enjoyed a high reputation on account of the noble defence which he made against Prince Louis, when he commanded the town of Dover. He was recalled some time afterwards to England, where he was appointed governor to the king, lord chief-justice of England, and earl of Kent. He fell into disgrace, however, subsequently with this monarch, who declared him to be an old traitor, and had him confined in the Tower of London.

Geoffry March, otherwise Maurish, or De Maurisco, held the office of lord-justice of Ireland in place of Hubert de Burgo, Maurice Fitzgerald being still absent.

During the administration of Geoffry,† the king of Connaught wishing to take advantage of the absence of William Marshal and Maurice Fitzgerald, whom the king of England had brought with him to Gascony to make some efforts in favor of his country, collected his forces, and invaded the English possessions. Geoffry, to whom was intrusted the protection of these provinces, sent for Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, and Richard de Burgh, and with their united forces marched towards Connaught. On arriving at the entrance of a wood, they learned through their spies that the king of Connaught and his army were encamped at a short distance on the other side of the wood. Geoffry then divided his army into three parts; to De Lacy and De Burgh he gave two divisions, with orders to conceal themselves in the wood, on the right and left of the road. With the third he crossed the wood himself, and drew up his men in order of battle opposite to the enemy, who

* The building here alluded to exists no longer. Its site was adjoining Christ's Church cathedral, and the courts of justice continued to be held there till the beginning of the present century.—*Note by Ed.*

* Nicholas, in his Rudiments of Honor, when speaking of the earls of Clanrickard, asserts that Richard, son of William Fitz-Adelm, was lord-justice of Ireland in 1227. I leave to others the trouble of reconciling this fact with the opinion of those who affirm that Hubert Fitz-Adelm's brother had immediately succeeded Maurice Fitzgerald in 1230, who filled that office since the year 1220

† Matt. Paris, Ang. Hist. Major. ad an. 1238.

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attacked him immediately ; but the English pretending to fly, retreated into the wood, drawing the Irish after them, who, being immediately surrounded by those that lay in ambush, were cut to pieces, and their king made prisoner. The English authors, from whom this account is taken, make no mention of the place where the battle was fought, nor of the name of the king of Connaught ; with which they were probably unacquainted. They say that twenty thousand Irish were killed on the spot ; but they always exaggerate, and it is highly probable that the king of Connaught could not have brought half that number into the field.

The more elevated a man's situation is, the more danger there is of his fall. Geoffry de Maurisco, after being raised to the highest honors, and loaded with riches in Ireland, fell into disgrace with the king. He was sent into exile, where he suffered many hardships ; and the disgraceful death of his son William, who was hanged and quartered for his crimes, shortened his career ; he died unregretted. The memory of the son was held in universal detestation ; particularly by the king, whom he had, in concert with his father, attempted to assassinate.

Cornelius, a native of Ireland, surnamed *Historicus*, from his profound knowledge of antiquity, flourished about this time. Bale and Stanihurst have given us an abridgment of his life. It is said that he wrote a treatise entitled, " Multarum Rerum Chronicon, lib. 1." Hector Boetius acknowledges himself to be indebted to this author for many things essential to his history of Scotland. As usual, Dempster asserts that this celebrated man was a native of Scotland, since the Scotch Highlanders, according to his account, were called Irish.

The following religious houses were founded about this time ; namely, a convent for Dominicans, at Cork, by the Barrys, noblemen of English extraction ;* and also a convent for Franciscans, in the same city, founded, according to Wadding, in 1231, or in 1240 according to Ware.† These two authors differ respecting the name of the founder of this latter house. Ware ascribes it to the Prendergasts, lords of English origin ; and Wadding to the M'Cartys, who were Irish noblemen ; his reason for which opinion is, that in the centre of the choir was to be seen the tomb of M'Carty More, who had an apartment built for himself in the convent, to which he retired during the great festivals of the year. The error might have arisen from this : that part of the possessions of the M'Cartys had been confiscated by the English, and given to the Prendergasts, which might have given rise to the opinion that the latter were the founders of this house.

The convent of Franciscans, near Youghal, was built at this time by Maurice Fitzgerald, who became a monk himself, and died in it, at an advanced age. The O'Mordhas, (Moores,) lords of Loise, Queen's county, founded in their domain at Stradbally, a house for the same order. The foundation of another convent for Franciscans at Trim, in Eastmeath, may be mentioned here. Allemand, following Wadding, ascribes the merit of this establishment to King John ; but it is doubtful if the Franciscans were known in Ireland in the time of this prince, who died in 1216. Others attribute it to the Plunkets, who had settled in that part of the country.

At Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, there was a Franciscan convent, founded in 1232, by Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, who was buried there. It is believed by some that the O'Neills were the founders of it, as this place belonged to them, their tombs being in the church ; but others say that it was the Magennises of Yveach. At Kilmore, on the river Shannon, in the county of Roscommon, we discover the priory of St. Mary, founded in 1232 for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Cone O'Flanagan, a man of noble family, who was the first prior of it.

Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, died in 1234. He had no male children, but left two daughters, co-heiresses of his extensive possessions : namely, Margaret, who was married to lord Theobald Verdon, and Matilda, to Geoffry Geneville.*

There was a convent for Franciscans built by order of Henry III., in 1236, on some land which Radulphus le Porter had given him for that purpose. Donel O'Fidabra, bishop of Clogher, who was removed to the see of Armagh after the death of Lucas de Netterville, died in England in 1237, on his return from Rome. At Mullingar, the chief town of Westmeath, a fine convent was built in 1237, for Franciscans, by the Nugents, lords of Delvin.

At Ballibeg, near Butevant, in the county of Cork, a priory was founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by William Barry in 1237, and endowed by his son David.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 219.

† Allem ibid. page 249.

* War. de Annal. Hib. on the reign of Henry III

About this time, the see of Armagh having become vacant by the death of Donald O'Fidabra, who succeeded Lucas de Netterville, Albert, surnamed Coloniensis, was appointed archbishop, and consecrated at Westminster, in presence of the king, of Otho, the pope's legate, and several bishops, by Walter de Chanteloup, bishop of Wigorn, A. D. 1240.*

Marianus O'Brien, bishop of Cork, succeeded Donatus O'Lonargan in the archbishopric of Cashel. In the beginning of his episcopacy, Pope Honorius III. granted a bull, whereby he confirmed the number of twelve canons of the church of Cashel. Henry III., king of England, gavè to this prelate the city of Cashel as an alms, to belong for ever to him and his successors, without tax or impost. The prelate gave up his right afterwards to the mayor and aldermen of that city, on condition of their paying some pensions to his church. He also granted leave to David le Latimer, knight and seneschal, to found in that city an hospital for the leprous. After this he undertook a voyage to Rome; but falling ill upon his journey, and thinking his end approaching, he took the habit in the abbey of Citeaux. His health, however, being restored, and his affairs at Rome terminated, he returned to his see, and died five years afterwards in the monastery of Suire, or Innislaunaght. He was succeeded by David M'Kelly, (O'Kelly.)

Felix O'Ruadan, having governed the metropolitan church of Tuam till 1235, then abdicated it, and withdrew to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, where he died three years afterwards.† The chapter of Tuam appointed as his successor Marianus O'Laghnan, a dean of the chapter, who was well versed in canon law.

Near Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, on the river Slaney, we find a priory of St. John the Evangelist. It belonged to the order of regular canons of St. Victor, and was founded by Girald de Prendergast, lord of the country, and John de St John, bishop of Ferns. They made a cell or convent of it, and it was annexed to the abbey called Thomas Court, in Dublin.

Several houses were founded about this time for Franciscans: one at Kilkenny, one at Drogheda, and one at Down, by Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster; one at Waterford, by Hugh Purcel; and one at Innis Cluanmada, in the county of Clare, by Donal Carbrac O'Brien.

* War. de Archiepisc. Armach.
† War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

There was also a nunnery for the order of St. Augustin, founded at Lismullen, in Eastmeath, by the sister of Richard de la Corner, bishop of Meath, who conferred upon it the lands of Dunsink and Bailli-Godman.

The tyranny and continual injustice which the English practised against the Irish, were the cause of frequent insurrections. John de Burgo, (Burke,) son of Hubert, entered Connaught with an army. O'Connor, king of the province, finding himself unable to repel his attack, crossed over to England, and presented himself to the king, in London. He made a spirited remonstrance against the violence and tyranny of Burgo, and the ravages he incessantly committed; and supplicated Henry III. to interpose his authority, and do him justice, by preventing his being trampled upon by an ignoble adventurer, (as he termed him,) while he paid five thousand marks a year for his kingdom to the crown of England. Henry heard with attention the complaints of the king of Connaught, and gave orders to Maurice Fitzgerald, lord-justice of Ireland, who was then present, to destroy the hotbed of tyrants which had been planted by Hubert, earl of Kent, during his unlimited lust of power in that unhappy country. At the same time the king sent his orders to the other lords of Ireland, to expel John de Burgo, and leave the king of Connaught in peaceful possession of his kingdom.*

Girald Fitzmaurice, Richard de Burgo, and Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, died about this time. The two first ended their career in Gascony, where they were engaged in war; De Lacy died in Ireland, and was interred at Carrickfergus. He left an only daughter heiress to his extensive possessions, who married Walter de Burgo, who, by this marriage, became earl of Ulster. We have already observed that Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, and brother to Hugh, left only daughters. In this manner ended the male line of these two chiefs.

* "A certain king of that part of Ireland called Connaught, came to London with heavy complaints to the king and parliament, that vast injuries had been inflicted on him by John de Burgh, who was devastating his estates by fire and sword. For all these grievances he sought redress, and prayed that such violent excesses should be curbed by the regal authority, and that the king would not suffer his faithful subject to be disinherited by an ignoble stranger, (as he called him;) nor allow him, who paid the annual impost of 5,000 marks, to be driven from his inheritance, which King John had confirmed to him, &c."—*Matthew Paris*, p. 365.

Peter, surnamed Hibernicus, a celebrated philosopher and theologian, flourished in 1240.* The Emperor Frederick II. having re-established the university of Naples, invited him in pressing terms to go thither, as may be seen in a collection of letters of Peter de Vineis, chancellor and secretary to the emperor.† Peter presided over the philosophical department in that university, and had Thomas Aquinas as his disciple, who became afterwards so celebrated. It is said that he was the author of some tracts on theology.

The Welsh, headed by their prince, David Ap-Llewelin, rebelled against the king of England, and defeated the royal army, which was reduced to the greatest hardships during the winter. Henry was obliged, from the state of his affairs, to send to Maurice Fitzgerald, lord-justice of Ireland, for succor. After some delay, which caused the king uneasiness, which however he concealed, Maurice arrived with a body of troops, accompanied by Phelim O'Connor, and having joined the king's army, they gained a complete victory over the Welsh. The king then renewed his garrisons in Wales, and having dismissed the Irish troops, returned to England.

On his return to Ireland, Maurice found Ulster in a state of revolt. On the death of Hugh de Lacy, O'Donnel laid waste the parts of the country which were under the dominion of that nobleman, and attacked the English wherever he met them. In order to create a division among the Irish, Maurice formed an alliance with Cormac M'Dermot, M'Dory, and other princes of the country. He then entered in a hostile manner the country of Tirconnel, where he destroyed all before him, and killed Maolseachlin O'Donnel, Giolla Canvinelagh, O'Buhil, MacSurley, and other noblemen of the country. Several English of rank also lost their lives in this expedition, after which Maurice placed a garrison in the castle of Sligo, that he had built three years before, and left there the hostages he had received from O'Neill as pledges for his keeping peace with the king. He bestowed on Cormac Mac-Dermod several estates in Connaught, as rewards for the services he had received from him.

At Athenry, in the county of Galway, a convent for Dominicans was founded in 1241 by the Berminghams, who were originally English, and had settled in Ireland. In the church of this convent were to be seen the tombs of several persons of distinction, particularly that of William Bermingham, archbishop of Tuam, and son of the founder. The Fitzgeralds founded a convent for Dominicans this year, also in the county of Kerry. The founder of it and his son were both killed by M'Carty, and buried in the convent. Another of this order was established at the same date, in Cashel, by an archbishop of that see. There was likewise a convent for Dominicans at Newtown, on the coast in the peninsula of Ardes, in the county of Down; it was built in 1244 by the Savages, a family of English extraction.

Nothing could remove the suspicions which Henry III. had entertained of the fidelity of Maurice Fitzgerald in the war against the Welsh. He withheld his vengeance for a while, but it broke forth at length, A. D. 1245; when John Fitzjeffery de Maurisco was appointed by the king lord-justice of Ireland, in place of Maurice. This nobleman afterwards took the monastic habit in a convent of Franciscans, which he had founded at Youghal; and died in it after some time at an advanced age, having borne the reputation of a brave, able, and irreproachable man. He was accused, indeed, though perhaps unjustly, of the death of Richard, the earl marshal.

There was an earthquake this year in England, Ireland, and the western parts of our hemisphere, which infected the air, and rendered it unwholesome, A. D. 1247. This phenomenon was followed by a cold, stormy, and damp winter, which lasted till the month of July, and caused considerable uneasiness about the harvest.

Albert, archbishop of Armagh, gave up his see in 1247, and was succeeded by Reinerius, a monk of the order of St. Dominick. He united the county of Louth, which had long formed part of the bishopric of Clogher, to the archbishopric of Armagh. This prelate died at Rome in 1256, and was succeeded by Abraham O'Conellan.

Ware places an abbey belonging to the order of St. Augustin, in an island called the Blessed Trinity, in lake Oughter, in the county of Cavan, where he says it was founded in 1249,* by Clarus Mac-Mailin, archdeacon of Elphin, and endowed by Charles O'Reilly, an Irish nobleman. It might be the same which we have already mentioned to have been founded in 1215, in an island in lake Rea, called the island of the Trinity, in the county of Roscommon, by the same archdeacon of Elphin. However

* Fleuri, Hist. Eccles

† Wad. Annal. Min. ad an. 1270, n. 28, lib. 3, cap. 10.

* De Antiq. cap. 28.

as different places and times are given for their foundation, it is more probable that they were different houses.

Henry III. began to think of marriage for his son, Prince Edward, A. D. 1252; and as it was necessary, for this purpose, to make settlements upon him, he gave him the sovereignty of Gascony, Ireland, Wales, &c. He then sent him to Spain, where he married Eleanor, sister of King Alphonso, and brought her, loaded with riches, to England.

David O'Kelly having been appointed to the see of Cloyne, was afterwards removed to Cashel. It appears by the registry of the church in Dublin, called "*Crede mihi*," that this prelate had taken part in the disputes between the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, respecting the primacy, to which we have already alluded. He died in 1252, and was succeeded in the see of Cashel by David Mac-Carwel.

During the period that Lucas was archbishop of Dublin, a controversy arose between the cathedrals of that city, namely, Christ's Church and St. Patrick's. In order to effect a reconciliation, the prelate decreed that the election should be always held in Christ's Church, and that the dean and chapter, together with the prior and monks, should have the right of voting at the election. This prelate was deprived of his sight during some years, and at length died in 1255. Both churches concurred in electing Randulphus de Norwic, a canon of the cathedral of St. Patrick's, but his appointment being sent to the court of Rome it was rejected, and Fulck de Saunford, treasurer of the church of St. Paul, in London, was nominated by the pope to the archbishopric of Dublin.

Three houses for Dominicans were founded at this time; one at Strade, in the county of Mayo, by the Mac-Jordans; another at Sligo, by Maurice Fitzgerald, who built a strong castle there; and the third at Roscommon in 1253, by Feilim O'Connor, an Irish nobleman. The O'Connors built another house for the same order at Towemone. About this time a monk of the abbey of Boyle wrote the annals of Connaught, which he continued to his own time, that is, till 1253. His manuscript is in the Cottonian library.

Alanus de la Zouch was appointed lord-justice of Ireland in room of Fitz-Jeffrey, A. D. 1255. He afterwards became lord-justice of England, where he ended his days in a tragical manner. Some difference having arisen between some nobleman in England, respecting the boundaries and limits of their estates, and the titles by which they held them, the king determined to call an assembly at Westminster, to decide upon the matter. De la Zouch, as lord-justice, having asked Earl Warren by what right his lands belonged to him, the earl, drawing his sword, replied: "By this right my ancestors possessed them, and by the same do I intend to hold them," at the same time running his sword through his body. While endeavoring to escape, he wounded the son of the man whom he had just killed; and then withdrew to his castle of Risgate, whither he was pursued by prince Edward, the king's eldest son, at the head of a few troops. He at length surrendered himself to the prince, and with the assistance of a sum of money, and the influence of his friends, obtained his pardon.

A. D. 1256. About this time flourished the celebrated John, surnamed "De Sacro Bosco." Bale and Leland, without any further proof than conjectures drawn from his name, assert that he was a native of Halifax, in the county of York, in England,* which is not at all probable; the word *fax*, according to Camden, signifying *hair* among the people beyond the river Trent. That author adds, too, that the place called Halifax is not very ancient.† He says that a few centuries before his time that place was called Horton, and that in 1443 it was a village containing but thirteen houses; it therefore is clear that Halifax could not possibly have given its name to John à Sacro Bosco, since it was not known by that name at the time of that learned man's birth. Stanihurst and some others, say that he was a native of Holywood, in the district of Fingal, Ireland, about twelve miles from Dublin, as they discover an analogy between his name, De Sacro Bosco, and Holywood.‡ However this be, that learned man went to Paris, where he taught the sciences with universal approbation; he was partial to the philosophy of Aristotle, and surpassed all those of his own time in mathematical science. He wrote several treatises; namely, one upon the globe, which was much esteemed, and read in the public schools during many years for the instruction of youth; a tract on Algorithms, or calculations on the ecclesiastical year; a breviary of law, and several other works. He died at Paris in 1256–57, and was buried in the cloister of the Mathurins,

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1256.

† Brit. in Brigant. page 564, Edit. Lond. 1607.

‡ Harris, Hist. of Irish writers in the thirteenth century.

near the church, where his tomb is still to be seen, on which the following inscription and a globe are engraved :

De Sacro Bosco qui computista Joannes ;
Tempora discrevit, jacet hic à tempore raptus.
Tempore qui sequiris, memor esto quod morieris,
Si miser es, plora, miserans, pro me, precor, ora.

Marian O'Laghnan, archbishop of Tuam, having received the pallium from Pope Gregory IX., made a voyage to Jerusalem, the particulars of which he has written. He died at Athlone in 1249, and was succeeded by Florence M'Flin, chancellor of the church of Tuam, who was celebrated for his learning and profound knowledge of the canon law. He went to Rome, and obtained the pope's sanction ; and upon his return to his diocese, convened a synod, in which regulations were made respecting ecclesiastical discipline, which were then published, but have been since lost. He established a school in the Dominican convent at Athenry, where he himself gave lessons to the students, and governed the church of Enaghdune while that see was vacant. This holy prelate at length died at Bristol, in England, in the year 1256. The pope appointed Walter de Salern, dean of St. Paul's, London, to this see, notwithstanding the election of James O'Laghnan by the chapter of Tuam. It seems that Walter never took possession of his diocese, having died on his return from Rome in 1258. Thomas, or Tomultach O'Connor, bishop of Elphin, was elected in his stead, and his election confirmed by the pope, who honored him with the pallium.

At Athy, a small town on the river Barrow, in the county of Kildare, there was a handsome convent founded for Dominicans in 1257, by the Boiseles and Wogans, English noblemen who had settled in Ireland.

The earl of Salisbury, called Stephen *de Longa Spada*, "long sword," was sent to Ireland as lord-justice, A. D. 1258. He gave battle to the O'Neills and other rebels* of Ulster and Connaught, near Down, in which many lives were lost. Salisbury died two years afterwards, and was succeeded in the government by William Denn.

In 1259 a convent for the hermits of St. Augustin was founded in the eastern suburb of Dublin : the founders are unknown ; some say they were the Talbots

Munster was in a state of rebellion during the administration of the new lord-justice, A. D. 1260. Green Castle (*Arx Viridis*) was destroyed. The M'Cartys were the chief belligerents ; they brought terror and devastation into Desmond, their old patrimony then in possession of the English, and became so formidable that their enemies dared not to appear in public. They killed several of them at Callan, the principal of whom were John Fitzthomas, who had founded the monastery of Tralee ; Maurice, his son ; eight barons, fifteen knights, and several others. The English at length found safety in the discord which arose between the M'Cartys, O'Driscols, O'Donavans, M'Mahons, and other tribes of Muskerry, who were so much weakened by civil war that they were unable to face the common enemy. In the mean time William Denn, lord-justice of Ireland, died, and was succeeded by Richard de Capella.

Abraham O'Conellan, archpriest of Armagh, was elected archbishop of that city, and went to Rome, where he was confirmed by the holy father, who granted him the pallium. He then returned to Armagh, where he was solemnly received by the dean and chapter ; but he did not long enjoy his dignity, having died in 1260. He was succeeded by Patrick O'Scanlain.

A religious house was founded this year at Kildare, for Franciscan friars, by Gerald Fitz-Maurice ; or according to some writers, by William de Vescy.

Thomas Palmeran, or Palmerston, a native of the county of Kildare, Ireland, was known to foreign authors by the name of Thomas Hibernicus. Having concluded his studies in the university of Paris, where he received the cap of doctor in theology, he went to Italy and shut himself up in the monastery of Aquila, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, where he died and was buried about the year 1269. He was author of the book entitled, "Flores omnium Doctorum illustrium ;" which is an alphabetical summary of virtues and vices, with those passages from the fathers which were calculated to support the former and eradicate the latter. Our author was indebted for the plan of his book to a similar work, which had been begun by John Walles, a Minorite, under the title of a "Bunch

* English writers called the Irish rebels, who did not immediately surrender ; at a time, too, when, far from considering themselves subjects, more than half of Ireland, and particularly Ulster, which is here in question, refused to acknowledge the dominion of those foreigners. According to the maxims of every other nation, a rebel is a subject who resists the legal authority. But, of course, according to the system of that imperious people, the English, a man was looked upon as a rebel who was unwilling to submit at once to the most unjust oppression.

of Flowers," but which he was prevented by death from continuing. The book of Thomas Hibernicus was printed at Paris in 1664. He also wrote treatises on the Christian religion; the illusions and temptations of the devil; the remedies to be used against vice, and the beauties of the Bible. He was thought also to have been the author of a "Promptuarium Morale," or moral collection of passages from the holy Scriptures, published at Rome, in 1624, according to a manuscript in the library of the Minor brothers, *De Ara Cœli*, by Luke Wadding. Marianus de Florence says,* in his manuscript chronicle, that Thomas Hibernicus lived in 1270 in the monastery of Aquila, of the province of St. Bernardin, in high reputation for his piety and learning. Lastly, John de Saxe, in his lives of the Preaching Brothers, speaks highly of "Master Thomas of Ireland, of the house of Sorbonne."

The annals of the Minorites of Multifernan, by an anonymous writer, begin with the Christian era and end with the year 1274, in which year the author lived, as appears by the antiquity of the letters. Giolla, or Gelasius Mac-Firbissy, an historian and poet of some eminence, flourished towards the end of this century; he wrote a chronicle of his times, and some poems. These works, as well as the annals of Multifernan, are still to be found in manuscript.

Walter Burke, earl of Ulster, had a son called Walter, by his marriage with the heiress of Hugh de Lacy, who left one son and five daughters, A. D. 1261. Ellen, the eldest, married Robert Bruce, king of Scotland; Jane and Margaret married the two Fitzgeralds of Ophaly and Desmond; and the others were also allied to noblemen. These alliances were, however, unable to allay the reciprocal hatred that had long prevailed, between the Fitzgeralds and Burkes, which ended in a civil war, in which many lives were sacrificed to their revenge. The Fitzgeralds carried their resentment so far as to arrest and confine, in the dungeons of Leix and Donamese, Richard de Capella, Theobald le Butler, and Miles Cogan, who had espoused the quarrel of the Burkes.

A convent for Dominicans was founded about this time at Trim, on the river Boyne, in Eastmeath, by Galfridus de Genevil, who took the habit of the order, and another at Arklow, by Theobald Walter, high butler of Ireland, who was interred in it, and his tomb and statue erected there.† Allemand, however, makes no mention of an abbey for Bernardines, founded in that town by the same Theobald, probably confounding the Bernardines with the Dominicans. A house for Franciscan friars was founded about this time also at Armagh, according to some, by the O'Donnels, princes of Tyrconnel, but others say, by Patrick O'Scanlain, archbishop of Armagh.

The king of England, informed of the troubles which prevailed among his subjects in Ireland, and the excesses they committed against each other, thought prudent to put a stop to them; he therefore recalled Richard deCapella, and appointed David Barry as lord-justice of Ireland in his stead, who, by his prudence and moderation, quelled the fury of the rival houses above mentioned. A. D. 1267.

The convent of Rosse Ibarcan, on the river Barrow, in the county of Kilkenny, was founded at this time for Dominicans, by the Graces and Walshes, English noblemen who had settled in that country.

David Barry having completed his mission to Ireland, was succeeded the year following, in his office of lord-justice, by Robert Ufford, and the latter by Richard de Excester.

Two convents for Dominicans were founded at this time, one at Youghal, in the county of Cork, by the Fitzgeralds; the other at Lurchoe, in the county of Tipperary, by the Burkes. A convent was also built in the same county for Franciscans.

Lord Audley was appointed lord-justice of Ireland in the place of Richard de Excester. A. D. 1270. During his administration, the Irish revolted against the English, fell upon them wherever they could be met, (not sparing their magistrates,) and plundered their habitations. The king of Connaught defeated Walter Burke, earl of Ulster, in a pitched battle, and the earl with great difficulty saved his life by flight; several noblemen of his retinue being killed. This war was followed by a plague and general famine throughout the island.

Patrick O'Scanlan, of the order of St. Dominick, bishop of Raphoe, was elected by the chapter of Armagh as the successor of Abraham O'Connellan. His election was confirmed by a bull of Pope Urban IV., in the month of November, 1261. He convened a synod at Drogheda the year following, in which some statutes were enacted, which are to be discovered in the registry of Octavianus de Prelatio, afterwards archbishop of Armagh; rebuilt St. Patrick's cathedral at Armagh, and founded a house in that city for Franciscan friars. He died in

* Lib. 2, cap. 3.

† War. de Antiq. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. pages 166, 210

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1270, in the monastery of St. Leonard at Dundalk, whence his body was taken to Drogheda, and buried in the Dominican convent. He was succeeded by Nicholas-Mac-Molisse.

Fulck, archbishop of Dublin, died A. D. 1271. His body was interred in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick. The see remained vacant for seven years after his death, on account of the disputes which arose between the monks of Christ's Church and the chapter of St. Patrick's, about the choice of his successor, which terminated in 1279, by the election of John de Derlington.

An abbey for Bernardines, under the invocation of Our Lady, formerly called *Hore Abbey*, was founded at Cashel in 1272, by David O'Carroll, archbishop of that city. It is affirmed that he suppressed a convent of Benedictines to enrich this abbey. He also annexed to this house a lazaretto, which had been founded by a knight named Latimer, in the same city.

In this year, 1272, is fixed the death of Henry III. Among the children this king had by Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, count of Provence, was Edward, his eldest son and successor.

In the reign of Henry several religious houses were founded, the dates of which are unknown. The following were for Franciscan friars: one at Wicklow, founded by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools; one at Cashel by the Hackets; one at Nenagh, probably Aonagh Oroun, in the country of Ormond, by the O'Kennedys, the ancient owners of that district; and one at Multifernan, in Westmeath, by William Delamer. At Dundalk, in the county of Louth, a house for the same order was founded by John de Verdon. Lastly, there was one established at Limerick, but authors do not agree either upon the time of its establishment or the name of its founder. There was also a house founded at the same time in the town of Tipperary, for Augustin hermits, and one of the order of Templars, called *Teach Temple*, in the county of Sligo; likewise one for Carmelites on the river Barrow, near Leighlin bridge, in the county of Carlow, by the Carews, English lords who had settled in the country, and another at Kildare, by William de Vescy.

A century had now elapsed since the English began to rule in part of Ireland. Though the kings of England had taken the title of lords of Ireland, *Dominus Hiberniæ*, their dominion did not extend to more than one third of the island, called, in their language, *The English Pale*, which signified the English province, or the province governed by the laws of England. Though some of the princes of the country had submitted to pay a tribute to the kings of England, still they governed their own immediate subjects according to the ancient laws and customs of the country, and the English laws were obeyed only within the English province.

CHAPTER XXI.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Henry III., his son Edward, though absent, was proclaimed king of England by the lords, who assembled in London, A. D. 1272. More than a year had passed since this prince had arrived in the Holy Land, where he had wrested from the enemies of Christianity the city of Acon, which was on the point of surrendering, but the succors that were promised him having failed, he put a garrison into those places which were still in the power of the Christians, and returned to Europe with his wife Eleanor. Having landed in Sicily, he heard there of his father's death, and after sojourning there a short time, he continued his route for England, where he was crowned, together with his consort, at Westminster, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury. To render this ceremony the more magnificent, five hundred untamed horses were let loose, which were to become the property of those who should succeed in catching them.

In the first year of Edward's reign, Maurice Fitzmaurice, (Fitzgerald,) was named lord-justice of Ireland. In his time the Irish took up arms, devastated the lands of the Anglo-Irish, and destroyed the castles of Aldleek, Roscommon, Scheligath, and Randon. Maurice, however, being betrayed, according to Glynn, by his vassals, was arrested in the country of Offaly, and sent to prison. He was succeeded the year following, in his capacity of lord-justice, by Walter Genevil. During his government in Ireland, the Scotch made a descent upon it, where they burned a great number of villages, and put all whom they met to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. They then returned laden with spoil to their ships, before there was time to pursue them. The English colonists of Ulster and Connaught, headed by Richard de Burgo and Sir Eustace le Poer, made an attack soon

afterwards upon Scotland, and availed themselves of the right of reprisal against the Scotch, even surpassing them in cruelty.

Some houses belonging to the Dominican order were established about this time in Ireland, viz.; in the cities of Derry and Coleraine by the O'Donnels, princes of Tirconnel; by the M'Donoghs, lords of Tirrereil, in the county of Sligo, at Ballindown, and at Rathbran, in the county of Mayo, by the M'Jordans. About this time also a beautiful convent for the Carmelites was founded in Dublin by Robert Bagot.

Ireland was still agitated with troubles and domestic war. She enclosed for a century within her bosom, like Rebecca in her womb, two distinct people, whose interests would not suffer them to live together in peace. Their objects and their motives were different. On one side they were influenced by feelings of just resistance; on the other by tyranny and usurpation. The ancient inhabitants made frequent efforts to defend themselves, the only result of which was the shedding of much blood. The Irish took possession of the castle of Roscommon, A. D. 1276. overthrew the English completely at Glynburry, and made many of them prisoners, besides killing a great number. At the same period also O'Neill gave battle in the north to a body of English, who were commanded by Ralph Peppard and O'Hanlon.

Walter Genevil, lord-justice of Ireland, was recalled, A. D. 1277, to England, and Robert Ufford appointed to succeed him; the second time he was appointed to that commission. Murtagh, a celebrated rebel, (as the English call him,) was taken in arms at Noraght, by Walter de Fant, and executed. O'Brien Roe, prince of Thuomond, was killed by Thomas Clare, who was married, some time before, to the daughter of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitzgerald; but he and his father-in-law Fitzmaurice, together with the whole of their troops, were surrounded afterwards by the Irish at Slieve-Bloema, and to save their lives, were forced to surrender. After laying down his arms, Clare was forced to make atonement for the death of O'Brien and his followers, and to give up the castle of Roscommon, which the English had taken: to secure the performance of which treaty he gave hostages. These conditions were very humiliating to the English, but they were compelled to submit, in order to save their lives.

The English were not the only enemies that the Irish had to contend with. They had more to fear from themselves even than from those foreigners, whenever their disunion caused them to turn their arms against each other. Some difference having arisen A. D. 1278, between O'Connor, prince of Connaught, and M'Dermot, of Moy-Lurg, the two at the head of their vassals entered the field, and a bloody engagement took place: many lives were lost on this occasion, and O'Connor himself was among the number of slain. The news of these commotions among the Irish having reached the king of England, Robert Ufford was ordered to come to him and give an account of the disorders that had so often occurred under his administration. Ufford, to justify himself with the king, represented to him that his majesty was badly informed, and that all which was advanced against him was but a calumny; for that he considered it only an act of good policy to shut his eyes while one rebel was cutting the throat of another. "By this means, sire," said he, "your treasures will be spared, and peace secured to Ireland." The plan suited the king's taste, and Ufford was sent back to rule the island as chief magistrate.

Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Tuam, died A. D. 1279, having governed that see and Enaghdune for twenty years. This prelate was a learned man, and possessed all the virtues which form the apostolical character.

The see of Tuam continued vacant for some time, in consequence of a dispute that occurred at the election of a bishop; but was filled at length by Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford.

John Derlington governed the church of Dublin for five years, but died suddenly in London, A. D. 1284; and was buried among the Dominicans of that city. John of Saunford succeeded him in the see of Dublin.

At Clane, a little village in the county of Kildare, distant some leagues from Dublin, a convent was, according to Ware, founded for Franciscans, in 1287. It is supposed that Gerald, son of Maurice Fitzgerald, baron of Offaly, was founder of this house, inasmuch as he was buried there, and his statue was seen upon his tomb, which was formed entirely of marble. There was a house of that order also at Tristle-Dermot, in the same county: but it is not known who were the founders of it. A convent of them was likewise founded at Ross, county of Wexford, by Sir John Devereux.

Stephen of Fulburn, archbishop of Tuam, died about this time, and was succeeded by William of Birmingham, son of Meyler Birmingham, lord of Athenry. The see of

Cashel continued vacant for a year by the death of David O'Carrol, who succeeded Stephen O'Brogan.

It may be affirmed that since the arrival of the English in Ireland, it had been a theatre of tyranny where every species of cruelty was acted. If the ancient Irish sometimes took up arms to oppose their usurpation, (though nothing could be more natural or more just than to defend their property against those who strove to wrest it from them without any just title,) they were represented as rebels at the tribunal of England, to which they had neither access nor the opportunity of defending their cause.

The divisions that prevailed among the new or Anglo-Irish, were also the cause of many misfortunes to their country, and every year was memorable for some tragical occurrence. The Fitzgeralds and the Burkes were always opposed to each other. The Butlers, Verdons, and Berminghams, took part in their quarrels according to their respective interests, and several of them lost their lives in the contest. Some of the Irish nobility were involved, likewise, in these misfortunes; O'Connor Faly was killed by Jordan Comin, and his brother Charles was murdered in the house of Piers Bermingham, at Carrick. The lands which were usurped by these new-comers, had belonged for many ages to the O'Connors, whose pretensions became a source of misfortune to them, as it was thought fit by the usurpers that they should be exterminated. Mac-Coghlan was more successful than the O'Connors; he gained a complete victory over William Burke and his adherents at Dealna. It may be readily imagined that the consequence of these troubles was the loss of many lives, the devastation of the provinces, and a total obstruction to agriculture. The passion for erecting religious houses still, however, prevailed. Jordan Comin, who had assassinated O'Connor Faly some time before, established a priory for regular canons under the invocation of the Blessed Trinity, called also *De Laude Dei*, at Ballibogan, in Meath, on the left bank of the river Boyne, between Clonard and Castlejordan. The Franciscans had a house at Ross-Pont, in the county of Wexford, founded at this time by the Devereuxes; one at Killeigh, in Hy-Regan, founded, it is said, by one O'Connor, probably of the house of Offaly; and one at Butavant, in the county of Cork, which was founded, some say, by the Prendergasts, and others by the Barrys. There was also one in an island near Galway, established by one of the Burkes, and another at Clare, in the same country, of which John de Cogan was the founder.

Houses were founded for the Carmelites at Drogheda, Atherdee, in the county of Louth, and in the vicinity of lake Rea, in the county of Galway. The first was established by the citizens of the town; the second by Radulphus Pippard, and the third by Richard de Harlay. A convent for Dominicans was also founded during this reign, at Kilmallock, or Killocie, in the county of Limerick, and another for the fathers of the Redemption of Captives, at Athdara, in the same county.*

John de Saunford, archbishop of Dublin, was a favorite of Edward I., who appointed him lord-justice of Ireland on the death of Fulburn. The king recalled him afterwards to England, and sent him as ambassador to the emperor, which commission he discharged to the satisfaction of his prince. Having died shortly afterwards in England, his body was brought to Dublin, and buried in the cathedral of St. Patrick. He had the reputation of a learned and prudent man. His successor in the see of Dublin was William de Hothum, who died the same year, and was replaced by Richard de Ferings. The office of lord-justice of Ireland was conferred on Sir William Vescy, and after him on William Dodinsell, who was succeeded by Thomas Fitzmaurice. The death of the latter put an end to the disputes which had long prevailed between the houses of the Fitzgeralds and Burkes; and his son John Fitzthomas was reconciled to the earl of Ulster. During De Vescy's administration in Ireland, there were violent quarrels between him and John,† son of Thomas Fitzgerald, the baron of Offaly, which, according to the chronicle of Hollingshead, degenerated into gross rebukes and sarcastic recriminations at an assembly where these noblemen met. They accused each other in turn of robbery, extortion, murder, &c. The baron having made some remarks on the birth of the viceroy, the latter replied that the De Vescys were noble before the Fitzgeralds were barons of Offaly; "even (said he) before your bankrupt ancestor‡ had made his fortune in Leinster." Their dispute did not even end in Ireland; they went to England to plead their cause before the king and his court; and in the presence of Majesty they continued their invectives and reproaches, which were apparently accordant

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 35.

† Con. Hib. Angl. page 78.

‡ Maurice Fitzgerald, who came to Ireland with Strongbow.

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with the taste of the times and of the nation. Fitzgerald, at length wearied with these contentions, proposed to settle the quarrel by single combat, which was approved of by the assembly, and accepted at first with much boasting by De Vescy; but the day being named, the latter embarked for France, leaving the baron without an antagonist.* Dugdale gives a different account of this transaction; saying that Fitzgerald refused to fight. When the king was informed of the flight of De Vescy, he bestowed the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan on Fitzgerald, which had till then belonged to the former, saying, that although he had carried his body to France, he had left his property in Ireland. The acquisition of the districts of Kildare and Rathangan raised considerably the fortunes of the Fitzgeralds, who had afterwards sufficient influence to have the title of earl bestowed on them.

Stephen O'Brogan, a native of Ulster, from being archdeacon of Glendaloch became archbishop of Cashel, by a canonical election. He filled that see for the space of eleven years, and died in 1300. He was buried in his church of Cashel, and was succeeded by Maurice O'Carroll.

In the year 1303, Nicholas M'Molisse, archbishop of Armagh, died. He had governed this see for thirteen years, and was celebrated for his eloquence, prudence, and zeal in the worship of God. He ornamented and enriched his cathedral with books, ornaments, and every thing necessary for the divine service, and bequeathed to that church twenty marks of silver, charged upon his lands at Termo Feichan. He was succeeded by John Taaf.

The manner in which the Welsh were treated by the English, is an example of cruelty, and a subject of horror to all who have had the misfortune of falling beneath their dominion. The Welsh are descended from the ancient Britons, whom their allies, the Saxons, had expelled from England about the seventh century, and forced to seek safety in the country called Wales, on the western coast of Britain, and formed a distinct people from the English, governed by their own kings till the eleventh century. The English, equally treacherous with the Saxons, filled with an idea of the right of conquest, and unable to bear so small an independent sovereignty near them, subjugated Wales, and put Rees, its last king, to death, in the eleventh century, under William Rufus. The recollection of their former liberty, and the tyranny of their new masters, often forced the Welsh into rebellion. The superior power of England, however, always quelled these revolts, with the loss of many lives, but it was the lot of Edward I. to complete their subjugation A. D. 1283. This king declared war against Llewelyn, a prince of Wales, of the royal race, who, having been betrayed, fell into the hands of a soldier, who cut off his head, and sent it to Edward, by whom it was ordered to be exposed on the tower of London.* David, the brother of Llewelyn, was taken prisoner some time afterwards, and condemned to an ignominious death in England. He was first tied to the tail of a wild horse, and dragged through the city of Shrewsbury; his head was cut off, sent to London, and placed upon the tower with his brother's; his heart and entrails were then torn from his body and burned; and the four limbs were exposed on the gates of four cities in England, namely, Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. In this unparalleled manner was the son of a prince treated, whose only crime was a desire to restore freedom to his country, and to rescue it from the yoke of England. Wales was then united to the crown of England; the king gave it a form of government in conformity with the laws of England, and his eldest son has, since that time, assumed the title of prince of Wales.

A convent for Dominicans was founded in this century, in the town of Carlingford, in the county of Louth; another for Augustin hermits near Galway: a convent for Franciscans was founded in 1300 at Cavan, by the O'Reillys; and a house for Carmelites at Thurles, county Tipperary, by the Butlers.

The English set no bounds to their pretensions over their neighbors; the kings of England considered themselves as protectors of the kingdom of Scotland, and arbitrators of any difficulty that might arise respecting the succession to that crown. Alexander III., king of Scotland, having died without issue, the great number of pretenders to the throne gave rise to factions, and afforded a favorable opportunity for Edward I. to enforce his pretended jurisdiction. The two most powerful competitors were John Baliol, earl of Galloway, and Robert Bruce of Anandale. Edward set out for Scotland, and had an interview with Robert Bruce, whose claim was not so strong as Baliol's.

* English Baronetcy, vol. 1, page 94.

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. Life of Edward I. page 96.

but who was possessed of more influence. He proposed to make him king of Scotland, on condition that he would take an oath of allegiance to him, and do homage to the crown of England, A. D. 1291. This generous nobleman replied, that he would not sacrifice the liberty of his country to the ambition of reigning. But Baliol, whose opinions were less honorable, accepted the terms, and was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, after which he paid homage to the king of England at Newcastle, as his sovereign lord. He afterwards retracted, which caused bloody wars between the two nations, that lasted for almost three centuries; but were at length terminated, after much bloodshed, by the union of both crowns under James I. Edward having begun this war, was determined to prosecute it with all his energies, for which purpose he marched an army towards Scotland, and created in one day three hundred young men knights, A. D. 1291, in order to excite their emulation. John Wogan, who shared in this promotion, was sent to Ireland as lord-justice, in place of Thomas Fitzmaurice, who had just died.

About this time more establishments were founded for Carmelites; the monastery of Thurles, county of Tipperary, by the Butlers; and that of Ardnecran, in the county of Westmeath, by the Dillons. There was also one near lake Reogh, in the county of Galway, founded, according to Ware, by Richard de Burgo, earl of Ulster. Allemand attributes this foundation to Richard de Harlay, and alleges that the Harlays of France are descended from him.

Edward I., having gained some advantages over the Scotch, was seized with a dysentery, of which he died, A. D 1306, regretting deeply that he had not been able to take full revenge upon them. When on his death-bed, he enjoined Edward, his son and successor, to have his remains carried with the army through Scotland, till he should have reduced that people; but his last will was neglected in this particular, as well as in every other matter which he had imposed on that young prince.

John Taaf, archbishop of Armagh, died this year, and was succeeded by Walter de Jorse, of the order of St. Dominick. He had six brothers, all in the same order, one of whom, called Thomas, was a cardinal, under the name of St. Sabina, and another named Roland, succeeded him in the see of Armagh, which he gave up in 1321.

Richard de Ferings, archbishop of Dublin, who labored incessantly to establish peace between the two metropolitans in this city, died about this time. The articles of agreement between the two churches, Christ's and St. Patrick's, were, that each should enjoy the title of metropolitan; that Christ's church, as being the larger and more ancient, should take precedence in ecclesiastical matters; that it should have the custody of the cross, mitre, and episcopal ring; and that the prelates of the see should be buried alternately in both churches. This prelate founded three prebendaries in St. Patrick's church. He was succeeded by John Lech.

John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan friar, flourished in the beginning of this century. The subtilty of his genius, and great penetration on learned subjects, gained him the name of "subtle doctor." He was educated at Oxford, under William de Wara, or Varro, where he wrote on the four books of Sentences. He also composed many scholastic works in Paris. He went afterwards to Cologne, where he died suddenly in 1308. Three nations claim the honor of having given birth to this great man; English authors maintain that he was born at Dunston, a village in the parish of Emildune, in the county of Northumberland; for which purpose they advance, as a proof, the conclusion of the manuscript works of this great man, (which are at Oxford,) in the following terms: "Here ends the reading of the works of John Duns, a subtle doctor of the university of Paris, born in a certain village called Dunston, in the parish of Emildune, in Northumberland, belonging to the college of Merton, in the university of Oxford;" but as it is doubtful whether this conclusion is by Scot himself, or added by another, the proof drawn from it in favor of his being a native of England, seems insufficient. The Scotch say he was a native of Duns, in Scotland, a village about eight miles from the English frontiers. Finally, the Irish, seconded by Arthur à Monasterio, and the martyrology of Cavellus, affirm that he was born at Down, (in Latin *Dunum*,) in Ulster. The Irish had not yet given up the name of *Scoti*, or *Scots*; and it is therefore probable, that on this account Doctor John Duns has been surnamed Scotus.

CHAPTER XXII.

Edward II., son of the late king, and Eleanor of Spain, succeeded his father, A. D. 1307. Some time after he married Isabella,

daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France.* He recalled his favorite, Piers Gaveston, who had been expelled the kingdom by his father. This nobleman's influence over the king was so great, that every favor which was conferred was given through him. This drew upon him the hatred and envy of the English lords, who threatened to oppose the king's coronation, if he did not dismiss his favorite, to which the weak monarch consented; but in order to mitigate this supposed disgrace, he sent him, invested with some authority, to Ireland, where he partially quelled the commotions, and labored with effect to secure the possessions of the Anglo-Irish in that country. The king, unable to bear the absence of his favorite, and supposing that the resentment of the nobles had subsided in the interim, made him return from Ireland, and sent Sir John Wogan as lord-justice in his stead; and in order to procure him some influence among the nobles, he made him marry the daughter of the earl of Gloucester. This alliance of Gaveston with one of the first families in the kingdom, served only to exasperate the minds of the people against him. Another occurrence completed his downfall; not content with gaining the prize in a tournament at Wallingford, in which, by his skill and courage, he defeated the English nobles who measured their arms with him, he rallied them in the most sarcastic manner, which hurt them more severely than the victory he had just gained, so that they conspired unanimously against him, and represented in the strongest terms to the king, that nothing less than the sacrifice of his favorite could appease them. Gaveston found himself forced to yield to the tempest, and proceeded to France, where he continued for some time; but the desire of seeing his dear master again, induced him, at the peril of his life, to return secretly to England. In order to secure him against the rage of his enemies, the king gave him the castle of Scarborough, as a safe asylum; where, however, he was besieged in it by the discontented barons, and forced to surrender himself prisoner, on condition of having his life spared. But these terms did not prevent his being taken by the earl of Warwick out of the hands of those who were guarding him. This nobleman had him beheaded, without trial or any formality of justice, in spite of the repeated entreaties which the king made to him, to spare the life of the unhappy man. Such was the tragical end of Gaveston, one of the handsomest men of his time, and one of the most accomplished in Europe. He was a native of Gascony, and possessed all that delicacy of wit which is so peculiar to his countrymen, and his only crime seems to have been that of being too well beloved by his king.

The conduct of the English on this occasion, clearly demonstrates the changeable and inconstant character of that people. We see a rude and brutal nobility treat their king with contempt and insolence, and deficient in the most indispensable duties towards a monarch whose only defect was a weak and effeminate disposition; yet we also discover the same people to have bent frequently to tyrants. Though Edward was indignant at the conduct of his subjects, and their violation of his authority, he was too much intent upon the war in Scotland to chastise them. Robert Bruce, who was already possessed of that throne, determined to take advantage of the disturbances in England; he reduced under his dominion that part of Scotland which still adhered to the opposite party; after which he invaded the northern parts of England. Edward saw the danger which threatened his kingdom, and marched at the head of one hundred thousand men to meet the king of Scotland, who had but thirty thousand. A. D. 1313. Both armies met at Bannockburn, where the English were completely defeated. This victory has been ascribed to stratagem; the king of Scotland had no cavalry; his army was very inferior in numbers to those of the enemy, and he was obliged to have recourse to it. He therefore caused trenches of three feet in depth to be dug in the road through which the enemy had to pass, and covered them with the branches of trees and other matters, to conceal them from their view. The English cavalry fell into the snare; having advanced with impetuosity against the Scotch, the horsemen and their horses fell, which put the whole army in disorder. Scotch writers affirm that the loss of the English in this battle amounted to fifty thousand men; the English allow their loss to have been but ten thousand. However, it was the most fatal battle to them since the conquest. The defeat was so general, that King Edward had some difficulty to save himself by flight, with the nobles who accompanied him; and the Scotch remained masters of the whole of the north of England, from Carlisle to York. The courage of the English, says Baker, was so broken down by this defeat, that a hundred of them would fly before three Scotchmen.

* Baker, Chron. of England on the reign of Edward II.

John Lech, or De Leeke, archbishop of Dublin, died about this time. The claims of the two cathedrals in this city were always productive of some controversy respecting the choice of a prelate. The prior and convent of Christ's Church nominated Nicholas Butler, brother to Edmond Butler, afterwards earl of Carrick, to fill the vacant see; and the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's elected Richard Havering, the grand chorister of their church. However, the king's influence prevailed over these elections, and John Lech, his almoner, was appointed. This prelate had a serious misunderstanding with Roland Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, respecting the right which the latter claimed of having the cross carried erect before him in the province of Dublin. At the solicitation of John Lech, Pope Clement V. granted a bull for the foundation of a university in Dublin. Some time previous to this prelate's death, he was nominated high-treasurer of Ireland. His successor in the see of Dublin was Alexander de Bicknor.

An Irish Franciscan friar, named Malachi, after having lived for some time at Oxford, went to Naples, where he gained a high reputation for piety and learning.* He wrote a treatise upon the poison of mortal sin, and the remedies to be used; it was published in Paris, by Henry Stephens. Bale says he was the author of a book of sermons and other tracts.

At Tully-Felim, or Tullagh-Felaghe, a small town on the river Slaney, in the diocese of Leghlin, county of Carlow, there was a convent founded in 1314, for Augustin hermits, by Simon Lombard and Hugh Talon.

The Irish, discontented with their lot, seeing the success of the king of Scotland, sent deputies to him, soliciting his alliance and assistance to deliver them from the insupportable bondage into which they had fallen, by the haughty and cruel dominion of the English.† The king of Scotland considered this embassy a favorable opportunity, both to cause a diversion in England, and to make his brother, Edward Bruce, king of Ireland. Sir Edmond Butler, who had already returned to England, succeeded Sir Theobald de Verdon, who had filled the office of lord-justice during his absence, A. D. 1315. On the 25th of May following, Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scotland, landed near Carrickfergus, in Ulster, with six thousand Scotchmen, where he was joined by a body of Irish, and proclaimed king of Ireland by part of the nation.* In the month of June he took Dundalk, which he burned; he then laid waste the district of Uriel, expelled the English from Ulster, and made himself master of that province. He bore the title of king of Ireland till his death, which took place three years afterwards.

The Anglo-Irish collected their forces to check the progress of the new king. They met at Dundalk, but the lord-justice, on finding the generals disunited, left the care of carrying on the war against the Scotch to the earl of Ulster, and returned to Dublin. This nobleman acquitted himself very badly of his commission; he was defeated by the Scotch, near Coleraine, on the tenth of September, with the loss of many lives, besides a great number of prisoners, among whom were Sir William Burke, Sir John Mandevill, Sir Alan Fitzwarren, and John Staunton. In order to follow up his victories, Bruce laid siege to Carrickfergus, and dispatched his brother William to Scotland to seek further aid from the king, his brother. He then led his victorious army out of the province of Ulster, and advanced towards Kells, in Meath, where he met the English under Roger Mortimer, and gave them battle, in which they were defeated.† It is said that the Lacys deserted the English on this occasion; however this be, the victory was against them, and many of them fell in their retreat. After this Bruce burned Kells, Granard, Finagh, and Newcastle, and spent the Christmas at Loghseudy, from whence he marched through the county of Kildare, to Rathangan, Kildare, Castledermot, Athy, Raban, and Sketheris, where Sir Edmond Butler, the lord-justice of Ireland, accompanied by John Fitzthomas and other noblemen, were waiting to give him battle. The action took place on the 26th of January, but Bruce was again victorious and the English entirely routed.

The king of England seeing the unhappy state of his affairs in Ireland, and fearing the defection of his subjects, sent Sir John

* Anton. Possevin, Appar. Sacr.

† Baker, Chron. Reign of Edward II. War. de Annal. Hib. Cox on the reign of Edward II.

* "He sent ambassadors from Ireland, saying that he would surrender into his protection both himself and his possessions; but if it was necessary for him to continue at home, they besought him to give them for a king his brother Edward, and not to suffer a kindred nation to be oppressed under the intolerable bondage of English rule. Edward Bruce at length proceeded with an army, by the general consent of all, and was proclaimed king. In the first year of his arrival, after expelling the English, he brought the whole of Ulster under his authority, and traversed the entire kingdom with his victorious army."—*Buchanan*, b 8, p. 277.

Hotham thither, to make them renew their oath of allegiance, and receive hostages from them. These were given by John Fitzthomas, afterwards earl of Kildare, Richard de Clare, Maurice, afterwards called earl of Desmond, Thomas Fitzjohn le Poer, Arnold le Poer, Maurice Rochfort, David and Miler de la Roche, and many others.

In the month of February both armies took the field. The place of meeting for the Scotch was at Geashil, in Offaly, and the English assembled at Kildare; but the country having been destroyed, and the Scotch army in want of provisions, Bruce determined to return to Ulster, where he gave himself up to his pleasures, having nothing to dread from his enemies. On the retreat of the Scotch, the lord-justice proceeded to Dublin, where he summoned a parliament, in which he endeavored to reconcile some noblemen whose disunion was prejudicial to the general cause; and Walter de Lacy was acquitted of the crime of treason of which he had been suspected. They likewise discussed the plan of prosecuting the war.

In the mean time, the Irish who had espoused the interests of Edward Bruce were given up to the fury of his enemies. Several among the inhabitants of Leinster were put to the sword at Castledermot, by the English under Edmond Butler. The O'Mordhas, O'Byrnes, O'Tools, and M'Morroughs, soon afterwards shared the same fate: and the O'Connors Faly were massacred at Ballibogan, on the river Boyne, by the English of Leinster and Meath. The Irish, on the other hand, used the right of retaliation, by making some efforts to be revenged for their lives and liberty, and the O'Nowlans of Leinster put Andrew Bermingham, Sir Richard de la Londe, and their adherents to the sword, who had insulted them in their territories.

In order to induce his Irish subjects to support his cause against the Scotch, the king of England began to distribute favors and confer titles of honor upon them, which were hitherto unknown in Ireland, A. D. 1316. He accordingly created John Fitzgerald, son of Thomas, baron of Offaly, earl of Kildare. This lord was chief of the noble family of the Fitzgeralds, descended from Maurice, who derived his origin from the dukes of Tuscany, and was the first of the name that settled in Ireland under Henry II. To enable him to support this dignity, the king gave him the town and castle of Kildare, with their dependencies, and all the lands and lordships of William de Vescy, which had been confiscated in 1291, when the latter was lord-justice of Ireland. This illustrious house, which has been always remarkable for its virtue and noble alliances, still exists, with the title of premier earl of Ireland.

Edward Bruce having returned from Scotland, where he spent some time in recruiting his troops, summoned the town of Carrickfergus to surrender. The inhabitants being destitute of every thing, eight vessels, laden with provisions, were sent from Drogheda to their relief; but these were not sufficient to enable them to hold out. The garrison had been reduced to live for some days on leather. and the flesh of eight Scotchmen, who were prisoners. They therefore surrendered about the end of August. At the same time, O'Connor and his followers defeated a body of English in Connaught; Lord Stephen Exter, Milo Cogan, and eight of the Barrys and Lawlesses, having lost their lives in the engagement. O'Connor and his army were, however, defeated on the 4th of August, at Athenry, by a body of English headed by William Burke and Richard de Bermingham. In Ulster, Richard O'Hanlon followed by his vassals, in endeavoring to draw contributions from Dundalk and its vicinity, was repulsed with great loss by the inhabitants, under the command of Robert Verdon, who lost his life in the action. On the 14th of September, Burke and Bermingham gained a complete victory over the people of Connaught, who lost five hundred men, with their chiefs, O'Connor and O'Kelly About the end of October, in the same year John Loggan and Hugh Bisset defeated a body of Scotch troops in Ulster; about three hundred fell on the field of battle, and many prisoners were taken and sent to Dublin, among whom were Sir Allen Stewart and Sir John Sandal. The Lacys, who were suspected of having betrayed the state, by introducing the Scotch into the kingdom, presented a petition on the subject, and being cleared of the charge, they renewed their oath of allegiance, and obtained a general amnesty from the king by charter.

Maurice Mac-Carwil, or O'Carroll, archbishop of Cashel, died at this time. After his elevation to that see by the dean and chapter, with the consent of the king of England, he set out for Rome, where he received the pope's sanction, and was consecrated and honored with the pallium by the holy father. On his return to Ireland, he allowed Walter Multoc the privilege of founding a house at Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, for hermits of St. Augustin. He attended the parliament which was convened at Kilkenny,

in 1309. It was composed of all the nobles of the country, whom he compelled to submit to its decrees under pain of excommunication. Maurice was succeeded in the see of Cashel by William Fitzjohn, bishop of Ossory.

Edward Bruce, at the head of twenty thousand men, composed of Scotch and Irish, marched during the Lent towards Slane, in Meath, pillaging the country as he passed. The earl of Ulster, who was at the time in the abbey of Our Lady, near Dublin, having had some dispute with the citizens, was arrested by order of Robert Nottingham, mayor of the city, and confined in the castle, which caused so great a tumult that the abbey was pillaged, and some domestics belonging to the earl were killed. In the mean time, Edward Bruce marched towards Dublin, and on his way took the castle of Knock, in which he found Hugh Tyrrel, the lord of the place, with his wife, who ransomed herself for a sum of money. The inhabitants, terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, in order to defend the city, burned the suburbs, together with the churches, and among the number the cathedral of St. Patrick. Bruce, who knew that the walls of the city were in good order, and that the inhabitants would defend it to the last, thought fit (with the advice, it is said, of De Lacy, contrary to the oath of allegiance he had just taken) to proceed on his march towards Naas, where he spent two days, and continued his route towards Limerick. He passed through Kenlis, in Ossory, to Cashel, and went from thence to Nenagh: having in his march laid waste the lands of Edmond Butler, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. All the English lords who were in the country, assembled at Cashel to deliberate on the means of checking his progress. They determined on sending the army, which amounted to 30,000 men, under the command of the lord-justice and the earl of Kildare, in pursuit of him; but Roger Mortimer having landed at Youghal, as lord-justice, on Easter Thursday, A. D. 1317, attended by thirty knights, and other troops, he sent word to the English generals to wait for him to give battle to the Scotch. Edward Bruce, hearing of the arrival of Mortimer, and not thinking it prudent to wait for him, continued his route towards Ulster, where he arrived towards the beginning of the month of May.

Mortimer, having no longer an enemy to contend with in Munster or Leinster, sent his troops into quarters until further orders. He then went to Dublin, and convened a parliament at Kilmainham, composed of more than thirty knights, among whom were Wogan and Warren. The principal subject of debate in this assembly was the liberation of the earl of Ulster, (who had been kept in prison by the mayor and citizens of Dublin,) which was effected in a second session at Whitsuntide. After this assembly, Mortimer repaired to Trim, in Meath, through Droghеda, from whence he sent orders to the Lacys to appear before him and give an account of their conduct. They were descended from Robert de Lacy, of Rathwer, which estate had been given him by Sir Hugh de Lacy. These noblemen, far from obeying his orders, killed Sir Hugh Crofts, who was the bearer of them. Mortimer, exasperated to find his authority compromised by so flagrant a contempt of his orders, caused their properties to be seized, confiscated their lands for the benefit of the English soldiery, and put all who declared in their favor to the sword. He then compelled them to withdraw into Connaught, having first declared them traitors to their country. It appears that they were the only English who sided with Bruce, whom they accompanied on his return to Scotland.

A convent for Carmelites was founded this year at Athboy, in the county of Meath, by William Loundres, lord of that place.

After the expedition into Meath, against the Lacys, Mortimer turned his attention to appease some troubles caused by the O'Byrnes and other inhabitants of Omayle, in the county of Wicklow. It was at this time that Sir Hugh Canon, judge in the court of Common Pleas, was assassinated by Andrew Bermingham, between Naas and Castlemartin.

Mortimer, as lord-justice, gave a magnificent banquet on Quinquagesima Sunday, in the castle of Dublin, at which he conferred the honor of knighthood on John Mortimer, and four others. After Easter he was recalled to England; having before his departure received intelligence of the death of Richard de Clare, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Thomas de Naas, the two Cantons, and eighty others, who were killed on the 5th of May, by the O'Briens and M'Cartys. On John Lacy's refusal to vindicate himself of the crime of which he was accused, he was smothered at Trim, by orders of Mortimer, who afterwards sailed for England, leaving the administration of affairs, during his absence, to William Fitzjohn, archbishop of Cashel. According to the histories, however, Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, was intrusted with the government in the month of October following, A. D. 1318.

Edward Bruce now made preparations in

Ulster for a new enterprise. He marched with his army, amounting to about three thousand men, as far as Fagher, two miles from Dundalk, but the English being alarmed at his movements, collected their troops, to the number of thirteen hundred and eighty men, and Sir John Bermingham was appointed by the lord-justice to command them.

This general, attended by several able captains, among whom were Richard Tuite and Miles Verdon, set out from Dublin at the head of his army. On approaching the enemy, the necessary preparations being made on both sides, the engagement began; but victory, which had hitherto always followed the steps of Prince Edward, forsook him on this occasion; he lost two thirds of his army, and was himself found among the slain. Bermingham caused the head of the unfortunate prince to be cut off, and presented it to the king of England, who, to reward him for so signal a service, created him earl of Louth.* This title became extinct with himself, as he died without issue; but that of baron of Athenry has been preserved in this noble family, who are descended from Robert de Bermingham.† The latter accompanied Earl Strongbow to Ireland, and was one of the house of Bermingham, in the county of Warwick, England. The barons of Athenry are considered to have been the first in Ireland.‡ According to Cox, the first baron of Athenry was Richard de Bermingham, who had distinguished himself in battle against the inhabitants of Connaught.

Bruce's overthrow is a proof of the uncertain fate of arms, and shows how trivial a thing may win or lose a battle. About five years previously, thirty thousand Scotchmen gained a complete victory over a hundred thousand English at Bannôckburn; at Dundalk, the Scotch, who were superior in numbers, and headed by a prince accustomed to conquer, were vanquished by the English. Prince Edward may be ranked among the first captains of his age; he would probably, says Abercromby, have remained master of Ireland, had his military ardor been moderated by the superior prudence of his brother.

Historians mention a circumstance which seems to prove that the sudden death of the prince was the cause of losing the battle. John Maupas, captain in the English army, and a man of very determined character, threw himself between the ranks, resolved to kill him; and it is affirmed that after the action both bodies were found dead, one lying upon the other. However, according to Walsingham* and Baker, the prince was taken prisoner and then beheaded, which displays the treachery of Bermingham, who acted thereby contrary to the rights of war; unless we can suppose that he merited his fate, by usurping a crown to which he had no right. Such a supposition concerning a prince called upon by a part of the nation that had a perfect right to choose their own king, is of no weight. This right is inherent in all people, even according to the spirit of the English laws, and his title was more lawful than that of Henry II., who added tyranny to usurpation.

Roger Mortimer returned again from England in the beginning of November, A. D. 1319, invested with the same power as before. About this time the bridge of Kilcullen, on the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, and Leighlin bridge, on the Barrow, county of Carlow, were built, through the influence of Maurice Jake, a canon of Kildare. Ireland being then tranquil, Mortimer returned to England, and Thomas Fitzgerald, son of John, earl of Kildare, was invested with the government, A. D. 1320. In his time Pope John XXII. granted a bull to Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, confirming that previously granted by Clement V., for the foundation of a university in Dublin; St. Patrick's Church was the place intended for the schools. The same pope gave also to the king of England another bull, exonerating him from the payment of Peter's pence, which the court of Rome exacted from the kingdoms of England and Ireland.

It is remarkable that the king of England granted to the earl of Kildare the power of receiving under the protection of the English laws, all his Irish tenants who would submit to them: *Quod possit recipere ad legem Angliæ omnes homines Hibernos tenentes suos, qui ad eandem venire voluerunt;* a proof that the Irish had not yet enjoyed that advantage; the withholding which was the inexhaustible source of those usurpations, murders, and civil wars to which Ireland was a prey for some centuries. The English of Leinster and Meath made a general massacre of the O'Connors Faly, at Ballibogan, on the river Boyne; but soon afterwards a retaliation was inflicted by the O'Nowlans, who put Andrew Bermingham, Sir Richard de la Londe, and their followers to the sword, for having attacked them in their territories.

* He was brother to Richard, baron of Athenry.
† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.
‡ Lodge's Peerage vol. iv.

* Walsing. Ypodig. Neustriæ, page 593

According to Ware, a convent was established in the reign of Edward III., for Augustin hermits, at Ross, or Rosspont, on the river Barrow, in the county of Wexford, which agrees with the registries of the Vatican, according to which it was founded in 1320, as Herrera observes. The same author mentions a convent for this order, founded at Skrine, in the county of Meath, by Feipo, who was then lord of that place.

John Bermingham, earl of Louth, was nominated lord-justice of Ireland, A. D. 1321. The king sent him orders to join him at Carlisle with seven or eight thousand men, to assist him in the war against the Scotch; A. D. 1322; in obedience to which mandate, he set out with the earl of Ulster, who furnished three hundred men at his own expense, and left the government of Ireland to Ralph de Gorges, to whom it was intrusted till the month of February following, when he was succeeded by Sir John Darcy. The hostilities against the Irish recommenced under his administration. Sir Henry Traherne having put M'Morrough into confinement, massacred O'Nowlan and twenty-four of his followers, A. D. 1323. Among the registries in the tower of London, a document was discovered, proving the aversion which prevailed in the fourteenth century between the Irish and English.* It was expressly prohibited by it to admit any subject of English extraction into the abbey of Mellifont in Ireland: *In abbatia Mellifontis talis inolevit error, quod nullus admittatur in domum prædictam, nisi primitus facta fide quod non sit de genere Anglorum.* It appears that Edward II. had great influence with Pope John XXII., who imposed a tithe of two years in his favor, upon the clergy of Ireland, to be levied by the dean and chapter of Dublin. The prelates and clergy, however, remonstrated against it, till they had seen the pope's bull. With the consent of his council, Edward enacted some laws on the 24th of November, at Nottingham, for the purpose of reforming the government of Ireland, which are given at full in the commentaries of Pryn, on the fourth institute.

Monaster-Eoris, or Totmoy, situated in that part of Offaly which lies in the King's county, was a celebrated convent for Franciscans, founded at this time by John Bermingham, lord of that country, which is still called Clan-Eoris.†

A parliament was held at Kilkenny during the feast of Pentecost, which was attended by the earl of Ulster, and most of the nobility in the country, A. D. 1326; but there is no mention of the laws passed in it, except that it decreed a large quantity of corn to be sent to Aquitaine for the king's use. The earl of Ulster gave a magnificent banquet to this assembly, shortly after which he died.

Maurice M'Carwill, archbishop of Cashel, having died in 1316, the chapter assembled to appoint a successor.* The dean and majority of the canons elected John M'Carwill, bishop of Cork: the others gave their votes to Thomas O'Lonely, archdeacon of the same church; but the pope, either on account of their being divided in their votes, or to gratify the king of England, who was desirous that all the sees should be filled by Englishmen, excluded both candidates, and nominated to it William Fitzjohn, bishop of Ossory, a man of great merit, who the following year was appointed warden and chancellor of the kingdom. The city of Cashel was surrounded with walls during his episcopacy. The prelate died about this time, and was succeeded by John O'Carrol. Ireland claims as her own (as before stated) the celebrated John Duns Scot, of the order of St. Francis, known by the name of the subtle doctor, who flourished about this date.

"Lord Mortimer," says Cox, "being obliged, either through necessity or inclination, to return to England, gave the superintendence of some lands of which he was the owner, in Leix, to an Irishman named O'Morra. In course of time this Irishman appropriated them to himself, and was in possession of them for a long time; asserting even that he had a right to them, though his claim was founded only on perfidy and ingratitude."† This observation of Cox is crafty and plausible, and might have influence with those who are not aware of the venom which prevails throughout his whole history. The man is considered treacherous and ungrateful who appropriates to himself a property with which he was intrusted, through the good faith of the lawful owner; but did not our historian know that the district of Leix was the patrimony of the O'Morras, from the first ages of Christianity to the end of the twelfth century, and the usurpation of the English? and that the O'Morra in question only availed himself of a favorable opportunity to recover a property of which his ancestors had been unjustly deprived some years before? *Res clamat Domino suo.* If he was not ignorant of it, he affords to the public a proof of that

* Cox's Hist. of Ireland, on the year 1323.
† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

* War. de Archiepisc. Cassel.
† Cox, ibid. on the year 1326.

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punic faith discoverable among the historians of his country. Our author forms the same opinion respecting the measures which Cavanagh adopted to recover the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, from an Englishman named Carew.

The war still continued between the Scotch and English; the unfortunate catastrophe of Edward Bruce having tended only to promote it. The Scotch invaded England, and extended their conquests as far as York; they then laid siege to Berwick, which was surrendered to them through the treachery of Spalding, the governor, and the other English who composed the garrison. The king of Scotland, however, had them hanged for betraying their country: thus giving a lesson to posterity, that though treason be tolerated, the traitor should be detested. The Scotch having gained many advantages over the English, and Edward being unable to prosecute the war, a truce of two years, others say thirteen, was concluded between him and the king of Scotland.

Of all the kings who reigned over England, from the conquest of that kingdom by William the Conqueror, Edward II. was the most unfortunate and least guilty; but he was not the last of that character. He never offended his subjects, nor encroached upon their privileges; his ruling passion was an inordinate attachment to his favorites; and he was tender-hearted and generous, a rare quality among the people whom he had the misfortune to rule over. Young Spencer, who had succeeded Gaveston in the prince's affection, was quartered, after his father, who at the age of ninety years shared the same fate; his only crime that of having been beloved by a master who was unable to protect him. The prince himself sunk under the weight of his misfortunes. Those who, by the ties of nature, blood, and honor, should have sacrificed their lives in his defence, were his most inveterate persecutors. The queen herself, seconded by a cruel and savage nobility, attacked him openly, and had him seized and thrown into a dungeon, where he was left destitute of common necessaries. The parliament was then assembled in order to depose him, and he was forced to make a solemn abdication in favor of his son, a formality which was at that time deemed requisite in disposing of the crown, but which has been since then omitted on a similar occasion. When this ceremony was over, his first guards, who were considered to be partial to him, were removed; he was placed under the care of two noted miscreants, Sir Thomas de Gournay, and Sir John Mattrevers, who had sold their service to his enemies; and who put him to death with the most excruciating torture, by forcing a red-hot iron into his body, and burning his intestines. Such was the character of the English at that period, and more than once has this disposition to cruelty manifested itself among them. It is said, that in order to instigate those monsters to commit this regicide, Mortimer had a letter sent to them, in which was contained the following passage, composed by Adam Toleton, bishop of Hereford: "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est." Mortimer, after being created earl of March by Edward III., was condemned to be hanged for having concluded a disgraceful peace with the Scotch, from whom he had received presents; likewise for having caused the king's death; for having lived in a shameful manner with the queen mother, Isabella; and lastly, for having robbed the king and the people. He was executed at Tyburn in 1330, and was left hanging on a gibbet for two days and nights. Some of those who had been his accomplices in the king's death, were executed along with him. The queen Isabella was deprived of her dowry, and confined in a castle, with a yearly pension of a thousand pounds sterling, where she spent the remainder of her life, and died at the age of thirty years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Edward of Windsor, so called from the place of his birth, was eldest son of Edward II. He was proclaimed king of England on the 24th of January, 1317, eight days after his father had resigned the crown; received the honor of knighthood from Henry, earl of Lancaster, who presented him with the sword, and was crowned at Westminster on the 1st of February, by Walter Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury. He shortly afterwards married Philippa, daughter of the earl of Hainault.*

This reign was more brilliant than the preceding one. The wars which Edward carried on against France, the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, the taking of Calais, and his expeditions against the Scotch, are well known to those who are acquainted with the history of the period; but as they are sub-

* Annales Christophori Walsingham, Ypodigm Neustriæ. Baker's Chronicle on the reign of Edward III., and Higgins' Abridgment of the History of England.

jects unconnected with Ireland, we shall pass them over in silence, inasmuch as this prince should here be considered rather in his character of lord of Ireland, than as king of England.

Thomas Fitzgerald, son of John, earl of Kildare, having been appointed lord-justice in place of Sir John Darcy, the court sent orders to the heads of the English colony in Ireland to take the usual oath of allegiance to the new king, as they had done to his predecessors.

After the arrival of the English, and fall of the monarchy in Ireland, there was no national army of regular troops united under one commander. The chief of each tribe, attended by the different branches of his family, commanded his vassals and made them march at his will, (like the clans of Scotland, who are under the control of their respective chieftains,) which gave rise to the opinion of English writers respecting the great number of petty kings they supposed to have existed in the country. Sometimes these chieftains joined against the common enemy, while they frequently went to war with one another. The same want of union prevailed among the Anglo-Irish, the chiefs of whom kept bodies of armed men under their immediate command, which they frequently employed against each other on the smallest provocation. We have already discovered instances of this under the preceding reigns; and in the present we find several which proved almost fatal to the English interest in Ireland.

Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, afterwards earl of Desmond, considering himself to have been insulted by Arnold Poer, who called him a rhymer, (he having a fondness for poetry,) resolved to take revenge by arms. He accordingly drew the Butlers and Berminghams into his quarrel, and declared war against the Poers and their allies, the Burkes; several were killed, and the rest of them dispersed and forced to fly into Connaught, while their lands were laid waste and their habitations burned. In vain did the earl of Kildare, as lord-justice, interpose his authority to allay those quarrels. He appointed a day to hear the cause of the parties; but Arnold Poer, knowing himself to have been the aggressor, and averse to submit to such investigation, proceeded to Waterford, from which place he set sail for England. His flight did not put a stop to the troubles; the confederate army continued their hostilities, spreading terror everywhere they went: the towns that had remained neuter during the disturbances, dreading the storm, were fortified and put into a state of defence. While these preparations were going forward, the confederates dreaded lest they should be looked upon as rebels who desired to disturb the public peace, and accordingly sent word to the earl of Kildare that they had no hostile views against the king or his cities; that they had collected their troops to take revenge on their enemies, and were ready to appear before him at Kilkenny to vindicate their proceedings. They accordingly did appear in the Lent, before the lord-justice and the king's council at Kilkenny, where, with great humility, they solicited an amnesty and pardon. The lord-justice, however, put off the matter to another time, in order to deliberate upon it.

The Irish in Leinster viewed with delight the dissensions that prevailed among their English rulers; and seizing the opportunity, which they thought a favorable one, proclaimed Donald, son of Art Mac-Morrough, king of Leinster. He was of the family of the Mac-Morroughs, the ancient kings of the province.* His reign, however, was of short duration, as he was taken prisoner by the English, near Dublin, in a battle in which he fought bravely at the head of his new subjects. Sir Henry Traherne, and Walter de Valle, who commanded the English army, received one hundred and ten pounds sterling as a reward for his capture, a considerable sum at that time. Mac-Morrough was confined in the castle of Dublin, from which he made his escape in the month of January, by means of a rope that he had been provided with by Adam de Nangle, whose life paid the forfeit of this generous act, for which he was hanged. Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, and lord-justice of Ireland, died at this time in his castle of Maynooth, and was succeeded in his office by Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and chancellor of Ireland. During his administration, David O'Toole,† who had been made prisoner in Lent, by John Wellesly, was condemned to death, and executed in Dublin.

In the second year of the reign of Edward III., James Butler,‡ son of Edmond Butler, earl of Carrick, married a daughter of the earl of Hereford and of Elizabeth, who was seventh daughter of Edward I.§ He was

* Cox, ibid. on the year 1327.

† In English books he is styled a robber: all those who took up arms against them, even in the fairest cause, being denominated either rebels or robbers.

‡ He was descended, in the tenth degree, from Gilbert, count of Brionne in Normandy, and in the eighth from Gilbert de Tonbridge, earl of Clare, in England, by Walter Fitz-Gilbert, his second son.

§ Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

afterwards created earl of Ormond by the king, in a parliament held at Northampton. The king also erected the county of Tipperary into a palatinate in his favor, granting him the royal rights, franchises, military fiefs, and other privileges in that county. William Burke and Arnold Poer, who had left Ireland to escape the fury of their enemies, the Butlers, Fitzgeralds, and Berminghams, were reconciled to them in a parliament held in Dublin for that purpose.

Sir John Darcy was again nominated lord-justice of Ireland, A. D. 1329. Lord Thomas Butler led a powerful army into Westmeath this year, with the design of subduing that country. The day before the feast of St. Laurence, he was met by M'Geoghegan at the head of his forces, near Mullingar.* They came to a bloody engagement, which proved fatal to Butler and his followers, he having lost his life in it, together with several of his principal officers. The names of some of those who fell we discover in Pembrige, viz.: John de Ledewiche, Roger Ledewiche, Thomas Ledewiche, John Nangle, Meiler Petit, Simon Petit, David Nangle, John Waringer, James Tirrel, Nicholas White, Wm. Freyne, Peter Kent, John White, with a hundred and forty others whose names are not known. It seems, from the honors which were paid to his remains, that lord Butler was much regretted by his partisans. His body was removed to Dublin, to the convent of the Dominicans, where it remained till the Sunday after the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, when it was carried with great solemnity through the city, and back to the Dominicans, where it was interred.† O'Brien, of Thuomond, devastated the lands of the Anglo-Irish about this time, and burned the towns of Athessel and Tipperary.

These advantages, gained by the Irish over the English, did not prevent the latter from destroying each other. John Bermingham, earl of Louth, his brother Peter, and Talbot de Malahide, with their retinue, to the number of one hundred and sixty Englishmen, were massacred at Ballibraggan, in the territory of Uriel, by the treachery of the Savages, Gernons, and others of their countrymen. James, son of Robert Keating, lord Philip Hodnet, Hugh Condon, and their followers, to the number of a hundred and forty, were killed in Munster by the Barrys and Roches. Lastly, the English of Meath, under the command of Sir Simon Genevil, having made some incursions into the barony of Carbry, in the county of Kildare, were defeated with the loss of seventy-six men, by the Berminghams.

The Irish were continually at war with the common enemy. Philip Staunton was killed, and Henry Traherne made prisoner in his house at Kilbeg, by Richard, son of Philip O'Nowlan; but this action was revenged some time afterwards, on the lands of Foghird, in the county of Wexford, which were laid waste by orders of the earl of Ormond.

In order to quell these disturbances, Sir John Darcy, lord-justice of Ireland, marched the same year at the head of some troops, towards Newcastle and Wicklow, against the O'Byrnes, who were ravaging the English settlements. This expedition was productive of little good, although several were killed and wounded on both sides. The governor therefore finding it impossible to oppose so many enemies on every side, ordered Maurice Fitzgerald, son of Thomas of Desmond, with the advice of his council, to take the command of the troops, and march against the king's enemies; a promise being made him that he should be indemnified for the expenses of the war. Maurice marched at the head of the English army, which amounted to ten thousand men, against the Irish, whom he subdued separately, with ease. He began by the O'Nowlans, whose country he burned. He treated the O'Morroughs, (Murphys,) in the same manner, took hostages from them, and recovered the castle of Ley from the O'Dempseys. The king's resources being inadequate to defray the expenses of the war, or maintain a standing army, Desmond renewed an old custom, by levying a tax, which was called by the Irish *Bonaght*, and *Coyn and Livery* by the English. It consisted in supplying food to men and horses, and also a money tax, which was arbitrarily laid on the people, in the same manner as contributions exacted in time of war from an enemy's country. Necessity constrained the lord-justice to tolerate, on that occasion, an abuse which afterwards proved fatal to some of the members of the house of Desmond.

The Irish seeing themselves without resource, and a prey to their enemies, sent a petition to the king of England, begging that he would receive them under the protection of the laws, and grant them the privileges and liberty of loyal subjects. The king referred the decision of their prayer to his English parliament in Ireland, being desirous to try if that favor could be granted without affect-

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1329.

† "The same year, on the eve of St. Laurence, lord Thomas Butler marched with a great army towards Ardnorwith, and met there lord Thomas M'Geoghegan. The lord Thomas Butler, and many besides, were killed, to the great loss of Ireland."—*Pembrige, Annal. for the year* 1329.

ing the interests of his Anglo-Irish subjects.* *Nos igitur certiorari si sine alieno præjudicio præmissis annuere valeamus, vobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terræ illius in proximo parliamento nostro ibidem tenendo super hoc cum diligentia perscrutari facias.* But these politic senators gave the king to understand that such favor would be incompatible with their interests, and those of his majesty. In the parliament of that year, the heads of the English colony were enjoined to preserve union with their king, and peace among themselves.

The petition of the Irish having been rejected by the court of London, they carried their complaints to the sovereign pontiff, John XXII. O'Neill, king of Ulster, wrote upon the subject to his holiness, in the name of the Irish nation, representing the tyranny which the English government exercised over them. The following copy of his letter is taken from the Scotic chronicle of John of Fordun, vol. 3, page 908, et seq.:

"To our Most Holy Father, John, by the grace of God, sovereign pontiff, we, his faithful children in Christ Jesus, Donald O'Neill, king of Ulster, and lawful heir to the throne of Ireland; the nobles and great men, with all the people of this kingdom, recommend and humbly cast ourselves at his feet, &c.

"The calumnies and false representations which have been heaped upon us by the English, are too well known throughout the world, not to have reached the ears of your Holiness. We are persuaded, most Holy Father, that your intentions are most pure and upright; but from not knowing the Irish except through the misrepresentation of their enemies, your Holiness might be induced to look upon as truths those falsehoods which have been circulated, and to form an opinion contrary to what we merit, which would be to us a great misfortune. It is, therefore, to save our country against such imputations, that we have come to the resolution of giving to your Holiness, in this letter, a faithful description, and a true and precise idea of the real state at present of our monarchy, if this term can be still applied to the sad remains of a kingdom which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of the kings of England, and that of their ministers and barons, some of whom, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us the same extortions, rapine, and cruelties, as their ancestors before them have committed. We shall advance nothing but the truth, and we humbly hope, that, attentive to its voice, your Holiness will not delay to express your disapprobation against the authors of those crimes and outrages which shall be revealed. The country in which we live was uninhabited until the three sons of a Spanish prince, named Milesius, according to others Micelius, landed in it with a fleet of thirty ships. They came here from Cantabria, a city on the Ebro, from which river they called the country to which Providence guided them, Ibernia, where they founded a monarchy that embraced the entire of the island. Their descendants, who never sullied the purity of their blood by a foreign alliance, have furnished one hundred and thirty kings, who, during the space of three thousand five hundred years and upwards, have successively filled the throne of Ireland till the time of king Legarius, from whom he who has the honor of affirming these facts, is descended in a direct line. It was under the reign of this prince, in the year 435, that our patron and chief apostle, St. Patrick, was sent to us by Pope Celestinus, one of your predecessors; and since the conversion of the kingdom through the preaching of that great saint, we have had, till 1170, an uninterrupted succession of sixty-one kings, descended from the purest blood of Milesius, who, well instructed in the duties of their religion, and faithful to their God, have proved themselves fathers of their people, and have shown by their conduct, that although they depended in a spiritual light upon the holy apostolical see of Rome, they never acknowledged any temporal master upon earth. It is to those Milesian princes, and not to the English, or any other foreigners, that the church of Ireland is indebted for those lands, possessions, and high privileges with which the pious liberality of our monarchs enriched it, and of which it has been almost stripped through the sacrilegious cupidity of the English. During the course of so many centuries, our sovereigns, jealous of their independence, preserved it unimpaired. Attacked more than once by foreign powers, they were never wanting in either courage or strength to repel the invaders, and secure their inheritance from insult. But that which they effected against force, they failed to accomplish in opposition to the will of the sovereign pontiff. His holiness Pope Adrian, to whose other great qualities we bear testimony, was by birth an Englishman, but still more in heart and disposition. The national prejudices he had early imbibed, blinded him to such a degree, that on a most false and unjust statement,

* Davis, Relat. Histor.

he determined to transfer the sovereignty of our country to Henry, king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been murdered for his zeal in defending the interests of the church. Instead of punishing this prince as his crimes merited, and depriving him of his own territories, the complaisant pontiff has torn ours from us to gratify his countryman. Henry II., and without pretext or offence on our part, or any apparent motive on his own, has stripped us, by the most flagrant injustice, of the rights of our crown, and left us a prey to men, or rather to monsters, who are unparalleled in cruelty. More cunning than foxes, and more ravenous than wolves, they surprise and devour us; and if sometimes we escape their fury, it is only to drag on, in the most disgraceful slavery, the wretched remains of a life more intolerable to us than death itself. When, in virtue of the donation which has been mentioned, the English appeared for the first time in this country, they exhibited every mark of zeal and piety; and excelling as they did in every species of hypocrisy, they neglected nothing to supplant and undermine us imperceptibly. Emboldened from their first successes, they soon removed the mask; and without any right but that of power, they obliged us by open force to give up to them our houses and our lands, and to seek shelter like wild beasts, upon the mountains, in woods, marshes, and caves. Even there we have not been secure against their fury; they even envy us those dreary and terrible abodes; they are incessant and unremitting in their pursuits after us, endeavoring to chase us from among them; they lay claim to every place in which they can discover us, with unwarranted audacity and injustice; they allege that the whole kingdom belongs to them of right, and that an Irishman has no longer a right to remain in his own country. From these causes arise the implacable hatred and dreadful animosity of the English and the Irish towards each other; that continued hostility, those bloody retaliations and innumerable massacres, in which, from the invasion of the English to the present time, more than fifty thousand lives have been lost on both sides, besides those who have fallen victims to hunger, to despair, and the rigors of captivity. Hence also spring all the pillaging, robbery, treachery, treason, and other disorders which it is impossible for us to allay in the state of anarchy under which at present we live; an anarchy fatal not only to the state, but likewise to the church of Ireland, whose members are now, more than ever, exposed to the danger of losing the blessings of eternity, after being first deprived of those of this world. Behold, most holy father, a brief description of all that has reference to our origin, and the miserable condition to which your predecessor has brought us. We shall now inform your holiness of the manner in which we have been treated by the kings of England. The permission of entering this kingdom was granted by the holy see to Henry II. and his successors, only on certain conditions, which were clearly expressed in the bull which was given them. According to the tenor of it, Henry engaged to increase the church revenues in Ireland; to maintain it in all its rights and privileges; to labor, by enacting good laws, in reforming the morals of the people, eradicating vice, and encouraging virtue; and finally, to pay to the successors of St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for each house. Such were the conditions of the bull. But the kings of England, and their perfidious ministers, so far from observing them, have uniformly contrived to violate them in every way, and to act in direct opposition to them First, as to the church lands, instead of extending their boundaries, they have contracted, curtailed, and invaded them so generally, and to such a degree, that some of our cathedrals have been deprived, by open force, of more than one half of their revenues. The persons of the clergy have been as little respected as their property. On every side we behold bishops and prelates summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the commissioners of the king of England; and so great is the oppression exercised over them, that they dare not give information of it to your holiness. However, as they are so dastardly as to conceal their misfortunes and those of the church, they do not merit that we should speak in their behalf. We once had our laws and institutions; the Irish were remarkable for their candor and simplicity; but the English have undertaken to reform us, and have been unfortunately but too successful. Instead of being, like our ancestors, simple and candid, we have become, through our intercourse with the English, and the contagion of their example, artful and designing as themselves. Our laws were written, and formed a body of right according to which our country was governed. However, with the exception of one alone, which they could not wrest from us, they have deprived us of those salutary laws, and have given us instead, a code of their own making. Great God! such laws

If inhumanity and injustice were leagued together, none could have been devised more deadly and fatal to the Irish. The following will give your holiness some idea of their new code. They are the fundamental rules of English jurisdiction established in this kingdom :

1st—" Every man who is not Irish, may, for any kind of crime, go to law with any Irishman, while neither layman nor ecclesiastic, who is Irish, (prelates excepted,) can, under any cause or provocation, resort to any legal measures against his English opponent.

2d—" If an Englishman kill an Irishman perfidiously and falsely, as frequently occurs, of whatsoever rank or condition the Irishman may be, noble or plebeian, innocent or guilty, clergyman or layman, secular or regular, were he even a bishop, the crime is not punishable before our English tribunal; but, on the contrary, the more the sufferer has been distinguished among his countrymen, either for his virtue or his rank, the more the assassin is extolled and rewarded by the English, and that not only by the vulgar, but by the monks, bishops, and what is more incredible, by the very magistrates, whose duty it is to punish and repress crime.

3d—" If any Irishwoman whosoever, whether noble or plebeian, marry an Englishman, on the death of her husband she becomes deprived, from her being Irish, of a third of the property and possessions which he owned.

4th—" If an Irishman fall beneath the blows of an Englishman, the latter can prevent the vanquished from making any testamentary deposition, and may likewise take possession of all his wealth. What can be more unjustifiable than a law which deprives the church of its rights, and reduces men, who had been free from time immemorial, to the rank of slaves?

5th—" The same tribunal, with the cooperation and connivance of some English bishops, at which the archbishop of Armagh presided, a man who was but little esteemed for his conduct, and still less for his learning, made the following regulations at Kilkenny, which are not less absurd in their import than in their form. The court, say they, after deliberating together, prohibits all religious communities, in that part of Ireland of which the English are in peaceful possession, to admit any into them but a native of England, under the penalty of being treated by the king of England as having contemned his orders, and by the founders and administrators of the said communities, as disobedient and refractory to the present regulation. This regulation was little needed; before, as well as since its enactment, the English Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, regular canons, and all the other communities of their countrymen, observed the spirit of it but too faithfully. In the choice of their inmates they have evinced a partiality, the more shameful, as the houses for Benedictines and canons, where the Irish are now denied admittance, were intended by their founders to be asylums open to people of every nation indiscriminately. Vice was to be eradicated from among us, and the seeds of virtue sown. Our reformers have acted diametrically the opposite character; they have deprived us of our virtues, and have implanted their vices among us." &c. &c. &c.

The sovereign pontiff, moved by the remonstrances of O'Neill and of the Irish people, respecting the tyranny and cruelties committed by the English government, addressed the following letter, quoted by Petrus Lombardus, page 260, to Edward III., king of England, exhorting that prince to check the disorders and cruelty that were practised upon the Irish

" We, Pope John, servant of the servants of God, to our dear son in Christ, the illustrious Edward, king of England, greeting, health and salvation.

" Our unceasing entreaties to you, dear son, to maintain peace in your kingdom, justice in your decisions, the blessings of tranquillity among your subjects, and lastly, to omit nothing which can contribute to your happiness and glory, proceed from the paternal solicitude which we bear towards your majesty: you ought, therefore, to devote yourself altogether to these objects, and prove yourself eager and willing to promote them. We have a long time since received from the princes and people of Ireland, letters addressed to our well beloved Anselmus, priest of the chapel of SS. Marcellus and Peter; to Lucas, dean of St. Mary; to the cardinals and nuncios of the holy see; and through them, letters enveloped with their own, addressed to us. These we have read, and among other things which they contain, have particularly noted, that our predecessor, Pope Adrian, of happy memory, hath given to your illustrious progenitor, Henry II., king of England, the kingdom of Ireland, as specified in his apostolical letters to him. To the object of these letters neither Henry nor his successors have paid regard, but passing the bounds that were prescribed to them, have, without cause or provocation

heaped upon the Irish the most unheard of miseries and persecution, and have, during a long period, imposed upon them a yoke of slavery which cannot be borne. None have dared to stem the persecutions which have been practised against the Irish, nor has any person been found willing to remedy the cause of them: not one, I say, has been moved, through a holy compassion for their sufferings, although frequent appeals have been made to your goodness in their behalf, and the strong cries of the oppressed have reached the ears of your majesty. Thus no longer able to endure such tyranny, the unhappy Irish have been constrained to withdraw themselves from your dominion, and to seek another to rule over them in your stead. If these things be founded in truth, they are in direct opposition to our regards and consideration for your felicity. Our advice is, therefore, that your majesty will not lose sight of this important matter, and that you will carry into speedy effect the commands of your Creator, in order to avoid that which must draw down the vengeance of God upon you. The groans and sorrows of the afflicted have been heard by the Omnipotent, who can, as the holy Scriptures attest, change and transfer kingdoms to others, as he has abandoned his chosen people in punishment for the crimes they had committed. Our most ardent wish is, that your majesty omit nothing, particularly during these revolutions, to conciliate by your goodness the hearts of the faithful Irish, and avoid every thing that can tend to estrange them from you. As it is, therefore, important to your interest to obviate the misfortunes which these troubles are capable of producing, they should not be neglected in the beginning, lest the evil increase by degrees, and the necessary remedies be applied too late: and having considered the matter maturely, we herein exhort your majesty, that you remove the cause of these misfortunes, and arrest, by honorable measures, their cause and consequences, that you may render him from whom you hold your crown, propitious to your views and government; and that by fulfilling the duties of lord and master, you may afford no subject for complaint; by which means the Irish, guided by a wise administration, may obey you as lord of Ireland; or if they (which heaven forbid) continue in rebellion, which they describe before God and man to be innocent, that rebellion may be deemed unjust. In order, therefore, that your majesty may become acquainted with the grievances of the Irish people, we send to you, enclosed, the letters they have sent to the above-named cardinals, with a copy of the bull which our predecessor Adrian, of happy memory, hath sent to the illustrious Henry, king of England, concerning the act of conferring on him the kingdom of Ireland. Given," &c.

Ireland at this time produced several learned men. Maurice Gibellan, a canon of the church of Tuam, who died in 1327, was celebrated as a philosopher, and a good poet

Adam Godham, a monk of the order of St. Francis, having taken the degree of doctor in theology, at Oxford, wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, which were printed in Paris in 1512; he wrote likewise a book of philosophical directions.* Bale makes mention of this author, but calls him Adam Wodeham, for which he cites the authority of John Major, who, notwithstanding, calls him Adam Godhamen. The following are his words: "At the same time flourished Adam Godhamen, who had heard Ockam at Oxford; he was a man of modesty, and not inferior to Ockam in learning."† Bale is also in error, according to Ware, in saying he was an Englishman; John Major, he says, calls him, in another place, Adam of Ireland. Oxford, says Major, formerly produced some celebrated philosophers and theologians; namely, Alexander Hales, Richard Middleton, John Duns, the subtle doctor, Ockam, Adam of Ireland, Robert Holkot, &c. Lastly, Ware supposes that Godham is the same as Gregory de Rimini, so often quoted under the name of Adam the Doctor, or the doctor of Ireland, in his treatise written on the "Sentences," 1344.

William Ockam, a Franciscan friar, and disciple of John Scot, is ranked among the celebrated men of this time; he was generally called the invincible, apostolic, and prince of Nominalists: he died at Munich, in Bavaria, and was interred among the Franciscans. Volateran thinks that he was an Irishman.‡ "Ireland," says he, "had also her saints, particularly the prelates Malachi, Cataldus, and Patrick, who converted her people to the Christian religion; and also a prelate called William Ockams, the celebrated logician, a Minorite and cardinal of Armagh, under the pontificate of John XXII., who lived in 1353, and was highly esteemed for his learning and writings."§ Philip O'Sullivan, who calls him O'Cahan, and a few

* War. de Script. Hil.

† Cent. 5, cap. 98. De gestis Scotor lib. 4, cap. 11.

‡ Commentar. Urban. lib. 3.

§ Hist. Cathol. Hib. Compend tom. 1 lib. 4 cap. 8

others, agree with Volateran respecting the country of Ockam; but Ware, convinced by the reasons assigned by Wadding, thinks otherwise.*

David Obugey, a monk of the Carmelite order, of the convent of Kildare, was remarkable for his learning, first at Oxford and afterwards at Treves. Having been nominated provincial of his order, he returned to Ireland, where, according to Bale, he held chapters at Atherdee and Dublin.† He was considered a great philosopher, an elegant orator, a profound theologian, and one of the most learned in the law of his time. He wrote discourses for the clergy, epistles to various persons, propositions discussed, lectures, and rules of law; also a treatise against Gerard de Bononia, and Commentaries on the Bible. This learned man died at Kildare, advanced in years, where he was buried in the convent of his own order.

Gilbert Urgale, so called from the place of his birth, lived in 1330.‡ He belonged to the order of Carmelites, and was author of two large volumes, one of which was a Summary of Law, and the other on Theology. The compiler of the Annals of Ross lived in 1346, at which time he concludes with observing, that O'Carrouil was killed this year, in the district of Eile, by the people of Ossory.

Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, was appointed deputy of Ireland, A. D. 1330. All was tranquil during the summer, and the severity of winter prevented the renewal of hostilities, which, however, began in Lent, in Meath, between the Mac-Geoghegans and the English.§ The latter, supported by the united forces of the earls of Ulster and Ormond, defeated the former at Loghynerthy, and killed one hundred and ten of their men, with three young noblemen, sons of their leading chiefs.

A parliament was held this year at Kilkenny, at which Alexander, archbishop of Dublin, the earls of Ulster and Ormond, were present, besides other noblemen, the chief of whom were William Bermingham and Walter Burke, of Connaught. Each of these came attended by his troops, in order to attack O'Brien, and expel him from Urkiffe, near Cashel, where he was posted. With their combined army they marched towards Limerick, and on their route, the Burkes pillaged the lands of the Fitzgeralds, which produced a quarrel between these two families, and obliged the lord-justice to have the earl of Ulster, and Maurice, lord of Desmond, arrested, and committed into the hands of the marshal, at Limerick. Maurice, however, found means to escape, and the earl of Ulster was liberated, after which they both went to England, and their troops were disbanded without having performed any thing, according to an anonymous writer, *quod nihil perfecerunt.*

The following year, 1331, the English defeated the Irish of Leinster, on the 21st of April, in the district of Kinseallagh; and in the month of May, O'Brien was routed at Thurles with considerable loss. About the same time David O"Toole advanced with his forces towards Tulagh, which belonged to the archbishop of Dublin, and thence carried off several herds of cattle, and killed Richard White, and many others by whom he was opposed. The intelligence of these depredations having reached Dublin, O"Toole was pursued by Sir Philip Britt, Maurice Fitzgerald, a knight of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Hamon Archdekin, John Camerar, Robert Tyrrell, the two sons of Reginald Barnewall, and several others, all of whom lost their lives in an ambuscade which was laid for them by O"Toole, at Culiagh. Encouraged by this success, the O"Tooles besieged and took the castle of Arklow; but these disturbances were partly quelled by William Bermingham, at the head of a large body of forces.

In the month of June, Sir Anthony Lucy, a man highly esteemed in England, was sent to Ireland as lord-justice; he was the bearer of letters from the king to the earl of Ulster and other noblemen, in which he ordered them to give him assistance whenever he would require it. He was attended by Hugh de Lacy, who had just received a general pardon. The new lord-justice intended to put down the disturbances in Ireland by a severe mode of government; but the undertaking was too difficult for one man, and required more time than he could give to it. His administration, however, was favored by a victory gained over the Irish at Finagh, in Meath. He summoned a parliament for the month of June, in Dublin; but the meeting being thinly attended, it was adjourned to Kilkenny, where it was to be held on the 7th of July. The earl of Kildare, and the noblemen who had been absent from the parliament in Dublin, attended that of Kilkenny, in which they apologized for their former absence, and were pardoned their past of-

* Annal. Minor. ad an. 1323, n. 15, ad an. 1347, n. 22.
† Cent. 14, tit. 92.
‡ Bale, Cent. 14, n. 92.
§ Pembrig. ad an. 1330

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fences, on taking an oath not to violate the peace for the futnre.

The viceroy being informed in the month of August, that the Irish had pillaged and burned the castle of Ferns, conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of some of the noblemen who had not appeared at the meeting in Kilkenny, and believing them to act in conjunction with the Irish, had some of them arrested. Henry Mandevil was taken in the month of September; Maurice Fitzgerald, of Desmond, was arrested in Limerick, in the beginning of October, and brought to Dublin; Walter Burke and his brother were taken in November; and, lastly, William and Walter Bermingham were removed from Clonmel to Dublin in the month of February following, where William was tried; and notwithstanding the important services he had rendered to his king and country, was condemned to death, and executed on the 11th of July. Walter, his son, was pardoned, having taken holy orders. Maurice, of Desmond, remained for eighteen months in prison, when, on giving security, he was permitted to go and plead his cause before the king of England.

In the month of July, 1332, the Irish destroyed the castle of Bunratty. On the other hand, the English retook the castle of Arklow, and had it rebuilt. In Munster they defeated the O'Briens, Mac-Cartys, and their allies, and took from them the castle of Coolmore. The hostages which the English had received from the Irish some time before, having been kept in Limerick and Nenagh, undertook to surprise these places, and succeeded in making themselves masters of them; but the English having assembled their forces, they were retaken. The hostages of Limerick were put to death, but those of Nenagh were spared. In the mean time the O'Tooles, of Leinster, took Newcastle, in the county of Wicklow, and reduced it to ashes.

The affairs of Ireland were the chief object of the parliament which was at this time assembled in England; they determined that the king should visit that country in person, and that, in the mean time, reinforcements should be sent thither. The several English noblemen who possessed estates there, received orders to reside on them, in order to assist in defending it:* and those who were appointed to serve as lords-justices in Ireland, were forbidden to frame any pretext for avoiding it. William Burke and other noblemen then received orders to go to England, and prepare for the king's voyage, which was deferred on account of the advanced period of the season. The lord-justice was recalled in November, and in February Sir John Darcy was sent in his place.

The king being desirous that the new governor should support the dignity of his office, conferred on him the lordships of Louth and Ballyoganny, which had been confiscated when Simon, Count d'Eu, to whom they belonged, withdrew from the service of the king of England, and attached himself to the French monarch.

In the beginning of Darcy's administration, the Berminghams carried off large booty from the O'Connors of Sligo, A. D. 1333. William Burke, earl of Ulster, was assassinated on the 6th of June in this year by his servants, on the road to Carrickfergus. His countess, alarmed by this outrage, set sail for England with her only daughter, who was afterwards married to Lionel, duke of Clarence, the king's son, by whom she had an only daughter who married Roger Mortimer, earl of March and lord of Trim, in Meath. This was the reason why the titles of earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught were annexed to the crown. There were, however, two noblemen of the name of Burke, apparently of the family of the earls of Ulster, who took possession of some of the estates, which they kept for a length of time, contrary to the spirit of the law, and gave origin to different branches of this noble family, which is still in being, in Connaught. To supply the want of a legal title, they sought support from the friendship of the ancient Irish; joined in their leagues; adopted their language, manners, and customs; and even went so far as to change their name, by placing the article Mac before it, like the Irish. From them is derived the name of Mac-William, &c.

The assassination of the earl of Ulster caused a great sensation in Ireland, A. D. 1334. The viceroy being determined to take revenge on the murderers, and having consulted with his parliament, set sail on the 1st of July for Carrickfergus, where he put them to the sword. This done, he committed the government to the care of Thomas Burke, treasurer of Ireland, during his absence, and crossed over with his army to Scotland, to the assistance of the king his master.

Stephen Segrave, archbishop of Armagh, died this year, (1335.) He was succeeded by David O'Hiraghty, otherwise Mac-Oreghty, who was consecrated at Avignon, and put in possession of his see in the month of March following.

* We discover in this place, that the conquest of Ireland was not completed in the fourteenth century, since the English who had been enriched with the spoils of its inhabitants were obliged to reside in it, to defend their unjustly acquired properties.

In the parliament of England, held on the fifteenth of March, it was determined that the king's presence being necessary in France, his voyage to Ireland should be delayed for another year, and in the mean time that succor should be sent thither. But it appears that the war with Scotland prevented either voyage being undertaken at the time; and though the king was advised by both chambers to send assistance in men and money to Ireland, and they voted a sixth and fifteenth as aids for the purpose, it appears that instead of this assistance, inconsiderable in amount, a commission was sent to treat with the rebels, in other words, the Irish.

John Darcy, having signalized himself against the Scotch, returned to Ireland and resumed the government, which he had confided to the treasurer in his absence. The first use he made of his authority was to release Walter Bermingham from prison. About this time Simon Archdekin and several of his retinue were killed in Leinster by the Irish. Roche, lord of Fermoy, was fined two hundred marks of silver for having neglected to attend two parliaments to which he had been summoned; but his son prevailed on the king to reduce the fine to ten pounds sterling.

Maurice Fitzgerald was prevented at this time, by an accident, from going to England; his leg being broken by a fall from his horse, which obliged him to defer his voyage, A. D. 1335. As soon as he recovered he set sail for that country, where he was well received by the king, who created him earl of Desmond, A. D. 1336. Sir John Darcy was succeeded the year following, in his office of lord-justice, by Sir John Charleton.

On the right bank of the river Suire, county Waterford, opposite the town of Carrick, in the county of Tipperary, a convent called Carrick Bee was founded at this time, for Franciscan friars, by James Butler, first earl of Ormond, who gave the ground and a house for the purpose.* Both Ware and Wadding agree that Clinnus was the first warden of it. There was a large enclosure, besides beautiful meadows, belonging to this convent, but on the suppression of the monasteries, the earls of Ormond took back their house, and all that depended on it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Sir John Charleton, who was nominated lord-justice of Ireland, A.D. 1337, was attended in his voyage thither by his brother Thomas, bishop of Hereford, as chancellor, and John Rice (Ap Rees) as treasurer, and was followed by two hundred soldiers. On his arrival he summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin. The archbishop of Armagh was preparing to attend this meeting, but he found some opposition from the archbishop of Dublin, who would not permit him to enter his diocese with the cross raised The king having been informed of the difference between the prelates, prohibited the archbishop and citizens of Dublin from interfering with the primate.

Charleton was deprived by the king, in 1338, of the office of lord-justice, at the instigation of his brother, the bishop of Hereford, who succeeded him. This new governor sent to Munster for Sir Eustace Poer, and John his uncle, and on some suspicion, had them confined in the castle of Dublin. The winter was very severe this year in Ireland; snow fell frequently; the frost lasted from the 2d of December till the 10th of February, and so frozen was the river Liffey, that the people played, danced, and dressed their food upon the ice.

The disturbances continued in Ireland, particularly in Munster, where the Irish often took up arms; but they were defeated in the county of Kerry, with the loss of twelve hundred men, by the earl of Desmond, A. D. 1339. He caused Nicholas Fitzmaurice, lord of Kerry, who was of English origin, to be arrested, and imprisoned till his death, for having taken part with the Irish against him and the king. The earl of Kildare was not more lenient to the inhabitants of Leinster; he pursued the O'Dempseys of Clanmalire so closely that several of them were drowned in the river Barrow. The lord-justice, about the same time, at the head of some English troops, carried away an immense booty from the territory of Idrone, in the county of Carlow. This prelate was recalled to England in the month of April following, and gave up his dignity to Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, who did not enjoy it long, having died in the month of February, A. D. 1340.

The king of England now appointed Sir John Darcy lord-justice of Ireland, during his life, of which office he granted him letters patent. This nobleman being unable to go in person, sent Sir John Morris as deputy in his place; but the Anglo-Irish, who had become wealthy, and invested with titles of honor, would not submit to an authority delegated to a simple knight, and refused to pay him the respect which was due to his station. In order to punish their

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26, et Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

pride, the court decreed by a public act, addressed to the lord-justice, that all the gifts of lands, liberties, lordships, or jurisdictions, which had been bestowed in Ireland, either by the reigning king or his predecessor, should be revoked, 1341, and that the said lands and lordships should be seized in the king's name, in order that investigation might be made into the causes and conditions of those donations, and the merit of the persons on whom they had been conferred.

This decree against the new proprietors of land in Ireland, gave rise to that distinction between an Englishman by birth and an Englishman by descent, which became so injurious to the interests of the English in Ireland. By it we discover the facility with which the kings of England bestowed the lands of the ancient Irish on their English subjects; and the artful misrepresentations and treachery resorted to by the latter to obtain the property of their neighbors. The meanest English subject, who was employed either in the militia or the magistracy, by representing an Irishman possessed of land to be a rebel, or suspected of being such, was certain of being rewarded by the English tribunal at the expense of a man who was denied the means of justice to vindicate himself; conduct which naturally kept up hatred and animosity between the two people, and gave rise to the murders and sanguinary conflicts which were so frequent.

The decree alluded to having caused considerable disturbances among the Anglo-Irish, a parliament was summoned to meet in Dublin, in the month of October, to allay them; but the earl of Desmond, and other lords of his faction, instead of attending it, formed a league with the corporations of towns, and others who were dissatisfied; and without consulting the government, convened a general assembly at Kilkenny, for the month of November, where they met in spite of the lord-justice, who did not dare to appear among them. This was an obvious contempt of the royal authority. The result of the assembly was to send deputies to the king, with complaints couched in form of the three following questions: 1st. How could a state torn by wars be governed by a man who had no experience in military affairs? 2d. How could an officer without a fortune, and the king's representative, amass more wealth in one year, than those with extensive possessions could do in many? 3d. As they were all called lords of their estates, how was it that their sovereign was not the richest among them?

The king immediately understood the purport of these interrogatories; but as he was resolved not to restore the lands which had been seized, he tried other means to reform the abuses which prevailed, and to satisfy the people. He recalled several judges and other officers whose administration was disliked, particularly Elias de Ashbourne, whose property had been seized; Thomas Montpellier, and Henry Baggot, judges in the court of common pleas. He sent orders to the deputy to ascertain the rank, services, pay, number, and conduct of his officers in Ireland. He abolished all respite and forgiveness of debts due to the crown, which were granted by his officers, and ordered that they should be recovered. John Darcy, the king's chief-justice, and the deputy, were commanded to admit no Englishman, who was not possessed of landed property in England, to any of the high offices of the state; and all who were already in office, not possessing such qualifications, were ordered to be dismissed. They were prohibited to sell or confiscate the crown-lands without royal permission, and a perfect knowledge of the circumstances under which such confiscations or sales took place. The king abolished likewise some privileges to which the treasurer of the exchequer laid claim; as, for instance, a right to use and pay any sum under five pounds that he thought proper, without being responsible for it. He also ordered him to give an account of the past expenditure, and never to make any payment for the future without the sanction of the lord-justice, the chancellor, and the council. He likewise took from that officer the nomination of county sheriffs, and conferred it on the head magistrates, who were enjoined to choose fit persons for that office. The king's money being often lost through the avarice of the treasurer, who was bribed to allow delay to parties in the payment of it, he was not suffered to receive the revenue, except in the public office. Lastly, the king sent for a list of the individuals whose estates had been seized, and in order to reward John Darcy the elder for his services, he received liberty to claim his property, which had been confiscated. The lord-justice, deputy, and chancellor, were all commissioned to examine into, and regulate the exchequer. All this, however, did not put a stop to the disturbances, and the king was at length obliged to restore the lands which had been seized.

At this time, John Larche, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, and Thomas Wogan, were sent to the

king, by the prelates, earls, barons, and other lords, with a list of the grievances under which they labored. In Pryn's animadversions we discover what these grievances were, and the king's answer. It is not known whether these deputies were sent by the parliament in Dublin, or the meeting of the malecontents in Kilkenny; but it is certain that the lord-justice was recalled soon after their embassy.

Sir Ralph Ufford was sent to Ireland in quality of lord-justice, in 1343. He married the countess-dowager of Ulster. It is affirmed, that on his arrival in the country, the most severe and inclement season succeeded very fine weather, and that rain and storms were frequent during his administration. He was considered more severe and cruel than any one who had preceded him in the government of Ireland. He appropriated the goods of others to his own use, and plundered without distinction the clergy, the laity, the rich, and the poor, assigning the public welfare as a pretext. He tyrannized over the inhabitants of the country, and no one found justice at his hands. Such is the character which Ufford bore, both among the new and the old Irish; he was so universally abhorred, that on his entering Ulster, he was robbed in the open day, at Emerdullan, by Maccartan and his followers, who seized upon his equipages in presence of the people, none of whom interfered to defend him.

In the parliament which had met at Nottingham, in November, laws were enacted for the reformation of the Irish government, which are the same, says Cox, as are mentioned in the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward II. They are to be met with in full in Pryn's remarks on the fourth institute.

The following year, 1345, the lord-justice convened a parliament in Dublin in the month of June. The earl of Desmond, who refused to appear at it, called a meeting himself at Callan; but many of the noblemen who had promised to attend, absented themselves by orders of the king. The lord-justice, exasperated at the earl's conduct, sent, of his own accord, the king's standard to Munster, where he seized on his estates, and gave them *in custodiam* to whoever would take them. He seized upon the castles of Iniskilly and Ile by a stratagem, in the month of October, and three knights who were in command of them were ordered to be hanged; namely, Eustace Poer, William Grant, and John Cotterell; *quia multas graves, extraneas, et intolerabiles, leges exercuissent;** because they introduced many strange and intolerable laws.

The earl of Desmond, humbled by the manner in which he had been treated by the lord-justice, was forced to submit, by procuring the earls of Ulster and Ormond, with twenty-four knights, to become his security;† but dreading the governor's severity, he did not think prudent himself to appear. This cost those who had become his bail dearly; the lord-justice confiscated the estates of eighteen knights, and reduced them to beggary; but the other six, with the earls of Ulster and Ormond, found means to get clear of this embarrassment.

John O'Grada, archbishop of Cashel, died at this time; he was first the rector of Ogussin, in the diocese of Killaloe, then treasurer of Cashel, when he was appointed by the dean and chapter to this see, whose choice was confirmed by the pope. He was a discreet and clever man, according to the annals of Nenagh: *Vir magnæ discretionis et industriæ.* Having enriched his church considerably, he died at Limerick, after taking the Dominican habit, and was interred in the church of that order. He was succeeded in the see of Cashel by Radulphus O'Kelly.

Ufford, having settled his affairs in Munster, returned to Dublin, where he had left his wife. Not satisfied with making war against the nobles, he persecuted the clergy also, and took large sums of money from them; some he imprisoned, and confiscated the property of others. He also had the earl of Kildare arrested for treason, who was detained in the castle of Dublin till the month of May following, when he was liberated by the successor of this magistrate.

Sir John Ufford having tyrannically ruled over his countrymen in Ireland during two years, died unregretted in Dublin, on Palm Sunday, the 9th of April, 1346. The countess, his wife, who had been received in Ireland like an empress, and lived in it as a queen, was obliged to leave the castle through a back gate, to avoid the insults of her enemies, and the demands of her creditors.

Sir Roger Darcy was appointed, with the good will of all, to fill the vacant office of lord-justice. He took the oath on the 10th of April, but on the 25th of the following month he resigned it in favor of Sir John Morris, who had been appointed by the court; the disastrous news of the O'Morras having burned the castles of Ley and Kil-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 13.
† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 121.

mehide having arrived some time before. The first act of the administration of Morris was to set the earl of Kildare at liberty, who had been state prisoner. During his government, which was of a short duration, a bloody battle took place between the Irish of Ulster and the English of Uriel, in which the latter were defeated, with the loss of three hundred men.

David O'Hiraghty, or according to others, Mac-Oreghty, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Avignon, in 1334.* He was summoned to attend the parliament held in Dublin, in 1337, by Sir John Charleton, who was then lord-justice; but the old difference which still continued between the sees of Armagh and Dublin, respecting the primacy, prevented his appearing. According to the annals of Nenagh, he died on the 16th of May, 1346. Pembridge is incorrect in placing his death in the year 1337, since he was succeeded in the see of Armagh, in 1347, by Richard, son of Ralph.

Sir Walter Bermingham succeeded John Morris in the government of Ireland, and took the usual oath in the month of June. He then obtained leave for the earl of Desmond to go to England to defend his cause, where the king received him kindly, allowing him twenty shillings a day to defray his expenses while he remained at court. He pleaded his cause with warmth, and demanded reparation for the injustice which Ufford had done to him.

The lord-justice and the earl of Kildare having united their forces, pursued the O'Morras closely, and forced them to surrender, and give hostages, A. D. 1347. Through gratitude for the kindness his relative, the earl of Desmond, had met with in England, the earl of Kildare set out for Calais, which Edward was then besieging, where the king, as a reward for his services, conferred on him the honor of knighthood. The lord-justice having been obliged to go to England on some business about this time, appointed John Archer, prior of Kilmainham, deputy during his absence. The same year, Donald Oge Mac-Morrough, the heir of the ancient royal house of Leinster, was assassinated by his vassals, and the town of Nenagh was burned by the Irish.

Christopher Pembridge, a native of Dublin, flourished at this period. He was author of the greater part of the Irish annals, published by Camden in 1607, at the end of his Britannia, and which ended with 1347.

On Sir Walter Bermingham's return to Ireland, where he resumed the reins of government, A. D. 1348, the king rewarded him with the estate of Kenlis, in Ossory, which had belonged to Sir Eustace Poer, one of those whom Ufford had put to death for his attachment to the interests of the earl of Desmond. Usurpation, tyranny, and civil wars were not the only afflictions with which Ireland was visited. The climate, which, according to Cambrensis, was so temperate and healthy in the twelfth century that physicians were hardly needed,* became totally changed, and the provinces were desolated by a general plague.

The house of commons of England presented a petition to the king, praying him to appoint commissioners to examine into the causes why his majesty derived so small a revenue from Ireland, while his power in that country was more extended than that of any of his predecessors had been; and to inquire into the conduct of the officers employed there, in order to punish or change them, in case of misdemeanor or bad government on their part. It was also requested in the prayer of the petition, to establish a rule respecting the succession of the earl of Ulster, in order to prevent the collateral heirs of that nobleman, some of whom were but little attached to his majesty's interests, from aspiring to it, in case the duchess of Clarence, his daughter-in-law, should die without issue.

The troubles in Ireland began now to subside. The favorable reception which the earls of Desmond and Kildare had met with in England and France, and the hopes of seeing the lands restored which had been seized upon for the king's use, were happy omens of peace and general tranquillity between the king and his Irish subjects, so that this period presents nothing interesting, except the change of governors.

Malachi Mac-Aed, archbishop of Tuam, died about this time. He was canon when raised to the see of Elphin, in 1309, by a bull from the pope. Being elected shortly afterwards by the canons of Tuam to be archbishop of their see, his appointment was confirmed, in the beginning of 1313, by the sovereign pontiff. Malachi was a man of deep erudition; he is thought to have been the author of a large volume, written in the Irish language, which was still extant in Ware's time, under the title of Leavas Mac-Aed, and which, among other things, contained a list of the kings of Ireland from Niall Noygiollach to Roderick O'Connor

* War. de Archiep. Armach.

* Topograph. Hib. distinct. cap. 25.

He also wrote the prophecy of St. Jarlath respecting his successors in the see of Tuam. This prelate renewed his claim to the see of Enaghdune, which had been separated from Tuam twenty years before, though it had been previously united to that arch-diocese. Malachi died at an advanced age, on St. Laurence's day. He was interred in the cathedral church of Our Lady of Tuam, and was succeeded by Thomas O'Carrol.

On the death of John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, the old disputes were renewed about the election of a prelate. The suffrages were divided between Walter Thornbury, chorister of the church of St. Patrick, and chancellor of Ireland, and Alexander Bicknor, prebendary of Maynooth, and treasurer of Ireland. Walter, in order to secure the pope's approbation, who was then in France, set sail for that country, and perished the night following in the waves, with a hundred and fifty-six others, who were in the same vessel. Bicknor having no longer a rival, and all the votes being united in his favor, set out for Lyons, where he was appointed by Pope Clement V., of his own authority, without any reference to the election. He was afterwards consecrated at Avignon, by cardinal Ostium. The bulls confirming his election were read and published on the feast of the purification, in Christ's cathedral. This prelate, who was afterwards nominated lord-justice of Ireland, repaired to Dublin in the month of October, 1318, where he was received with loud acclamations by the clergy and people, and installed in the archiepiscopal see. He founded a college two years afterwards, near St. Patrick's church, with the sanction of Pope John XXII. The undertaking was worthy of a great prelate, but the funds being insufficient, the establishment could not be supported. The statutes of this college are quoted by Ware, in his 15th chapter on the Antiquities of Ireland. This prelate was sent by the English parliament, with Edmond de Woodstock, earl of Kent, brother to King Edward, as ambassador to the court of France, where his success was but moderate. He had warm debates with Richard, archbishop of Armagh, respecting the pre-eminence of the two sees. He held a synod, the rules of which are in the white book of the church of Ossory. A country-house was built by him at Taulaght, for himself and his successors in the see of Dublin. This prelate, who equalled any of his predecessors in prudence and learning, having filled the see for nearly thirty-two years, died in the month of July, 1349. He was interred in St. Patrick's church, and was succeeded in the archbishopric by John de St. Paul.

Some religious houses were founded in this century, but the years of their foundation is not known.* At Balli-ne-Gall, in the county of Limerick, there was a convent established for Dominicans, according to Ware, by the Roches, but attributed by Allemand to the Clan-Gibbons.† There was another of the same order founded in the town of Galway, and one at Clonshanvil, in the county of Roscommon, by M'Dermot, lord of the country.

The Franciscans of the third order had two houses in the county of Sligo,‡ one at Ballimot, the other at Court, both founded about the same time, by the M'Donoghs and the O'Haras, Irish lords of that country.

In this century also two convents were established for Carmelites; one at little Horeton, in the county of Wexford, by the Furlongs; the other at Crevabane, in the county Galway, by the Burkes of Clanriccard. There was also a house of this order at Cluncurry, in the county of Kildare, founded in 1347, by the Roches. Two houses were also founded for Augustin nuns; one at Killeigh, in the district of Geashill, by the Warrens; the other at Moylag, in the county of Tipperary, by the Butlers of the house of Ormond.

At Quinchi, in the county of Clare, there was a convent for Franciscan friars, founded by the M'Nemaras, lords of Clancully, or Clancullane. Speed calls this place Quint, or Kint: according to Wadding, it is called Coinhe; and Coinche by father Castet. It might, perhaps, with more propriety, be called Inchequin:§ there are various opinions respecting the time of its foundation; Wadding places it in 1350. The tombs of the founders are to be seen in the church of this convent. Pope Eugene IV. allowed Mac-Con-More M'Nemara, who was chief of that noble family in 1433, to establish Observantine Franciscans in this convent. Wadding observes that it was the first of the Franciscan order in Ireland, which received that particular rule. Allemand wrongs the pope, in saying that he gave the title of duke of Clancully to M'Nemara in his bull. He had, in fact, no thought of creating titles of dignity in Ireland; the word dux, or duke,

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.
† Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 220.
‡ War. de Antiq. ibid.
§ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 15. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

which he makes use of, signifying nothing more than chief or lord of Clancully.*

Baron Carew succeeded Sir Walter Bermingham in the office of lord-justice of Ireland. He was succeeded, after some time, by Sir Thomas Rokesby, who was invested with that authority in the month of December, 1349; but being obliged to return to England after a year, he appointed Maurice de Rochford, bishop of Limerick, his deputy during his absence. Rokesby returned in a short time to Ireland, having obtained the king's permission to add to his usual guard of twenty horsemen, ten men-at-arms, and twenty archers, A. D. 1353.

John Clynn, a Franciscan friar of the house belonging to their order at Kilkenny, and first warden of the Franciscans, at Carrick, wrote annals from the Christian era to 1313.† He continued them afterwards with considerable additions, to the year 1349, which was probably the time of his death. He also wrote annals of the kings of England, from Hengist to Edward III.; likewise of the wardens of his order in Ireland and England, and a list of the bishoprics of the three kingdoms. His works were still extant in Ware's time, in the Franciscan convent at Kilkenny. Sir James Lee, chief-justice of the king's bench, afterwards treasurer of England, and earl of Marlborough, had the annals of Clynn, and other writings on the affairs of Ireland, transcribed, and given to Henry, earl of Bath, who undertook to have them printed.

At this time, Robert Savage, a rich and powerful man in Ulster, declared war against the ancient proprietors of the lands he had usurped, and put many of them to the sword in the county of Antrim.

Rokesby resigned his office of lord-justice in the month of July, 1355, and was succeeded by Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond. This nobleman was now in so great favor at court, that the office was conferred on him for life. He was respected for his equity and love of justice, for which he was so remarkable, that he did not spare even his own relatives, when guilty of any offence. The barons of the exchequer were reduced in his time to three. John de Pembrook chancellor, was appointed third baron. The earl of Desmond having died on the 25th of January following, Sir Thomas Rokesby returned to Ireland as lord-justice. This magistrate convened a parliament at Kilkenny, in which laws were enacted relative to the government of the state. The court sent orders to him, and to the chancellor of Ireland, to have the difficulties removed which some of the king's subjects met with in the recovery of their lands, which had been seized in his majesty's name. Rokesby died shortly afterwards at Kilkea, and was succeeded in the government of Ireland by Almaric de Saint Amand.

About this time a house was founded for Carmelites at Ballinahinch, in the county of Galway, by the O'Flahertys, Irish lords of that country; and another of the same order at Ballinsmale, in the county of Mayo, by the family of the Prendergasts.* There was also a house founded the same year for Dominicans in the town of Naas, county Kildare, by the Fitz-Eustaces.

A warm debate arose between Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and the mendicant friars, A. D. 1357, concerning some animadversions which that prelate made upon them in the sermons which he preached in London.† The superior of the minor brothers of Armagh, seconded by many of his own, and the Dominican order, had him summoned to Avignon, whither he repaired without delay; but after spending three years at the court of the sovereign pontiff, he died without bringing his affairs to a conclusion.

The king of England gave the lord-justice of Ireland a new proof of the confidence he reposed in him; namely, the privilege, with the approval of the chancellor and treasurer, to pardon all the English and Irish whom he might consider worthy of it, for every crime except that of high treason. He, however, soon afterwards resigned his office, and was succeeded by the earl of Ormond.

James Butler, commonly called the noble earl, from his being descended, by the female line, from Edward I., was intrusted with the government of Ireland, A. D. 1359. In his time the king of England published an act prohibiting any of the old Irish from being admitted to hold the offices of mayor, bailiff, or any situation in a city within the English

* The noble tribe of the M'Nemaras, of Thuomond, are descended from Oilioll Olum, king of Munster in the second century, by his son Cormac Cas; they owned a considerable territory in the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty, in the county of Clare for many ages. Gratianus Lucius, after the ancient poem of O'Douvegan, calls them *Maighaghair*. This tribe has been distinguished for their virtue and beneficence. In our time it has given birth to a man of great celebrity, viz., John M'Nemara, who died in 1747, vice-admiral in the service of France, of the grand military order of St. Louis, and governor of the port of Rochefort.

† War de Script. Hib.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist Monast. d'Irl. page 337.

† War. de Archiepisc. Ardmachan.

province; and also from being appointed to any ecclesiastical dignity. The year following, however, he mitigated this act in favor of some Irish prelates who had been attached to him.

The earl of Ormond having been recalled, under some pretext, to England, Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, was appointed lord-justice during his absence, A. D. 1360, by a patent under the great seal of Ireland, with the usual salary of five hundred pounds sterling a year, on condition of supporting nineteen men-at-arms for his guard, and protecting the English colony, with the castles and lands belonging to it. His government was of short duration, as he resigned it to the earl of Ormond on his return to Ireland.

Richard, son of Ralph, a native of Dundalk, and archbishop of Armagh, died at this time at Avignon. Having taken the degree of doctor of theology in the university of Oxford, of which he was chancellor in 1333, he was appointed dean of Lichfield, and in 1347, consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Oxford, having been named to that see by Clement VI. Raphael Volateran, in his commentaries, calls him cardinal of Armagh; but Alphonso Ciaconius and Onuphrius Panvinius make no mention of him in their list of cardinals. This prelate was a learned theologian, and an able preacher. Ware mentions his having a collection, in manuscript, of sermons preached by him at Lichfield, London, and other places in England; at Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and elsewhere in the county of Armagh; and also at Avignon, where he delivered a discourse in favor of bishops and parish priests, in presence of the pope, at a consistory held on the 5th of July, 1350. In the sermons which he preached in London, he drew the following inferences, for which he was summoned to Avignon: 1st, that our Lord Jesus Christ, as a man, was very poor, not that he loved poverty for itself; 2d, that our Lord had never begged; 3d, that he never taught men to beg; 4th, that, on the contrary, he taught men not to beg; 5th, that man cannot, with prudence and holiness, confine himself by vow to a life of constant mendicity; 6th, that minor brothers are not obliged by their rule to beg; 7th, that the bull of Alexander IV., which condemns the Book of Masters, does not invalidate any of the aforesaid conclusions; 8th, that by those who, wishing to confess, exclude certain churches, their parish one should be preferred to the oratories of monks; and 9th, that, for auricular confession, the diocesan bishop should be chosen in preference to friars.

Other works are ascribed also to this prelate; namely, a treatise on the questions of the Armenians respecting the four books of "Sentences," and the Gospels; one on the poverty of Jesus Christ; one on the motives of the Jews; a defence of parish priests; answers to the objections made against the privileges given to mendicant brothers; instructions for judges, on the declaration to be made concerning the *Extravagantes* of Pope John XXII., beginning with the words: *Vas electionis:* a dissertation on mendicants in good health, in which it is questioned if they be entitled to relief; a dialogue on subjects connected with the holy Scriptures, and a manuscript which is in Lincoln college, at Oxford. He is said to have written likewise the life of the abbot of St. Munchin, who lived in 640; praises of the blessed Virgin; the spiritual virtue of the passion of our Lord, &c. The body of this prelate was removed from Avignon to Dundalk in 1370, by Stephen de Valle, bishop of Meath; and the great number of miracles attributed to him, induced Pope Boniface IX. to commit the examination of the body to John Colton, one of his successors in the see of Armagh, and Richard Young, the intended bishop of Bangor; but this inquiry was brought to no conclusion. The see of Armagh was filled, after the death of Richard, by Milo Sweetman.

Some other writers flourished about the same time. Hugh of Ireland, belonging to the order of minor brothers, wrote his travels in different countries. Wadding believes that he was the same person as Hugh Bernard, a provincial of the minorites in Ireland.

William, of Drogheda, so called from the place of his birth, lived at this period. He was educated at Oxford, where he became eminent for his knowledge of law, as well as of arithmetic and geometry, and was public professor of law in that university. He is said to have been author of a book called the Golden Summary, which is in the college of Caius and Gonville, at Cambridge; and of a treatise on secrecy. Doctor Thomas James, in his catalogue of manuscripts at Oxford and Cambridge, places him among the number of writers on civil law.

Geoffry O'Hogan, of the order of the minor brothers at Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, wrote the annals of his time, from 1336 to 1370, which are to be met with in manuscript.

The king of England wishing to send his son Lionel to Ireland, as his lieutenant, with forces sufficient to subdue that country, in order to render the expedition more brilliant, and the undertaking more successful, sum-

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moned the duchess of Norfolk, and all the English nobles who possessed estates in Ireland, to appear before him and his council, in order to make arrangements for its defence. At this assembly they were enjoined to repair to Ireland without delay, with all the men they could collect capable of bearing arms, and assist his son. The king at the same time published a proclamation against the exportation of corn and other provisions from Ireland, under pain of confiscation. Lastly, he gave orders to confiscate all the lands which his officers had purchased there without his permission, and contrary to the decree of Edward II.

Every thing being prepared for the expedition of Lionel, who was earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William de Burgo, this prince set sail for Ireland, A. D. 1361 ; and accompanied by his countess, landed in Dublin on the 15th of September, attended by fifteen hundred men, intending to complete the conquest of the kingdom. The arrangement made in this expedition respecting the command, and the levying and payment of the troops, will appear curious and interesting ; as by it is shown the difference that prevailed between the mode of keeping up troops at that period and the present. The chiefs who commanded under Prince Lionel, were Ralph, earl of Stafford, James, earl of Ormond, John Carew, a knight Banneret, Sir William Winsore, and a few others.* The pay of the prince was at first but six shillings and eight pence a day ; that of the five knights by whom he was attended, two shillings each ; of sixty-four squires, twelve pence a day each ; and of seventy archers, six pence a day each. Prince Lionel was created duke of Clarence soon afterwards, and the number of his attendants was increased ; his salary was then raised to thirteen shillings a day ; he had eighteen knights at two shillings, and three hundred and eighty archers, viz. ; three hundred and sixty horsemen at sixpence, and twenty-three infantry at two pence a day each.

The pay of the earl of Stafford was six shillings and eight pence a day ; one Banneret, four shillings ; of seventeen knights, two shillings each ; of seventy-eight squires, twelve pence ; a hundred horse-archers, six pence each. Stafford had also the command of seventy archers from different provinces in England at four pence a day.

The earl of Ormond had four shillings a day ; two knights who commanded under him, two shillings each ; twenty-seven squires, twelve pence each ; twenty knights, called hoblers, from the hobbies or light horses which they rode, six pence ; and twenty unarmed hoblers, four pence a day.

The pay of Sir John Carew was four shillings a day ; that of a knight who attended him, two shillings ; eight squires had twelve pence ; and ten horse-archers, six pence a day each.

Sir William Winsore had two shillings a day, two other knights, two shillings each ; forty-nine squires, twelve pence ; and six horse-archers, six pence a day.

The other knights and lords in this expedition, were paid in proportion to their rank and the number of men they furnished. The kings, at that period, levied no troops by commission as they at present do ; but the lords severally undertook to raise a stipulated number for the service of the prince, according to their authority among the people, for a stated sum of money. Good policy afterwards removed this abuse, which, by making the nobles too popular, enabled them to levy forces against their sovereigns.

The preparations made by Prince Lionel were not attended with much success ; he revived the distinctions between Englishmen by descent and Englishmen by birth ; reposed all his confidence in the latter, with whom he thought himself equal to any enterprise, and refused the services of the former ; even forbidding them to approach his camp. He marched against the O'Briens, but was defeated, with the loss of a hundred men. This check made him feel the want of the Anglo-Irish, who were better acquainted with the country, and the dispositions of the inhabitants, than the new recruits he had brought from England ; and he accordingly published an edict, in which the Englishmen by descent were enjoined to enlist under his banners, by which means he was enabled to continue the campaign. He confirmed the union of parties by conferring the honor of knighthood on several of the old and new English, the principal of whom were Robert Preston, Robert Holywood, Thomas Talbot, Walter Cusack, James de la Hyde, John Frene, Patrick and Robert Fresne, and several others.

Lionel removed the exchequer from Dublin to Carlow, and gave five hundred pounds to have that town surrounded with walls. He made himself master of the maritime coasts of his country in Ulster, and kept so strict a discipline among his troops that they were no longer a burden to the people as before. All those distinguished acts influenced the clergy and Anglo-Irish lords to

* Davis. Hist. Relat.

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grant him two years value of their revenues to support the war; but after his ostentatious campaigns, he returned to England in the month of April, without effecting the conquest of Ireland, or extending the limits of the English province.

At this period, a second plague visited Ireland, and the mortality was great, particularly among the men. About this time, too, Radulphus, or Ralph O'Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, died. This prelate, who was a native of Drogheda, was educated by the Carmelites in Kildare, where he took the habit of their order. In 1336 he distinguished himself as an orator, was appointed attorney-general under Peter de Casa; in 1345 he was raised to the archbishopric of Cashel by Pope Clement VI. After laboring to secure peace to his church, he died at Cashel in 1361, in the month of November, and was interred in the church of St. Patrick. He wrote a book of canon law, some epistles on friendship, and other works which have been lost. Anthony Possevinus makes mention, in his Sacred Compendium, of this learned prelate, but calls him Kullei, and adds that he was an Englishman; but he is mistaken with regard to both his name and country. He was succeeded by George Roche, who lived only a short time, having been drowned on his return from Rome. His successor was Thomas O'Carrol.

At this time died also John de St. Paul, archbishop of Dublin. He had been a canon of that city, and was promoted to the archbishopric in the month of September, 1349, by the pope. This prelate added greatly to the size of the church of the Holy Trinity, and built, at his own expense, the episcopal palace. Some serious disputes occurred between him and Richard, the learned prelate of Armagh, about the primacy. These differences continued for a long time between the two sees, but were at length terminated by the college of cardinals, under Innocent VI. It was decided by this august tribunal, that each should take the title of primate; that the archbishop of Armagh should be styled primate of all Ireland, and the archbishop of Dublin primate of Ireland, like the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the former of whom signs himself primate of all England, and the latter primate of England. The archbishop of Dublin was nominated chancellor of Ireland, by king Edward III.; and having governed the church of Dublin for thirteen years, he died the ninth of September, and was interred in the church of the Holy Trinity. He was succeeded by Thomas Minot.

The vengeance of heaven seems to have visited Ireland at this period, from the plagues, hurricanes, and fires which took place. A third mortality was severely felt, and carried away numbers; the storms too were so frequent and violent, that the strongest trees were torn up by the roots; steeples, chimneys, and houses were thrown down; fires occurred frequently, by which many houses were reduced to ashes, and the beautiful church of St. Patrick, in Dublin, was totally consumed.

The earl of Ormond was appointed deputy, in the absence of the duke of Clarence, A. D. 1364. This nobleman obtained permission from the court to purchase lands to the value of sixty pounds sterling a year, notwithstanding the law or statute which prohibited the king's officers from purchasing land within the extent of their jurisdiction.

The archiepiscopal see of Tuam having become vacant in 1348, by the death of Malachy Mac-Aodh, the canons nominated Robert Bermingham as archbishop; but his election was rejected by the pope, who appointed Thomas O'Carrol, archdeacon of Cashel, (of the noble family of the O'Carrols of Eile,) who was consecrated at Avignon. The town of Tuam was plundered and burned during his administration, by one Charles or Cahal Oge, in concert with the son of William de Burgo. This prelate was removed by the pope in 1364, to the see of Cashel, and was succeeded at Tuam by John O'Grada.

The duke of Clarence returned to Ireland in 1365, where he continued but for a short time; remaining only to appoint Sir Thomas Dale his deputy, which done he went back to England. Serious disturbances broke out under the new governor, between the Berminghams of Carbry, county Kildare, and the English of Meath, who laid waste, in turn, each other's lands. Sir Robert Preston, first baron of the exchequer, who had married the heiress of Sir William Bermingham, was obliged to place a strong garrison in the castle of Carbry, to protect his estates.

Lionel, duke of Clarence, returned a third time to Ireland. He convened a parliament at Kilkenny, in which a celebrated law, frequently quoted under the name of the *Statute of Kilkenny*, was enacted. This law had no reference to the ancient Irish, who were not admitted as yet under the protection of the English laws, though they had frequently sought to obtain it: but were obliged to follow their own ancient laws till the reign of James I. The object of the act was a reformation in the manners and customs of the descendants of the first English, who had

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settled in Ireland since the twelfth century, and were called by their countrymen, *the degenerate English*. In fact they considered themselves, with justice, as true Irish: they possessed property in the country; and their interests had become different from those of the English by birth. They began to hold intercourse with the ancient inhabitants, whose manners, customs, and style of dress, they adopted; and many of them placed the article *Mac* before their names, in conformity with the custom of the Irish. Some branches of the Burkes, of Connaught, suppressed their real names, and called themselves Mac-William, Mac-Hubbard, Mac-David. The Berminghams took the name of Mac-Yoris; Dexecester, that of Mac-Jordan; Nangle, or de Angulo, that of Mac-Costelloe. Like changes took place among some branches of the Fitzgeralds in Munster. The chief of the house of Lixnaw was called Mac-Maurice; another was known by the name of Mac-Gibbon. These are at present called Fitzmaurice and Fitzgibbon, the articles *Mac* and *Fitz* being of the same signification, namely, son of such a one. The Butlers, of Dunboyne, took the name of Mac-Pheris; the Condons, of Waterford, were called Mac-Maioge; and in the same way, many others. It appears that the new colonies, which were sent under different reigns from England to Ireland, were always careful to sow discord between the new and old Irish, who lived in perfect harmony with each other. This became a source of uneasiness to the English, and gave rise to the celebrated statute of Kilkenny, above alluded to, which is still preserved in French in the library of Lambeth, in England. By this law, the English by descent, who had settled in Ireland, were prohibited, under the penalties of high treason, to have any intercourse with the ancient Irish, to form alliances with them by marriage, to speak their language, to imitate their mode of dress, to adopt their names, to confer livings on them, or admit them into monasteries or religious houses, &c.* This law was revived afterwards, and confirmed in a parliament held at Drogheda, under Henry VII.

The duke of Clarence having terminated to his satisfaction the parliament of Kilkenny, returned to England, A. D. 1317, and Gerard Fitzmaurice, earl of Desmond, was appointed lord-justice of Ireland. This nobleman, whose office obliged him to watch over the public peace, and maintain tranquillity among the king's subjects, commissioned Thomas Burley, prior of Kilmainham and chancellor of Ireland, John Reicher, sheriff of Meath, Robert Tyrrel, baron of Castleknock, and a few others, to make peace between the Berminghams of Carbry, and the English of Meath, who had been at war for some time. This negotiation did not, however, take place; the commissioners being arrested, contrary to the rights of war, by the Berminghams, who found means thereby to procure the liberty of James Bermingham, then a prisoner at Trim, by exchanging him for the chancellor. The others were obliged to purchase their liberty. About this time the duke of Clarence died at Pavia, in Piedmont, from whence his body was brought to England, and interred in the Augustin convent at Clare.

Sir William de Windsor arrived in Ireland in the month of July, 1369, as lord-justice. He convened a parliament at Kilkenny, which granted him a subsidy of three thousand pounds sterling, for the necessities of the state. He held a second shortly afterwards at Ballydoil, by which two thousand pounds were ordered to be raised in order to carry on the war. The payment of these sums was suspended for a while, by command of the king. They were subsequently raised, however, and placed at the disposal of the lord-justice. Ireland was visited at this time by a fourth plague, which carried off several persons of all ranks.

The lord-justice carried on the war vigorously against the O'Tools and other inhabitants of Leinster The English in Munster were, however, defeated at the same time, near the monastery of Nenay, in the county of Limerick, by the O'Briens and Mac-Nemaras of Thuomond. The earl of Desmond, John Fitznicolas, lord of Kerry, Thomas Fitzjohn, and several other noblemen were made prisoners in this engagement, and a considerable number slain. This reverse of fortune among the English created a change in the operations of the lord-justice; he collected his scattered forces, gave up his enterprises in Leinster, flew to the aid of his countrymen in Munster, and obliged M'Nemara, a powerful lord in Thuomond, to submit to him and give hostages. This viceroy was afterwards recalled to England; he left Maurice Fitzgerald in his stead as governor of Ireland, who, on his appointment, took the usual oath, A. D. 1371.

After the translation of Thomas O'Carrol, John O'Grada, archdeacon of Cashel, was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam in

* This act is in direct opposition to their pretended reformation of morals, of which the English boasted, and which had been made a pretext for their usurpation. It was by frequent intercourse only that such reformation could have been effected.

his place, and consecrated the same year at Avignon * This prelate, who was respected for his liberality and other good qualities, died at Limerick on the 19th of September, 1371, and was succeeded by Gregory, bishop of Elphin.

Sir Robert de Ashton was nominated lord-justice of Ireland, A. D. 1372. A destructive war broke out about this time, between the O'Ferralls of Longford, and the English of Meath, in which many lives were lost on both sides.† John Hussy, baron of Galtrim, John Fitzrichard, sheriff of Meath, and William Dalton, were killed, together with their retinues, in the month of May, by the M'Geoghegans of Kinalyach, who had taken part in the quarrel.

Thomas O'Carrol, archbishop of Tuam, who was translated to the see of Cashel in 1365, by a bull from the pope, governed this latter church for the space of eight years. He was greatly esteemed for his prudence and learning. He died at Cashel on the 8th of February, 1373, and was interred in the cathedral.‡ His successor was Philip de Torrington.

Sir William Windsor was at length appointed the king of England's lieutenant in Ireland, A. D. 1374. He landed at Waterford on the 18th of April, and took the oath of office at Kilkenny on the 4th of May.§ He engaged to protect and govern the English province, on condition of receiving eleven thousand two hundred and thirteen pounds sterling a year, to defray his expenses. An order was obtained by him from the king and his council, to oblige all who possessed estates in Ireland to reside in the country, under pain of having their properties confiscated, or else to send others in their place, capable of defending them; but, notwithstanding all these precautions, he was so unsuccessful in subduing the Irish, that, as he has himself acknowledged, he never was able to get access to them, and therefore gave up the enterprise.

Thomas Minot, prebendary of Malaghidert, and treasurer of Ireland, was appointed archbishop of Dublin by the pope, and consecrated on Palm Sunday, 1363. The dispute relative to the carrying of the cross, was renewed once more between him and Milo, archbishop of Armagh. This prelate had the church of St. Patrick repaired, which had been greatly injured by fire; and also caused a handsome steeple to be added to it, built of cut stone. He died in London, in the month of July, 1375, and was succeeded by Robert de Wikeford.

James Butler, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord-justice of Ireland, A. D. 1376 By this office the defence of the English province, its castles and dependencies, was confided to him during the king's pleasure. His guard consisted of twenty horsemen, well paid and mounted, he himself being the twentieth. The subjoined is a form of the commission he received, which is given for the gratification of our readers.*

In the time of this lord-justice, the counties, towns, and boroughs of the English province in Ireland sent commissioners to England to deliberate with the king on the state of affairs in that island, without making any mention of consulting the parliament.

The king, by his letter patent, dated in August, empowered the earl of Ormond as lord-justice, with the concurrence of the council, to grant a general pardon to all accused persons; the prelates, however, and earls, who were guilty of crimes which merited death, or the loss of a limb, or of their estates, were excluded from this amnesty. At the same time, Alexander, bishop of Ossory, was appointed treasurer of Ireland; six men-at-arms, and twelve archers, who were maintained at the king's expense, being given to him as a guard.

The reign of Edward III. was long and brilliant, but oppressive to his subjects, on account of the frequent taxes he was obliged to raise, to enable him to carry on the wars in which he was continually engaged with France and Scotland. As to his personal character, he was brave and successful, and appeared the more illustrious from his having been the successor and predecessor of two unhappy princes.

The good qualities of Edward were tarnished by the cruelty of which he had been guilty on three remarkable occasions. Besides the horrible catastrophe which befell his father, the enormity of which nothing can palliate, (he having been then of an age

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

† Chron. manuscr. Henric. de Marleburg. apud Camd. ad calcem Brit.

‡ War. de Archiepisc. Cassel.

§ War. de Annal. Hib. Cox, Hib. Engl. under Edward III.

* "Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto consanguineo nostro Jacobo Le Bottiler Comiti de Ormond officium Justic. nostr. Hibern. et terram nostram Hibern. cum castris et aliis pertinentiis suis custodiend. quamdiu nobis placuerit, percipiend. per an. ad scac. nostrum Hibern. (quamdiu in officio illo sic steterit) quingent. libras, pro quibus officium illud et terram custodiet, et erit se vicessimus de hominibus ad arma, cum tot equis coopertis, continuo durante commissione supra dicta," &c.

susceptible of feeling its atrocity,) he suffered Edmond, earl of Kent, his paternal uncle, to be condemned by a parliament held at Winchester, and to be beheaded for having shown some marks of tenderness and humanity for his brother Edward II., who was put to death in the deplorable manner already described.

In the beginning of his war with Scotland, Edward besieged the town of Berwick, of which Sir Alexander Seaton was commander, who, finding the place reduced to the last extremity, offered to capitulate. It was agreed between both parties, that if the town received no succor before the expiration of a fortnight, it would then surrender to the English. As a pledge for the fulfilment of this treaty, the governor gave his son as a hostage; but the treacherous king seeing the Scotch army marching to the assistance of the place, a few days afterwards, sent word to the governor that if he did not immediately surrender he would not only hang the hostage, but likewise another of his sons who was prisoner of war in his camp. The governor, surprised at so barbarous a determination, sent a person to represent to him that the time agreed upon for the surrender of the place had not yet expired; but finding Edward inflexible, and ready to sacrifice every honorable feeling to revenge, he suffered dreadfully from the struggle between his natural affection as a father for his children, and the fidelity which he owed his prince and country: whereupon his wife, a woman worthy the admiration of all future ages, told him she was yet young, and might possibly have more children, but that the loss of Berwick would be irreparable, and that the public welfare should be preferred to every other consideration. The governor, encouraged by so noble a resolution on the part of his wife, sacrificed his tenderness as a father to his duty as a faithful citizen, and had the misery of beholding his children executed before him. All the virtues of Edward cannot efface the stain of this barbarous deed.

At another period the town of Calais, which Edward was besieging, being reduced to the necessity of surrendering, proposals to that effect were sent to him: but the inexorable conqueror answered haughtily, that six of the principal citizens should appear before him, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes around their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and submit to his will. These severe conditions were not immediately accepted, but necessity at length forced the citizens to accede to them, and the six innocent victims appearing before him, he gave orders to have them strangled. He refused all the entreaties of his nobles to change this hard sentence; but the queen, who was then pregnant, moved with pity, threw herself at his feet, and with great difficulty obtained pardon for the unhappy men. She even took the ropes from about their necks herself, and had them dressed, and sent them home, giving to each of them twenty shillings. Thus did her charity and goodness atone for the inhumanity of the king her husband.

Edward III. is said to have instituted the order of the garter on an occasion when the queen (others say the countess of Salisbury) dropped her garter while dancing, and the king taking it up, exclaimed, "Honi soit qui mal y pense;" "Evil to him who evil thinks."* Perhaps, however, it was derived from *garter*, a watchword which this king made use of in a battle wherein he was victorious. Some affirm that the institution of this order was more ancient, and that it was re-established only by Edward, having been instituted by Richard I. Edward was the first monarch who introduced the title of duke into England, beginning with his eldest son Edward, whom he created duke of Cornwall. He afterwards conferred the title on two others, in parliament; namely, his son Lionel, whom he made duke of Clarence, and John of Lancaster, whose earldom he converted into a dukedom. Simon Fleming, lord of Slane, in the county of Meath, Ireland, was created baron of Slane by this monarch.†

Edward being now advanced in years, fell into all the infirmities which are incidental to old age; he abandoned himself to the caresses of an infamous woman called Alicia Pierce, who possessed so great an influence over him that she became not only the mistress of his person, but also of the government of the kingdom. Her effrontery was such that she took a seat even in the courts of justice, and the great men of the kingdom were base enough to submit to her dominion.‡ The subsidies, however, which the king applied for in the parliament which was held at Windsor, were granted on condition only, that four persons, one of whom was Alicia Pierce, should be given up; and he very

* Selden, Tit. of Honor, part 2, chap. 5, sec. 40, page 550.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

‡ Baker, Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Edward III. Higgin's Short View of the Hist. of England. Camd. Brit. de Ordin. Anglic. Selden, ibid. sec 22, page 506, et. seq.

reluctantly banished her from court, to satisfy the people.* The exiled persons were afterwards recalled, notwithstanding, and restored to their places.†

In a subsequent parliament dame Pierce had revenge on Sir Peter de la Moore, who had been principally instrumental to her disgrace, by having him condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was liberated, however, after two years, through the intercession of his friends.‡

Edward was at length overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, both by the death of his son the prince of Wales, and the loss of most of his conquests in France, of which Calais alone remained to him. Having survived the best of wives, and the best son who was ever born to a king; having, in a manner, outlived himself, as his latter years did not accord with the early part of his life; when about to breathe his last, he found himself forsaken by all, even by Alicia Pierce. She allowed none to speak to him on religion, and stripped him of every thing, even of the rings on his fingers, his jewels, and all the valuables he possessed. Her example was imitated by his other attendants, who made the pillage complete; so that the unhappy prince was left alone in a room, without any other assistance but that of a poor priest, who happened to be in the house preparing him for death.§

The king had, by his marriage with Philippa, daughter of the earl of Hainault, many children. His sons were, Edward, prince of Wales; William, who died without children; Lionel, born at Antwerp; John, born at Ghent; Edmond de Langly, and William de Windsor, his sixth, who died young; his last was Thomas, surnamed Woodstock from the place of his birth.

* "A general petition was presented that Alicia Pierce, who was a most petulant woman, confiding in the royal favor, and the cause of many evils to the country, should be removed from the king's dwelling and familiarity. She strangely transgressed the bounds of female propriety, and had the effrontery to sit, at one time, with the king's justices, and again, with the doctors of the consistorial court, and in defence of her cause to persuade and dissuade, and to demand, without a blush, her cause in opposition to justice, much to the king's scandal in foreign courts."—*Walsingham on the year* 1376.

† "On which occasion all who had been banished, together with Lord Latimer, by the aforesaid concubine, Alicia Pierce, (who shamefully cohabited with him to the end of his life,) were restored."

‡ Walsingham, Ibidem, p. 581.

§ "During his entire illness, by his sick bed sat the wicked Alicia Pierce, who would suffer nothing to be done for his salvation. When she saw that his voice had failed him, this unblushing harlot took the rings from his fingers and deserted him. The only one who remained with the dying king was a priest, (all the others being intent on plunder,) who besought of him, he not being able to speak, to confess his sins in thought, to repent and implore pardon for them, giving him at the same time a crucifix to hold in his hand."—*Walsingham's Brief History*, page 192.

CHAPTER XXV.

Richard II., surnamed Bourdeaux, from the place where he was born, was only son of Edward, prince of Wales, known by the name of the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., who nominated him his heir and successor to the throne. He was crowned at the age of eleven years, at Westminster, on the 16th of July, 1377, by Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury.*

The merit of the father, whose memory was still dear to the English, and the promising disposition of the son, should, one would suppose, make this prince a favorite with the people, and gain for him the affections and confidence of his subjects. Still, notwithstanding these happy omens, his reign was unfortunate, and attended by all the troubles which seemed inseparable from the race of the Plantagenets. If we reflect that the most virtuous princes of another family, who have since reigned over that nation, have been equally ill-treated by their rebellious subjects, the misfortunes of the kings of England cannot be ascribed to any fatality, or the inauspicious influence of an unlucky star; but to the turbulent disposition of a people who have been always too powerful and too unprincipled to be good subjects. The conduct of this prince cannot, it is true, be approved of; his measures were too arbitrary to render him agreeable to his subjects, but not to that extent which could justify their proceedings towards him. In fact, the result of the violent and unruly conduct of the people, when they endeavor to make their kings do them justice, is generally more fatal than the grievances which they pretend to redress.†

Richard being incapable, on account of his youth, to govern alone, his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge, were

* Walsing. Hist. Brevis. Baker's Chronicle.

† It must be borne in mind by the reader, that the learned abbé composed his history under one of the most despotic monarchies in Europe, and that his political notions are not always unexceptionable. —*Note by Ed.*

appointed his guardians. In order to curb their ambition, a share in the government was given to other noblemen; but this multiplicity of governors having given birth to dissensions concerning their pre-eminence and power, (which each was desirous of assuming,) the parliament thought prudent to appoint Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to govern the king and the kingdom.

The king's ministers having appointed the earl of Ormond lord-justice of Ireland, this nobleman governed the English province with moderation, and used every precaution to maintain peace and good order in those disturbed times, when the French and Scotch, taking advantage of the king's minority, attacked England on every side. He held the court of common pleas as usual, and established the seat of justice in the town of Naas, county of Kildare. He then gave up his office to Alexander Balscot, bishop of Ossory, first treasurer and afterwards chancellor of Ireland, by whom it was filled till the month of November. This prelate was succeeded, as lord-justice, by John de Bromwick, A. D. 1379, in whose time a law, founded on a petition sent from Ireland, was enacted by the lords and knights, assembled in parliament in England, against absentees. By this law, all who possessed estates or offices in Ireland, were obliged to return to that country; all who were absent under legal causes, were compelled to send deputies to defend their castles and estates, or surrender two thirds of their revenues for that purpose; all students and other absentees, should have an act of leave, signed with the great seal of England, whereupon they were exonerated by their giving up a third of their income: because, as the law expresses it, the loss of Ireland would be of vital importance to the king and crown of England. In virtue of this decree, which was afterwards confirmed under Edward IV., the estate of Ballymaclo, in the county of Meath, was seized for the king's use, in the absence of William Carew; but that nobleman having presented a petition to the throne, his property was restored to him the year following. A memorial was sent to the same parliament respecting the mines and mint of Ireland. The king, thereupon, granted permission, for six years, to each proprietor, to work the mines on his own estates, and to draw all kinds of metals from them, including both gold and silver, on the condition of giving a ninth part to the crown, and sending the rest to the mint in Dublin, paying there the usual tax. It was prohibited, under pain of confiscation, to send any out of the kingdom, except to England, without special leave, under the king's great seal. A petition was also presented, praying for leave to carry on a free trade with Portugal, which was agreed to by the king of England.

The English government were continually devising means of extending their dominion in Ireland. Sir Nicholas Dagworth was commissioned to visit the lands which belonged to the crown, and to get the accounts of those who had been intrusted to receive its revenues, A. D. 1380. At the same time, Edmond Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, was sent as lieutenant or viceroy to that country.* Some time before his arrival, the French and Spanish galleys, having laid waste the coasts of the English province in Ireland, were attacked by the English fleet, which blockaded them in the bay of Kinsale, where they killed four hundred of their crews and made the rest prisoners. Mortimer's administration was tolerably tranquil till his death, which took place the following year at Cork.

About this time the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel died.† Milo Sweetman, treasurer of the church of Kilkenny, a learned and prudent man, having been elected bishop of Ossory, set out for Avignon to obtain the pope's sanction, but Innocent VI., who was then pope, having disposed of this see in favor of another before his arrival, in order to compensate Sweetman, nominated him to the archbishopric of Armagh, which was vacant at the time. Milo governed this church for about nineteen years, and died at his estate of Dromyskin, on the 11th of August. He was succeeded by John Colton.

Philip Torrington, an Englishman, and monk of the order of St. Francis, was appointed to the archbishopric of Cashel by Pope Gregory XI. Walsingham‡ and Ware mention an embassy of his under Richard II. to Urban VI.; and a sermon he preached in London, on his return from Rome, in which he announced that the king of France, and all those who had adhered to the anti-pope, had been excommunicated, and concluded by observing that it was a favorable time and opportunity to declare war against that country. William, bishop of Emly, filled the office of vicar-general of Cashel till the death of Torrington, which took place abroad. He was succeeded by Peter Hacket.

* Walsing. Hist. Brevis. ad an. 1379.
† War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach. et Casseliens
‡ Hist. Brevis. ad an. 1379.

Edmond Mortimer, the viceroy, having died in the month of December, 1381, John Colton, then dean of St. Patrick's, and chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was appointed to succeed him. He immediately took the usual oath, in the convent of the preaching brothers. It appears that he filled the office but for a short time, inasmuch as we discover, in Pryn's remarks on the fourth institute, a mandate of the 29th March, addressed to Roger Mortimer, the king's lieutenant in Ireland, whereby he was commanded to convene a parliament to maintain good order in the government, and provide for the expenses of the war, A. D. 1382.

In the course of this year, Richard, king of England, married the princess Ann, sister to the emperor Wenceslaus.* This princess having arrived at Calais, was conducted to London, and after her marriage, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry Crump, a Cistertian monk of Baltinglass, in Ireland, having taken the degree of doctor of theology at Oxford, in 1382, publicly maintained in that university that the institution of the four mendicant orders was not only not divine, but that it was also in opposition to the spirit of the general council of Lateran, held under Innocent III.;† and that those monks had made use of pretended dreams to obtain the sanction of Pope Honorius. He was obliged, however, to retract what he had said respecting them, in the Carmelite convent at Staniford, in presence of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury. Crump was afterwards accused of heresy on the real presence, by William Andrew, a Dominican, who was first bishop of Achonry, and afterwards of Meath. According to Bale, this doctor wrote several tracts, namely, the Determination of Schools, a discourse against mendicants, and "Answers to Objections." He gave also a catalogue of all the foundations of monasteries in England, from the time of Birin, first bishop of Dorchester, to that of Robert Grosted, bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253. This latter work assisted the author of Rhymes on the Life of St. Edith, and is still preserved in the Cottonian library.

About the end of this century, we discover an author in Ireland, named Magraith M'Gawan, a regular canon of the abbey of St. Ruadan, of Lurchoe, in the county of Tipperary, who wrote, in the Irish language, the genealogies of the saints of Ireland, and the succession of the kings and nobles of the country, with a few cursory pieces. Ware mentions that he had this manuscript in his possession.

Philip Courtney, a relative of the king, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in place of Mortimer, A. D. 1383. He was considered particularly fitted for the government of the country, possessing as he did several estates in it; but though he had letters patent authorizing him to retain that office for ten years, his unjust administration proved him most unfit for it. He was arrested while in office, and severely punished for peculation and many flagrant acts of injustice, which he had been guilty of. During his administration the country was visited a fifth time by a plague.

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the great favorite of the day, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in place of De Courtney, A. D. 1384.* In order to rid themselves of this nobleman, the English parliament made over to him a debt of thirty thousand marks, due by the king of France, on condition that he would go to Ireland, after Easter, to recover lands which had been conferred on him by the king.† For this purpose the state undertook to furnish him, for two years, with five hundred soldiers, at twelve pence a day each; and a thousand archers, at six pence a day, for the conquest of those lands. "Super conquestum illius terræ per duos annos." The king moreover bestowed upon him, for his life, absolute authority in Ireland, without any obligation to account for his administration, or the revenues of the country; besides authority to pass all public acts in his own name, and to appoint and change all officers, at his pleasure, even the chancellor, treasurer, and admiral, and to appoint his deputy, and other ministers. The extent of his power will appear by the letters patent annexed. But what is most surprising, these letters patent, whereby this governor was invested with privileges greater than any subject could aspire to, were sanctioned by the parliament of England: "Assensu prælatorum. ducum, et aliorum procerum et communitatis nostri Angliæ in parliamento." The man, however, on whom these favors were conferred, never set foot in Ireland.

* Walsing. Ypodig. Neustriæ, ad an. 1382.
† War. de Scrip. Hib.

* "To govern the whole of Ireland, with the adjacent islands; and all camps, counties, boroughs, towns, and seaports; together with all places which pay homage, &c., as we have held and possess them, and which some of our predecessors have held and possessed, and we now continue possessed of, &c." —*Walsingham on the years* 1385, 1386.

† Walsingham, Ypodigmat. Neustriæ, ad an 1385 et 1386

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Gregory, bishop of Elphin, was removed in 1372, to the archbishopric of Tuam.* Having failed to attend the parliament that was held at Tristledermot, in 1377, he was fined one hundred pounds. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Gregory O'Moghan.

The earl of Oxford being appointed viceroy of Ireland, if not willing to undertake the functions of viceroy of that country, desirous to evince at least a semblance of respect for that high office, to which the parliament had appointed him, proceeded on his journey as far as Wales, in company with the king. But the friends finding it impossible to separate, the earl sent Sir John Stanley to Ireland as his deputy, and set out with the king, on his return to England.† While Stanley was lord-deputy in Ireland, the bridge of Dublin gave way, A. D. 1385.

A convent was founded at this time, at Clomin, in the county of Wexford, for Augustin hermits, by the Cavanaghs, who were descended from Dermod, the last king of Leinster, in the twelfth century. Some people affirm, according to Ware, that this house was given to the Dominicans.

The king having no children to succeed him, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was declared heir to the throne of England, by an act of the parliament held at Westminster in 1386; as being the son of Edmond Mortimer and Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.‡

Stanley was recalled on business to England, and Alexander Petit, bishop of Meath, was intrusted with the government of Ireland during his absence.

Gregory O'Moghan, who was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam by Clement VII., in 1387, during the anti-papal schism, was afterwards superseded by Urban VI., who nominated William O'Cormacain to succeed him. According to the annals of Loghkee, Gregory was a truly religious and devout man. He is said to have died in consequence of his disgrace, in 1392.

Robert Vere, earl of Oxford and marquis of Dublin, was created at this time duke of Ireland, by the parliament, which excited much jealousy among the English nobles. The elevation of Delapool, son of a merchant, to the rank of duke of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, gave them additional displeasure.

The duke of Ireland was an accomplished man. His haughtiness, however, and his contempt for the nobles, raised for him many enemies. In 1388, he was accused of having exercised his influence with the king, to oppress the nobility and people. Remonstrances on this head being made to his majesty, and not meeting with attention, the nobles flew to arms and met the duke of Ireland at Radcott bridge. To avoid falling into their hands, he swam across the river: and afterwards effected his escape to Holland, and thence to Brabant, where he wandered as a fugitive for a few years, and subsequently ended his days in abject misery at Louvain.* Thus frequently end the grandeur and elevation of the favorites of princes, of which no nation affords more examples than England. Stanley still remained as deputy in Ireland, while the king, who was continually in want of money, made new demands on every succeeding parliament under pretext of carrying on the war in that country, A. D. 1389.

At Ardart, or Ardfert, the chief town of the county Kerry, a convent was established, A. D. 1389, for Franciscans, by the M'Maurices, otherwise Fitzmaurices, who were lords of Kerry, or Lixnaw.†

According to Ware, three convents belonging to the same order, were founded in the county Tipperary; but the precise period of their foundation is not mentioned by either him or Wadding. The first was at Galbally, by an O'Brien; the second at Roscrea, by the widow of an O'Carrol; and the third at Ardfinnan, the founder of which is not known.‡

Robert Wikeford, archdeacon of Winton, in England, was appointed, in 1375, archbishop of Dublin, and consecrated the same year at Avignon, by Gregory IX. This prelate was twice chancellor of Ireland. Having governed the above see for fifteen years, he died in 1390, and was succeeded by Robert Waldby.

The earl of Oxford, who was duke and viceroy of Ireland, having died at Louvain, in 1392, as we have already observed, James, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord-justice in his stead: Waldby, archbishop of Dublin, being at the same time made chancellor, and the bishop of Chichester, treasurer. The first expedition undertaken by the earl of Ormond was against the M'Moyns, so called by Cox, who says that they were defeated at Tascoffin, in the county of Kildare, with a loss of six hundred men

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuam.
† Walsingham, ibid.
‡ Walsingham, ibid.

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid

The government of England began now to turn their thoughts seriously to the conquest of Ireland; but finding that the English province was poor, and thinned of its inhabitants by the continual wars with the natives, and the great numbers of Anglo-Irish that had returned to England, whereby the king's revenues were diminished, and the power of the Irish rebels (such is the name given them by English writers) was increased; it was thought prudent to put the law which was made against absentees in full force, and to publish a decree that all who possessed property in Ireland should live there. The parliament then began by sending assistance in men and money. The duke of Gloucester received the king's commands to go thither in person, in capacity of lord-lieutenant, at the head of an army which he had assembled, and was, in presence of the expedition, created duke of Ireland. His majesty, however, having changed his mind, wrote to the duke to dissuade him from this voyage, saying that he himself would take the command of the expedition. This determination of the king is ascribed by some to a reply which the princes of Germany made to his ambassadors, when the imperial crown was sought by them for their master. The German princes answered them that they did not think him fit to be emperor, since he was not able to preserve the conquests of his predecessors in France; to curb the insolence of his English subjects; or to conquer his rebellious people in Ireland. So sensibly did he feel the rebuke, that he undertook the expedition himself to Ireland, at the head of four thousand regular troops, besides thirty thousand archers, under the banner of St Edward. He thus hoped to re-establish his reputation, and to banish his affliction for the death of his queen, Anne.

Sir Thomas Scroop was sent to Ireland in 1394, in the capacity of lord-justice, to prepare the way for the expedition. He was followed by Richard, who landed at Waterford with a powerful army, which, however, performed no great exploit under him.* He was satisfied with the feigned submissions of a few Irish lords of the English province; and commissioned Thomas Mawbray, earl of Nottingham and marshal of England, to receive the homage and oath of allegiance of the Irish in Leinster; namely, O'Byrne, O'Nowlan, O'Morrough, O'Morra, M'Morrough, O'Connor, and others. This homage was proposed and accepted on hard terms; these noblemen being obliged, under pain of heavy fines, payable to the apostolical chamber, (namely, O'Byrne twenty thousand marks, O'Nowlan ten thousand pounds, and the others in proportion,) not only to persevere in their submission, but also, on an appointed day, to give up their lands and possessions in Leinster to the king, to belong thereafter to him and his successors; and to enter his majesty's service, and assist him in the war against their countrymen. As a remuneration for the loss of their lands, and a reward for their services, the king's pay, and pensions to some of their chiefs, were proposed to be given them, and they were to be permitted to make incursions on the lands of their countrymen in the other provinces, and to apply to their own use all that they could obtain by force of arms. Here we behold estates, which for many ages belonged to their ancestors, converted into inconsiderable pensions during life for the owners; and robbery and usurpation of the lands of others sanctioned. Such was the reformation of morals which their new masters introduced among the Irish. We find that of the pensions, that of eighty marks, which had been granted to Arthur M'Morrough, chief of the Cavanaghs, was the most enduring, no doubt through gratitude for the services which the English had received from his ancestor Dermod, who had introduced them into the country. It was continued to his posterity till the time of Henry VIII., "although," says Cox, "they had done nothing to deserve it;" an observation equally untrue and malicious. The king, after this, received some complimentary letters from Neal O'Neill, prince of Ulster; and others on his arrival at Drogheda, from the O'Donnels, O'Hanlons, M'Mahons, and a few more Irish chiefs.

The king of England was now able to enforce obedience; having with him, independently of the English colony, by whom a third of the island was occupied, thirty-four thousand regular troops. The Irish had not raised their standards, or kept any body of organized troops under regular leaders, consequently they were without discipline: each chief easily collected those who were immediately dependent on himself, but they were inexperienced and badly provided with arms, and it was not easy to unite different bodies under one head, or to assemble an army sufficient to check the progress of a force so numerous and well provided. The danger, therefore, was considerable, and they were obliged to submit to superior numbers, which was the only alternative left them to avert the storm.

* Cox, Hib. Angl.

Richard being satisfied with the apparent submission of the Irish, entertained them by banquets and feasting; conferred the title of knighthood upon those who wished to accept of it, and disbanded his troops. In the month of February, he wrote a letter to his uncle, the duke of York, who was deputy in England during his absence, in which he observed, that there were three kinds of people in Ireland; namely, the wild or hostile Irish,* the rebel Irish, and his English subjects; that the rebels had, perhaps, cause to revolt, and that he therefore had pardoned them until Easter, and intended to grant them a general amnesty afterwards. He concluded by asking his advice on the subject. The duke, at the head of the council, answered the king, that their opinion had formerly been to pursue the rebels; that, however, his majesty being on the spot, he could observe matters more closely, and was therefore better able to judge of the measures which should be adopted; and that his inclinations for clemency were laudable, provided the rebels were made to contribute towards defraying the expenses of the expedition, by obliging them to purchase his pardon within a given time.

Satisfied with this brilliant campaign, and having regulated the affairs of his Irish province, and appointed men of experience to fill the places of trust, Richard returned to England, according to Davis and Froissart, with much honor and little advantage, A. D. 1395. Although he had expended enormous sums in conveying his army to Ireland, he did not add a pound to his revenue, nor extend the frontiers of his English province one acre. The courts of law even, were still confined within the boundaries of the colony, where they had been acknowledged before his arrival in Ireland.†

Robert Waldby, a native of England, having been appointed by a bull from the pope to the see of Dublin, a predilection for his own country induced him to solicit his removal in 1395, to the bishopric of Chichester in England. He was succeeded in the see of Dublin by Richard Northall, bishop of Ossory. This prelate, who was a native of England, and of the Carmelite order, was famed for his erudition, preaching, and virtues, by which he attracted the observation of Richard II., who first appointed him to the bishopric of Ossory, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Dublin. He enjoyed this dignity but a short time, having died in 1397. He was succeeded by Thomas Crawley.

Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir-apparent to the crown of England, was sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant after the king's return. The Irish, actuated by a principle that forced obedience is revocable, and that submission obtained by violence could not bind them under any law, human or divine, recommenced their hostilities.* War having broken out, the Anglo-Irish took up arms. Sir Thomas Burke and Sir Walter Bermingham, with their followers, surprised the Irish, and killed six hundred of them, with their chief M'Con. Mortimer, assisted by the earl of Ormond, laid waste the territory of Wicklow, and made himself master of O'Byrne's castle. Seven knights were created on this occasion, namely, Christopher Preston, John Bedlow, Edmond Loundres, John Loundres, William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Caddel. These victories were, however, amply revenged by the death of forty English chiefs, who were slain, together with their attendants, on Ascension day, by the O'Tools. The principal characters that suffered were, John Fitzwilliam, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Comyn. Mortimer met, soon afterwards, with the same fate at Kenlis, in the county of Kildare, where himself and the whole of his army were put to the sword by the O'Byrnes and other Irish. On the death of Mortimer, the administration of affairs devolved upon Roger Gray, while waiting the arrival of Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, who was named to succeed Mortimer. This viceroy landed in Dublin in the month of October, accompanied by Thomas Crawley, who was appointed archbishop of that city, A. D. 1398.

As soon as the news of the death of Mortimer reached England, every one was filled with consternation. Richard II., determined to revenge the death of his relative and heir, undertook a second voyage to Ireland with an army equally formidable as before, being resolved to make the conquest of it complete. He landed at Waterford, and in his march to Dublin his troops suffered greatly for want of provisions and carriages, in a country that had suffered so long by continual warfare. The only thing memorable upon their march was, that they made the roads level in the territory of Idrone, county Carlow, which belonged to the Cavanaghs. The king cre-

* Such were the appellations which the English made use of towards the Irish who would not submit to nor acknowledge their dominion, but kept themselves under arms and ready to oppose them.

† Histor. Relat

* Chron. Manusc. Henric de Marleburgh.

ated also some knights, among whom was Henry, son of the duke of Lancaster, afterwards king of England, under the name of Henry V. Being arrived in Dublin, while conferring with the council upon the measures which should be taken to reduce the country to subjection, he received an express from England, with the afflicting news that his kingdom was invaded by the duke of Lancaster, whom he had sent into exile some time before. By advice of the council, the two sons of the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, who accompanied him to Ireland, were confined in the castle of Trim, county Meath, and he then dispatched the earl of Salisbury to Wales, in order to have an army raised against his arrival. But the unfortunate prince having delayed too long in Ireland, the army was scattered, by which his courage was quelled to such a degree that he suffered himself to be made prisoner, carried to London, and confined in the tower, and then surrendered the crown to his rival. His conduct gave rise to the remark, that no prince ever gave up a kingdom with so much weakness, which had been governed with so much severity. A parliament was summoned in his name, by which several indictments were found against the unhappy prince, whereupon he was dethroned; the sentence being publicly pronounced by the bishop of Asaph, who had been commissioned for the purpose. Thus ended the reign of Richard II., through the ambition of his own family. He was removed from the tower of London to the castle of Leeds, in Kent, and thence to Pomfret. In him we find verified an observation made by one of his wisest, but most unfortunate successors, viz., that the distance from the prison of a king to his tomb is but short. He died by a violent death, but as to its nature the opinions are many and various. Some say he was starved to death, others that he died of grief, and some again affirm that he fell by the sword of Sir Pierce Exton, who entered his chamber, accompanied by eight other armed ruffians, and gave him the fatal blow.

In the tragical end of Richard II., we see a peculiar example of the divine vengeance on the race of the Plantagenets; this unhappy prince, although innocent, being destined to expiate the guilt of his fathers. The injustice and tyranny which were inflicted upon the Irish, by the English, under the orders of Richard and his progenitors, were not the only crimes that called for divine vengeance against them. The slaughter of Edward II., and usurpation of the crown by his son, Edward III., were evidently punished in the person of Richard, grandson to the latter. After his death, the divisions of the two houses of York and Lancaster, embittered for near a century against each other, and exercising mutual cruelties, produced such desolation that the repose of the kingdom and many thousand lives were sacrificed to their implacable fury.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Henry, duke of Lancaster, eldest son of John of Ghent, who was fourth son of Edward III., was proclaimed king of England, under the title of Henry IV., by the parliament, which adjudged the crown to him and his descendants, A. D. 1399. This prince had some difficulty in giving color to his usurpation. He was, it is true, descended from Edward by John, fourth son of that monarch; but the descendants of Lionel, his third son, took precedence of him, so that he had not a strict claim by birth. Neither could he avail himself of the right of conquest, as there had been no war. He was therefore obliged to found his pretensions on the concurrence and choice of the people, which was the plea made use of by his ambassadors at foreign courts This want of strict title was the cause of the fatal wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, called the white and red roses.

Henry having been crowned at Westminster in the month of October, with the usual ceremonies, by the archbishop of Canterbury, turned his thoughts to the affairs of Ireland, and appointed Sir John Stanley lord-lieutenant of the country, whither he repaired in the month of December following; he at the same time obtained supplies in England for three years, to support his interests in Ireland.

The early part of Henry's reign was filled with troubles. The vacillating barons who had forsaken Richard, soon began to manifest dislike to him, though placed upon the throne by them, and to form conspiracies, which he suppressed by putting many of their number to death. He marched at the head of an army against the Scotch, who were making some hostile movements in the north. The Anglo-Irish, too, desirous of displaying their zeal, under the command of the constable of the castle of Dublin, attacked a Scotch fleet near Strangford in Ulster, A. D. 1400; but were unsuccessful, having been all either killed or drowned.

About this time a handsome convent was established for the Dominicans, by Cornelius O'Ferral, bishop of Ardagh; and descended

from the noble tribe of the O'Ferrals of Annaly. This prelate was renowned for the extensive charities he bestowed, which procured for him the name of the Almoner.

Another convent for the same order was founded at Portumna, a small town on the river Shannon, in the county of Galway, near Lough Derg, through which that river flows. It was built by an O'Maddin, a descendant of the ancient family of the O'Maddins of Siolanamchad; who also established one for Franciscans at Milick, on the left bank of the Shannon.

The lord-lieutenant having gone to England in the month of May, his brother, Thomas Stanley, was appointed deputy in the government of Ireland till the month of August, and the arrival of Stephen Scroop, deputy for Thomas, duke of Clarence, the king's son, who was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, whither he repaired soon afterwards. In the month of July, John Drake, mayor of Dublin, and the citizens, made an excursion as far as Bray, on the borders of Wicklow, against the Irish rebels, and killed about 400 of them.

While the lord-lieutenant was holding his parliament in Dublin, in the month of September, A. D. 1402, the Anglo-Irish were slaughtering one another. John Dowdal, sheriff of the county Louth, was murdered by Bartholomew Verdon, James White, Christopher White, and Stephen Gernon, who had committed robberies and other crimes, for which they were found guilty, and their lands confiscated. The king pardoned them afterwards, but restored their estates to them during their lives only.* In the month of October, Daniel O'Birne made peace with the lord-lieutenant, for himself and his tribe, and as a guarantee for the treaty, he surrendered to the king the castle of Mackenigan, at present Newcastle, with all that belonged to it. M'Mahon, of Monaghan, and O'Reilly, of Cavan, did the same. The lord-lieutenant gave to M'Mahon, during his life, the lands of Ferny, for an annual rent of ten pounds. O'Reilly engaged to continue loyal, according to his promise to Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, which is mentioned in an act passed in the 18th year of Richard's reign, A. D. 1403. In the month of May, Sir Walter Betterly, the governor of that part of Ulster which obeyed the English, was killed, with thirty English lords, by the Irish. In the month of November, of this year, Thomas, duke of Clarence, returned to England, leaving the government of Ireland to Stephen Scroop, whom he appointed his deputy till the following October, A. D. 1404.

The Irish were not the only people to whom the dominion of England was oppressive. The inhabitants of Wales bore with impatience the chains which that cruel nation had imposed upon them.* Owen Glendower, a Welsh nobleman, who was both active and enterprising, represented to his countrymen that the division and civil war that then raged in England, afforded a favorable opportunity, which they ought not to lose, of shaking off her yoke and recovering their freedom. The project of Glendower met the warm approbation of his countrymen, who, influenced with a hope of succeeding, chose him for their king, and confided to him the entire management of this enterprise. He lost not a moment in assembling his troops, and began his operations against lord Gray, for whom he entertained a personal enmity; laying waste with fire and sword the country where that nobleman resided. Lord Gray, for the purpose of arresting this hostile movement of the Welsh, assembled his people and marched to meet them: but his hopes of success were frustrated, he himself taken prisoner, and a great number of his troops slain. These advantages were auspicious to the Welsh, and encouraged them to make bolder attempts: and accordingly they entered the county of Hereford with an army, where, being met by the inhabitants, under Edmund Mortimer, they were again victorious. Mortimer was made prisoner, and his troops entirely defeated, with a loss of one thousand slain, among whom were most of their chiefs. Walsingham† narrates the conduct of the Welsh women, and their inhuman treatment of the English who had fallen. The gross and indecorous manner in which they acted will, however, hardly admit of being described; suffice it to say that it was such as fully proves how deep a hatred of the English was engraven upon the hearts of the Welsh people.‡

John Colton, dean of the chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin,§ who was chancellor and chief-justice of Ireland, was appointed by the pope to the archbishopric of Armagh. He was sent afterwards to the court of Rome, with John Whitehead and Richard Moore, vicar of Thermon Feichan, on the affairs of Richard II. He died in the month of May on his return, and was buried in the church

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

* Walsingh. Hist. Brevis, page 364, et seq.
† In Ypodig. Neustriæ, ad an. 1402.
‡ Walsingham, page 557.
§ In Ypodig. Neustriæ, ad an. 1402.

of St. Peter at Drogheda. Nicholas Fleming succeeded him in the archbishopric.

In the beginning of this century, Ireland produced several learned men.* Augustin Magraidan, a regular canon of the isle of All Saints, in the river Shannon, west of the county of Longford, was a prudent and learned man, and wrote the lives of all the saints of Ireland. He also continued a chronicle down to his own time, which had been already commenced by some brother of his house. Ware mentions his having had this work in his possession in manuscript, and that some additions were made to it after the death of Magraidan. Coll Deoran, a native of Leinster, who lived at this period, also wrote some annals that are still in manuscript. Patrick Barret, bishop of Ferns, has left us a catalogue of his predecessors in that see. James Young, notary of the city of Dublin, wrote some political maxims on government, which he dedicated to the earl of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant. He also gave in writing the voyage of Laurence Rathold, a lord of Hungary, to the purgatory of St. Patrick. Patrick Ragged, bishop of Cork, after assisting at the general council of Constance, wrote the acts passed therein. An Irish monk of the convent of St. James at Ratisbon, wrote various tracts on Irish saints, and on the affairs of Charlemagne.

James, earl of Ormond, having been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, convened a parliament in Dublin in the month of April, A. D. 1405. The statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny were confirmed in it, together with the charter of Ireland. Some prizes were taken in May, from the Scotch; two of their ships being captured, laden with merchandise, near Greencastle,† and a third near Dalky, together with Macgolagh, the commander. The merchants of Drogheda made incursions into Scotland also, and carried off some plunder with them.

The inhabitants of Dublin, roused by the example of their fellow-countrymen of Drogheda, fitted out some ships and committed several piracies against the Scotch. After this they plundered Wales, and carried away the shrine of St. Cubin, which they deposited in Christ's cathedral, Dublin, proving by such conduct their zeal in the service of the king, who was then at war with both Scotland and Wales. While the Anglo-Irish were thus engaged in plundering their neighbors, Oghgard was burned by the Irish.

In the month of May, the deputy, accompanied by the earls of Ormond, Desmond, and the prior of Kilmainham, together with the English nobility of Meath, set out from Dublin, and invaded the estates of M'Morrough.* Both sides came to a bloody engagement, in which the Irish had, in the beginning, the advantage; but the English forces and discipline at length prevailed, and the Irish were obliged to surrender. O'Nowlan, with his sons, and many others, were taken prisoners. The deputy after this led his army towards Callan, county Kilkenny, routed a number of Irish who had collected in that district, and killed a great number of them. O'Carrol, their leader, was found among the slain. After this expedition, the deputy returned to England in the month of June, and James, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord-justice by the nobility and council. In his time, Patrick Savage, an Anglo-Irishman, who had great influence in Ulster, was made prisoner by M'Gilmory, a celebrated commander, who, after receiving two thousand marks for his ransom, put him and his brother Richard to death. This barbarous murderer was some time afterwards taken in a church belonging to the minor brothers at Carrickfergus, by some of the family of Savages, who made him expiate his cruelty with the loss of his life. The earl of Ormond, lord-justice of Ireland, died at Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny.

Girald, earl of Kildare, was chosen by the council to fill the office of lord-justice, A. D. 1406. About this time the inhabitants of Dublin and their allies attacked, on the feast of Corpus Christi, some Irish troops who were ravaging the neighborhood and suburbs of the city, and put them to flight, taking from them three standards. They then carried in triumph through the city the heads of those whom they had killed. The prior of the regular canons of Conal, in the county of Kildare, signalized his zeal in his country's cause, having, at the head of twenty Englishmen, surprised two hundred Irish, several of whom were killed. Stephen Scroop was made deputy, and held a parliament in Dublin, in the month of January, which was afterwards adjourned to Trim, in the county of Meath. About the end of February, Cahal O'Connor Faly was killed by Meiler Bermingham. After the death of Torrington, archbishop of Cashel, the see remained vacant for four years, and the revenues were applied to the king's use. Leave was afterwards given to elect a prelate, and the choice fell on Peter Hacket, archdeacon of that

* War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 11.
† Chron. Manusc. de Marleburgh.

* Chron. Henr. de Marleburgh

church, over which he presided as archbishop for twenty-two years. He died in 1406, and was succeeded by Richard O'Hedian.

Thomas, duke of Clarence, the king's lord-lieutenant in Ireland, landed at Carlingford in the month of August, 1408. This prince accepted the government on certain conditions, the principal of which were, that he should continue in office for seven years; that he should be provided with five hundred soldiers and a thousand archers for three years; that he should be paid one year in advance, and afterwards every six months; that he should have the nomination of his deputy, and the conferring of benefices; that the crown lands should be taken possession of again, and the law against absentees put in force.*

Lancaster repaired to Dublin after a few days, where he had the earl of Kildare and three of his family arrested for state reasons, and ordered that he should be confined in the castle of Dublin till he paid three hundred marks for his ransom; while in the mean time the furniture and other effects belonging to the earl were plundered by the creatures of the viceroy.

History mentions that the duke of Lancaster was dangerously wounded in a conflict at Kilmainham, but without saying how or by whom. It appears, however, that he was resolved on being revenged, as he issued an order obliging all who held lands on condition of military service to assemble at Ross; and also convened a parliament at Kilkenny; but the result of these meetings is unknown. The lord-lieutenant appointed Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, his deputy, and returned to England in the month of March, 1409.

In the time of this new deputy, the king granted the sword and certain privileges to the citizens of Dublin, and changed the title of provost for that of mayor. About the same time Jenico de Artois, a native of Gascony, at the head of some English troops, assumed the part of a ringleader in Ulster, and slew eighty of the inhabitants in one engagement. The parliament met in the month of May, 1410, in Dublin, and in it the exaction of *Coyn and Livery* was declared to be felonious.

The deputy's first exploit was the taking of the castle of Mibraclide of Offerol; in place of which he built that of Mare. He then attacked the lands of the O'Byrnes, but without success. Out of fifteen hundred Irish who were in his army, eight hundred went over on the field of battle to the enemy, so that, only for his Dublin troops he would have found it very difficult to escape from his embarrassment. John Derpatrick, a man of rank, was found among the slain.

The see of Tuam was filled at this time by William O'Cormocain, who was succeeded in 1411 by one Corneile. Nothing is known of these two prelates, but that the latter was succeeded by John Baterly, who governed the church in question till 1436.

In the month of April, 1412, O'Connor Faly made incursions on the lands of the English in the county Meath, and carried off one hundred and sixty prisoners. At this period a single combat took place between O'Tool and Thomas Fitzmaurice, sheriff of Limerick; and of so deadly a character was the animosity between the combatants, that both fell a sacrifice to its fury.

Henry IV., king of England, after a reign of troubles, was beginning to enjoy the sweets of peace, when he was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, which terminated his life. It is said that during this attack he caused the crown to be placed on his pillow, and that the fits of apoplexy becoming so violent that every one present thought him dead, Prince Henry, his eldest son, entering the room, seized on the crown. His father, however, recovering from a swoon, and finding that it was taken, asked who did it; being told that it was his son, he had him sent for, and asking why he acted so premature a part, by taking what did not yet belong to him, the prince replied, without the least emotion: "May you live, my lord and father, and wear it yourself for many years; but having been told by all present, that you had gone to take possession of another crown, I took this, supposing that it belonged to me by right; I now confess that it still belongs to you, and not to me:" at the same moment placing it where he had taken it from. "Oh, my son," said the father, "may God, who knows how I obtained it, forgive me my sins." "I do not question by what right it belongs to you," answered the son, "I will think only of holding and defending it by the sword, when it will be mine, that is, by the same means whereby you acquired it." This king had, in truth, discovered the secret of maintaining his unjust possession of the crown, by following the same course which guided him in the pursuit of it, namely, the effusion of blood. He had six children by Mary, daughter of Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, four of whom were sons; namely, Henry, the eldest, prince of Wales

* Chron. Henric. de Marleburgh.

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and duke of Lancaster, who left children after him; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford, and Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, who died without issue. Henry IV. died in London in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was interred at Canterbury.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Henry V., eldest son of Henry IV., and surnamed Monmouth, from the place of his birth in Wales, succeeded to his father's throne, and received homage and oaths of allegiance from the lords before his coronation; no example of which occurred before this time in England. In the month of April he was crowned at Westminster with the usual ceremonies, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury.

Although this prince had been wild and extravagant in his youth, he became a great king. He began his reign by checking the conduct of those who were the companions of his dissipation, and commanded that they should never approach him till they became reformed in their modes of living; while, in order that they might not descend to acts of baseness from necessity, he allowed to each sufficient means of support. His council was composed of men of merit, and he protected the clergy against the parliament, which contemplated depriving them of their possessions.* Henry was ambitious of glory, and his ruling passion was the desire of walking in the footsteps of his great grandfather, Edward III.; with the view of doing which he declared war against France, and laid claim to the crown of that country. So intent was he on this important object, that the affairs of Ireland were much neglected during his reign. Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, was intrusted with the government of the country, till John Stanley was appointed lord-lieutenant. He landed at Clontarf, near Dublin, in October, 1413, and died at Ardee in the month of January following.† The nobles then appointed Thomas Crawley, archbishop of Dublin, a pious and learned man, lord-justice. He had twice before this filled the office of chancellor.

The new lord-justice held a parliament in Dublin in the month of February; in which a tax for the public welfare was proposed, but rejected. The Irish, in the mean time, laid waste the English province. Jenico de Artois, who commanded in Ulster, determined to revenge the attacks which were made against the lands of Magennis; but he was completely defeated at Inor, where several of his men were killed, A. D. 1414. The Irish being encouraged by these successes, the lord-lieutenant was obliged to take the field in person, and advanced towards Castledermod, where he held a religious procession, and offered prayers with his clergy for the success of his army, which was engaged with the O'Morras and O'Dempsys, near Kilkea, where the latter lost about a hundred men. This loss, however, was made up by a victory which O'Connor gained over the English in Meath, on the 10th of May, when Thomas Maureverar, baron of Skrine, with several others, were killed; and Christopher Fleming and John Dardis made prisoners.

The English now saw the necessity of giving the government of Ireland to a man experienced in the art of war; and John Talbot, lord Furnival, was accordingly made lord-lieutenant in the month of September.* On landing at Dalkey, he collected the troops, and placing himself at their head, visited the English province. He directed his march through the country of the O'Byrnes, O'Tools, and Cavanaghs; then passed through the possessions of the Morras, O'Connors Faly, O'Dempsys, O'Molloys, M'Geoghegans, O'Ferrals, and O'Reillys, and ended his route by going through those of the M'Mahons, O'Neills, and O'Hanlons in the north. This march produced but little good; the viceroy had sufficient force to intimidate the Irish nobles, and oblige them to seek for peace with England, but not to reduce them to the condition of subjects, or extend the limits of the English dominion in the country. Notwithstanding this, the expedition was looked upon as having produced great benefit to the state, as was attested by the lords of the English province, in an address which they presented to the king on the subject. However true this may be, Talbot's army was badly paid and still worse governed, so that the English subjects suffered much from the licentiousness of the soldiery. The exaction of *Coyn and Livery*, which had been so frequently prohibited, began now to be imperceptibly renewed.

A parliament was assembled in Dublin, in the month of August, A. D. 1415, and con-

* Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Henry V.

† Chron. Manuscr. Henr. de Marleburg. War. de Annal. Hib.

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

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tinued to sit for six weeks. The Irish still carried on their incursions on the possessions of the English; and shot Thomas Ballymore, Balliquelan, and many others. The parliament stated to have been convened in Dublin was adjourned in the month of May, 1416, to Trim, where it sat for seven days, and granted to the king a subsidy of four hundred marks of silver.

Nicholas Fleming was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh by Pope Boniface IX., and consecrated on the 1st of May, 1404.* He drew up some provincial statutes, which are still extant. His death is said to have occurred about this time. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Drogheda; and was succeeded by John Swayn.

Thomas Crawley died in 1417, at Farindon, in England, aged eighty years; and was buried at Oxford, in the new college, of which he had been the first warden.† According to Leland and Marleburgh, he was a man of singular merit. He was chancellor of Ireland under Henry IV., and lord-justice under Henry V. His successor in the see of Dublin was Richard Talbot.

The king of England, who was still carrying on war with France, applied to his subjects in Ireland for assistance, and the prior of Kilmainham was dispatched with an army of 1600 men, who landed at Harfleur, in Normandy, where they rendered him important services.

In the council of England it was decreed that the possessions of every archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior in Ireland, should be seized, who would present to, or confer on the Irish rebels, any benefice, or would introduce them among the English at any parliament, council, or other assembly of the kingdom. All governors, too, were forbidden to confirm such benefices, or to grant any dispensation for possessing them, under pain of having them annulled.

Some complaints having been made to the lord-lieutenant against Henry Cruce and Henry Betagh, two noblemen of Meath, he caused their lands to be laid waste, and their tenantry plundered. The earl of Kildare, Sir Christopher Preston, and Sir John Bedlew, were arrested at this time at Slane: they were removed to Trim, and confined in the castle of that town, on account of a misunderstanding which had arisen between them and the prior of Kilmainham, A. D. 1418.

The treaties which were so frequently made between the Irish and English, were as often violated; the desire of increasing their possessions causing the latter constantly to encroach upon the properties of their neighbors. The Irish, indeed, enjoyed no protection from the laws, but were looked upon, not as subjects, but as strangers and enemies, in the land which had given them birth. They were continually exposed to the unjust aggression of their adversaries, and therefore forced to violate their engagements, and break out into rebellion; their last and only resources being pillage and rapine. Under such circumstances it was that O'Tool entered the lands of Ballimore in 1419, where he obtained considerable booty, and carried off four hundred head of cattle. This enterprise, which was looked upon by the English as a breach of public faith, alarmed them greatly. Troops were marched; M'Morrough, chief of the people of Leinster, was arrested; and towards the end of May, the lord-lieutenant, accompanied by the archbishop and mayor of Dublin, had the castle of Kenini razed to the ground. William Burke, too, at the head of an English cohort in Connaught, put five hundred Irishmen to the sword, and made O'Kelly prisoner. After these expeditions, John Talbot, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, returned to England, loaded with the curses of his creditors, to whom he was indebted for the common necessaries of life. His brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed deputy in his place.*

The deputy convened a parliament at Naas, in the county of Kildare, which granted to the king a subsidy of three hundred marks. Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, died in Normandy, whither he had been sent at the head of sixteen hundred men to the assistance of Henry. John Fitzhenry was nominated prior in his stead, who enjoyed the dignity for only a short time. He was succeeded by William Fitzthomas. The archbishop of Dublin made a sally on the Irish, thirty of whom he killed in an engagement at Rodiston.

In the month of April, A. D. 1420, James Butler, earl of Ormond, landed at Waterford as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was the cause of a duel between two of his relatives, one of whom was killed upon the spot, and the other being dangerously wounded, was removed to Kilkenny. This earl held a council in Dublin, in the month of April, in which it was ordained that a parliament should be convened for the month of June. In the mean time, he exacted contributions from O'Reilly, M'Mahon, and Maguire. The par-

* War. de Præsul. Ardmach.
† War. de Arch. Dub.

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

liament met on the 7th of June, and sat for sixteen days; when, having granted the king a subsidy of seven hundred marks, it was adjourned to the month of December. In this second session, which continued but for thirteen days, the king was allowed three hundred marks, and an arrangement was also made to pay the debts of John Talbot, late lord-lieutenant. The parliament was again prorogued to the month of April.

James, earl of Desmond, had a convent built for Franciscan friars at Asketin, a small village on the river Delle, in the county of Limerick, where this earl had his castle. Wadding and Ware differ about the foundation of this convent; the former says it was in 1589, and the latter affirms that it was in 1420.

The castle of Colmolin surrendered to Thomas Fitzgerald on the 28th of October, 1421. The parliament having met in the month of April, it was decreed that the archbishop of Armagh, Sir Christopher Preston, and others, should be deputed as an embassy to the king to solicit a reformation in the government of Ireland. John Gese, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, presented to this parliament several accusations against Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel. They were reduced to thirty articles, the principal of which were, that this prelate directed all his attention to the Irish, that he disliked the English, that he conferred no livings on them, that he inspired the other bishops with the same sentiments, that he forged the seal and letters patent of the king of England, that he assumed the dignity of king of Munster, &c. It is, however, likely that the well-established reputation of the prelate of Cashel, who was considered an exemplary man, caused these accusations to be looked on as calumnies, as no further mention has been made of them. Another petition was sent before the parliament, respecting Adam Payn, bishop of Cloyne, who wished to unite another see with his own: but that tribunal was too prudent to interfere with matters belonging to the church. It was forwarded therefore to the court of Rome, and the parliament continued their sitting for eighteen days more. The O'Morras attacked the people of the earl of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, near the monastery of Leix; and twenty-seven Englishmen of distinction lost their lives in the encounter, the chiefs of whom were Purcell and Grant; eighteen others were made prisoners. The remainder of this little army, amounting to two hundred, fled into the abbey of Leix. M'Mahon, of Ulster, at the same time burned and plundered the country of Orgiel.

The earl of Ormond, in order to be revenged for the murder of his people, entered the estates of Morra with a powerful army, in the month of June, and put all he met to the sword, without regard to either age or sex, and compelled the remainder to beg for peace. He retook also the castle of Ley, which O'Dempsy had taken from the earl of Kildare, and restored it to the latter.*

Mention is made at this time of Henry of Marleburgh, an English priest and rector of the church of Ballyscaddan, in the diocese of Dublin. Posterity is indebted to this ecclesiastic for the benefit he has conferred on them in leaving behind him a part of the annals of Ireland, brought down by him to 1421. Camden has subjoined to his Britannia an extract from them, at foot of the annals of Pembrige. The style of the extracts is not elegant; but as history is available for authors of every age, and is important to their undertakings, those annals have largely benefited Hammer, Ware, Cox, and others who have written upon the affairs of Ireland from the middle of the twelfth to the beginning of the fifteenth century.†

During all this period, Henry V. was victorious in France. Upon his marriage with Catherine of Valois, he was declared heir to its crown, and successor to Charles VI., to the prejudice of the dauphin, who, however, had afterwards the glory of retaking almost the whole of his kingdom from the English. Henry did not live long afterwards. He died at Vincennes, near Paris, A. D. 1422, and left the regency of France to his brother, the duke of Bedford, and the government of England to his second brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Among the good qualities ascribed to this prince, it is said that he loved ecclesiastics as much as he did his soldiers, from which circumstance the name of prince of priests was given him,‡ a name which strengthens the opinion that historians give of his piety; for the enemies of religion always strive to make the ministers of it objects of contempt. It must be admitted, notwithstanding the good qualities which many of the kings of England possessed, that they ended generally with some act of barbarous inhumanity. An example of this kind is discovered in the conduct of Henry while he was besieging Montereau, that still held out for the dauphin. In order to inspire terror into the commander of the place, he caused to be hanged, in view of it, twelve French gentlemen of the first rank, who happened to be

* Baker's Chronicles of England.
† Ware's Annals of Ireland.
‡ Baker's Chronicles of England.

prisoners in his camp, an action by which public faith was violated, and which would be unpardonable in the most barbarous princes.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Henry VI., surnamed of Windsor, the place of his birth, was only son of Henry V. and of Catherine of Valois. He was but eight months old when he succeeded to the crown of his father, and was afterwards proclaimed at Paris as king of France; but he lost both crowns in the end.

The earl of Ormond was continued in quality of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The House of Commons had a petition presented to the king, informing him of the tumults which the Irish were guilty of in England.* These were men of English origin who had been established in Ireland, and who, in order to get clear of the tyranny and oppression of their leaders, abandoned their possessions and returned to the land of their fathers, where necessity forced them to commit murders, robbery, and other crimes. In consequence of the above petition, it was decreed that all those who were born in Ireland should be obliged to quit England within a limited time, except the graduates of universities, ecclesiastics who were provided with benefices, or such as possessed lands where they were established, and whose fathers and mothers were born in England.

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who succeeded the earl of Ormond in quality of lord-lieutenant, died soon after in his castle of Trim. He was succeeded by Lord John Talbot, A. D. 1425. In his time the Barretts, a considerable tribe near Cork, bound themselves by a legal covenant to yield obedience to the earl of Ormond, who was at the time a powerful lord in Munster.

At Dunmore, in the county Galway, a monastery was founded by the Berminghams, barons of Athenry, for hermits of St. Augustin. The registries of their order mention it to have been built in 1425.

Talbot's time of acting as lord-lieutenant having terminated, the government devolved on the earl of Ormond, 1426. At this period, the duke of Bedford appropriated to himself, by letters patent, all the gold and silver mines of Ireland, and the other domains belonging to the king, undertaking to pay a tenth part to the church, a fifteenth to the king, and a fifteenth to the owners of the estates where they might be discovered.

Sir John Gray was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, A. D. 1427. He landed at Howth in the month of July, and took the oath of office the next day, but the particulars of his administration are not known. He returned to England in 1428, having appointed Edward Dantzy, bishop of Meath, his deputy. This prelate, who was treasurer of Ireland at one time, died in the month of January. John Sutton, Lord Dudley, his successor as deputy, had a parliament called together, by which regulations for juries to investigate criminal prosecutions were established, A. D. 1429. After this he returned to England, having named Thomas Strange as his deputy, 1432. Sir Thomas Stanley was appointed lord-lieutenant after Sutton: and Sir Christopher Plunket, and Richard Talbot the archbishop of Dublin, were successively his deputies. The troops of Meath and Uriel were collected by Stanley, to impede the further incursions of the Irish upon the English province: and both armies met on Michaelmas day, 1435, when the Irish were defeated, with a loss of many lives and Niall O'Donnell was made prisoner. John Batterley, an English theologian and Dominican, was bishop of Tuam till 1436, he was a learned man, and eminent for his preaching.* He is said to have been the writer of many works, which are now lost. Thomas O'Kelly succeeded him in the see of Tuam. This bishop, who had been in the see of Clonfert, gave the parish church of Clonkeen-Kerrill, county Galway, to the monks of the third order of Franciscans, where they became established.

After Stanley, the government was given to Lion, lord Wells. The law which compelled the Irish to return to their own country, was renewed in England; and it was prohibited to all of the king's subjects in Ireland to emigrate to England, A. D. 1438.

Robert Fitz-Geoffry Cogan having no heir to succeed him in his estates, which comprised half the kingdom of Cork, made them over to James, earl of Desmond, and gave him a letter of attorney to put him in possession, notwithstanding the pretensions of De Carew and De Courcy, who were unable to oppose that nobleman, he being too powerful for them at that time.

John Swayn, rector of the church of Galtrim, county Meath, was consecrated at Rome as archbishop of Armagh, in the month of February, 1417. He was sent, in 1421, by

* Rot. Parl. in Castro Dubliniens.

* War. de Præsul. Tuamens.



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the parliament, with the Chevalier Preston to England, to inform Henry V. of the state of Ireland, and to seek a reform of the abuses that prevailed there. This prelate, broken down by age, resigned the see of Armagh in 1439, after governing it for twenty years, and retired to Drogheda, where he died soon afterwards. He was succeeded in the see of Armagh by John Prene. Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed a second time lord-chief-justice of Ireland, A. D. 1440. He had a parliament convened, by which a law was made that neither purveyors nor victuallers should take provisions without paying for them, the proprietors, in such cases, being permitted to resist them. By the same parliament it was made high treason to harbor robbers, or impose the maintenance of the troops upon any of the king's subjects without their consent; and to obviate abuses that might arise from this enactment, the parliament made a law that provisions should be provided for the troops, and that every proprietor of land, who paid an annual rent of twenty pounds sterling, should furnish and maintain for the king's use an archer and his horse.

Richard O'Hedian, archdeacon of Cashel, was consecrated archbishop of that see in 1406, and was put in possession of its revenues two years afterwards. This prelate, finding no place where to lay his head, (as he expresses himself in the roll of the revenues of that church,*) demanded back the lands belonging to the archbishopric, which were neglected by his predecessor, and usurped by strangers. He had a house built for the vicars of the choir, and gave them the two small farms of Grange-Connel, and Baon-Thurlis-Beg, to increase their income. He also rebuilt some archiepiscopal houses, and re-established the cathedral church of St. Patrick. This prelate died at an advanced age, in the month of July, 1440, and was succeeded, after a vacancy of ten years, by John Cantwell. A convent for Franciscan friars was founded at this time, at Irrialagh, on the borders of lake Lane, in the county of Kerry, by Domnal M'Carty, lord of that district.

The see of Tuam was held in 1438, by Thomas O'Kelly, bishop of Clonfert, who was placed there by the authority of the pope. The annals of the monastery of the isle of All Saints, say he was as celebrated for his piety as his liberality. Having governed his see for three years, he died in 1441. His successor's name was John.

* "On his arrival he had not a single place where he could rest himself."

James, earl of Ormond, governed Ireland for some time as lord-lieutenant; and was afterwards deputy in place of Lion, Lord Wells, who was appointed by the court of England to the office of lord-lieutenant While this earl was in office, he obtained the revenues of the see of Cashel for ten years, after the death of the archbishop, Richard O'Hedian. Ware assigns no reason for the long vacancy of that see. It must have arisen from some division concerning the choice of a prelate, or from a desire to reward the earl with its revenues. However this be, the lord-lieutenant nominated his brother, William Wells, deputy, in room of Ormond, A. D. 1442. The new deputy held a parliament in Dublin, in which Richard Talbot, archbishop of that city, and John White, abbot of the abbey of St. Mary, were appointed commissioners to go and represent to the king the wretched state of affairs in Ireland: and that by an unwise administration, the expenses of preserving that country to the crown of England exceeded its revenues by fourteen hundred and fifty-six pounds a year.

James, earl of Ormond, was once more appointed lord-lieutenant, A. D. 1443. He obtained leave of absence from the court without being subject to pay the fine decreed against absentees by a statute of Richard II. By the orders of the king he dismissed John Cornwalsh, who filled the office of chief-baron, and conferred it on Michael Griffin.

John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, having governed that see for about four years, died in his house at Termon-Fechin, where he was interred in the church of St. Fechin, and succeeded in the diocese of Armagh by John Mey.

At Kilcarbain, in the county of Galway, a convent for monks of the third order of St. Francis, was built by Thomas Burke, bishop of Clonfert, who granted to that order the chapel of Kilcarbain, which donation was confirmed by Pope Eugene IV in 1444.*

Opposite interests gave rise at this time to jealousy and mutual hatred between the Butlers and Talbots. They became incensed against each other to the highest pitch, and both public justice, and the public themselves, were affected by their discords. In the mean time, James, earl of Desmond, who had taken part with the Butlers, obtained the government of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, by letters patent. In order to reward

* War. de Antiq. Hib. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

nis services for preserving peace in these districts, he got permission to absent himself from every subsequent parliament, by sending a proxy to represent him, and was permitted to purchase all the lands he should think proper, and of what quality soever they might be. The faction of the Talbots, however, gained ground among the people, notwithstanding the influence of the Butlers; and a petition, signed by several lords, was sent to the king, praying that the lord-lieutenant might be recalled. He was represented as a man overcome with age and infirmity, and incapable of preserving the royal possessions in Ireland, much more of increasing them. He was also accused of having conferred the title of knighthood on some Irishmen who had been attached to him, and who seconded his views; of having exonerated certain noblemen, on paying sums of money, from attending their place in parliament; and of having confined the king's subjects in the castle of O'Dempsy, in order to extort money from them for their ranson.

It is probable that these complaints were attended to by the court, as the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland was conferred on John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, A. D. 1446. The king granted to this nobleman the town and county of Waterford, with the title of earl of Waterford, the royal franchises, and the *droit d'aubaine*, (or right of inheriting the personal property of aliens at their death,) in the districts along the coast, as far as Youghal.

The lord-lieutenant held a parliament at Trim, on the Friday after Epiphany, in 1447, in which several laws were enacted, among others, that all officers might travel in Ireland, without meeting with any interruption; that no tax should be levied on merchandise or provisions, except in towns, under pain of paying twenty shillings for every penny; that the men should shave the upper lip, under pain of being considered among the Irish enemy; that an Irish homicide, or robber, though naturalized, might be looked upon as an enemy, and consequently, be put to death; and that the sons of laborers should be forced to follow the profession of their fathers. A law was also made against false coin, and the coin of O'Reilly, (by which it would appear that this nobleman had money coined.) This law also referred to the gilding of harness and armor, the use of which was prohibited.

The lord-lieutenant having settled his affairs in Ireland, appointed his brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, his deputy, and returned to England, where he accused the earl of Ormond of high treason, in presence of the duke of Bedford, constable of England; but the king caused the accusation to be suppressed. At this time, the deputy published a tract in Latin, in Dublin, on the abuses of the government during the earl of Ormond's administration: "*De abusu regiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormondiæ, dum Hiberniæ esset locum tenens.*" It appears that Thomas Fitzthomas, prior of Kilmainham, was among the number of the earl of Ormond's enemies, being one of those who accused him of treason: and that, in consequence, a duel, which was the established mode of deciding quarrels at that time, was to have been fought between them at Smithfield, in London, but the king having interposed his authority, it did not take place.

Hitherto the English had been acting on the defensive in Ireland, and only carried on war along their frontiers; their army was poorly provided, and more a burden to their countrymen there, who were oppressed by maintaining them, than formidable to the enemy by their military achievements. It was therefore thought necessary to send over as a commander, a man of some celebrity, and Richard, duke of York, earl of March and Rutland, and heir to the crown of England, whose son reigned afterwards under the name of Edward IV., was considered the fittest person for this office. Independently of his great talents, he owned large estates in the country; he was earl of Ulster and Cork, lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and a considerable part of the county Meath. It was an act of policy too in the cardinal of Winchester, who was then at the head of affairs in England, to give the government of Ireland to the duke of York, and thus to deprive him of the regency of France, as he had thereby an opportunity of gratifying his friend, the duke of Somerset. The duke being appointed lord-lieutenant, landed at Howth, near Dublin, in the month of July, 1449; but as he saw clearly into the views of those who had sent him to Ireland, he accepted of it on flattering conditions only, viz., that he should continue in office for ten years; that in order to support his dignity, he should have the receipt of all the revenues of his province, both regular and casual, without being obliged to render an account of them; that he should be supplied with money from England, as follows: four thousand marks for the first year, two thousand pounds of which should be paid in advance, and for the remainder of the time two thousand pounds a year; that he should be

permitted to let the king's lands as farms; to appoint and dismiss all officers at his will; to raise what number of troops he should think proper, and to appoint a deputy when he pleased, and return to England.

It does not appear that the duke of York brought many troops with him from England, or that he supported any in Ireland, as the money which had been promised him was too trifling, and too irregularly paid, as may be inferred from his letters to the earl of Salisbury on this subject, and particularly from that which he wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, quoted by Campion,* according to the original, which he obtained through Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth. The style of this letter is very different from that of the present day, and merits well the attention of every reader, from its peculiar and very singular construction. The following copy is taken from Campion's history, in the Mazarine library in Paris, where it can be verified:

"Right worshipful, and with all my heart, entirely beloved brother, I commend mee unto you as heartily as I can.

"Ande like it you to wit, that sith I wrote last unto the king our soveraigne lord his highnes, the Irish enemy, that is to say, Macgeoghegan, and with him three or foure Irish captaines, associate with a great fellowship of English rebells, notwithstanding that they were within the king our Soveraigne lord his power, of great malice, and against all truth, have maligned against their legiance, and vengeably have brent a great town of my inheritance, in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and burnt both men, women, and children without mercy, the which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, wayting to doe the hurt and grievance to the king's subjects, that they can thinke or imagine, for which cause I write at this time to the king's highnes, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of warrant, now late directed unto the treasurer of England to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemys, and punish them in such wyse, that other which would doe the same, for lack of resistance in time, may take example, for doubtlesse but if my payment be had, in all haste, for to have men of war in defence and safeguard of this lande, my power cannot stretch to keepe it in the king's obeysance, and very necessity will compell me to come into England to live there, upon my poore livelode, for I had lever be dead, than any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default, for it shall never be chronicled, nor remain in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence; and therefore I beseech you, right worshipful brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may be had at this time, in eschuing all inconveniences, for I have example in other places, more pity it is to dread shame, and for to acquite my truth unto the king's highnes, as my dutie is, and this I pray and exhort you, good brother, to shew unto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language may be enacted at this present parliament for my excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my servant Roger Roe, the bearer hereof, &c.

Written at Divelin, the 15th Juin.

Your faithful true brother,

RICHARD YORK."

Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, brother of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, so well known in history for his military exploits, died this year, having held that see for thirty-two years, and was interred in the cathedral of St. Patrick. This prelate established six half prebendaries, and six choristers in that church,* and also a chantry in St. Michael's chapel, which he made a parish church. He was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh by the dean and chapter, which he refused; he belonged to the privy council of both Henry V. and VI.; had been twice lord-justice of Ireland, and once chancellor. His successor in the see of Dublin was Michael Tregury.

Although the duke of York, on coming to Ireland, found affairs there in a very bad condition, both from the wicked administration of those in office, and the frequent attacks which the king's subjects met with from the Irish, as we have already seen by this prince's letter to the earl of Shrewsbury; and though he was never able to force Macgeoghegan and his followers into their entrenchments; still, by his skill, rather than by force of arms, this prince quelled, in a great measure, the disorders which existed in the country. He convened two parliaments; one in Dublin in October, the other at Drogheda in April; in which several laws were enacted relative to good order and the government of the state, and a fine was decreed against the bishops of Leighlin, Ossory, Down, and Limerick, for not having attended the parliament held in Dublin.

* History of Ireland, page 99

* War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

Campion, page 94, gives the copy of a letter of complaint from the inhabitants of the county of Cork to the earl of Rutland and York, in which they represent their misfortunes as the necessary consequence of the civil wars which were continually breaking out between the noblemen of the kingdom, whereby the king's subjects were in danger of losing their possessions, as the weaker party were obliged to call in to their assistance the Irish, who had been driven out, and the latter were becoming powerful in the country, of which they already owned the greater part. In this letter we find a list of the principal noblemen in the district, and their incomes; they were as follows: Carew of Dorzy-Haven, Barnewall of Beer-Haven, Uggan, Balram of Emforte, Courcy of Kilbrehon, Mandevil of Barnhely, Sleynie of Baltimore, Roche of Pool Castle, Barry, and others; it also adds, that Courcy, Roche, and Barry alone still enjoyed some portion of the possessions of their ancestors.* This letter ends by entreating the viceroy to visit the country himself, or to send thither persons capable of checking these disorders; as, if a remedy were not applied, the petitioners would be constrained to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne.

At this time the duke of York had a son born in Dublin, to whom the earls of Ormond and Desmond stood sponsors; he was afterwards known by the name of George duke of Clarence.

Many religious houses were founded in this century in Ireland, though the dates of their foundation are unknown. The convents built for the Franciscans were, Kilmichael, in Westmeath, by the Petits; Balinesagard, in the district of Annaly, now Longford, by the O'Ferralls; and Holy-Wood, or Sacro-Bosco, by the Audsleys. These three were of the third order. The O'Donnels, princes of Tirconnel, founded two houses for the same order: one at Kilmacrenan, near Donegal, for Franciscan friars; the other at Magheri-Beg, in the same country, for the third order. Conn O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, built a house at Dungannon, for this order also. Ware mentions a convent of Franciscans, founded at Ballimacsweeny, in Tirconnel, by one M'Sweeny, lord of the district. The Dowels founded a convent for Dominicans at Tuilsk, in Roscommon. A convent was founded at Morisk, at the foot of Mount St. Patrick, for Augustin hermits, by the O'Maileys, lords of Umaille, in the county of Mayo. A convent for Carmelites was built at Rathmullian in the district of Donegal, by M'Sweeny, lord of Fanid; and another at Kaltragh, in the county of Galway, by the Berminghams, barons of Athenry.

During the duke of York's administration in Ireland, he was always mindful of the interests of the English in that country; he quelled the disturbances that prevailed, and had castles built on the frontiers of Meath, Louth, and Kildare, to check the incursions of the Irish. So great was the esteem in which he was held by his countrymen in Ireland, that several followed him to England, to support his claims to the crown.

The duke of York having returned to England in 1451, appointed the earl of Ormond his deputy in Ireland, Sir John Talbot being made chancellor at the same time. Ormond was afterwards appointed lord-lieutenant, and went immediately to England, leaving the government of Ireland to John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, as deputy, A. D. 1453, which displeased the court, and the earl was ordered to return, as the presence of a military governor was requisite in the country, to impede the progress of the rebel Irish, who were continually making inroads on the English province. Ormond's affairs, however, not allowing him to leave England, the earl of Kildare was intrusted with the government, A. D. 1454, till the arrival of Sir Edward Fitzeustace, who was made deputy to the duke of York. He held a parliament in Dublin, in which several laws were enacted respecting the abuses that were creeping into the government.

The duke of York beheld with mortification his enemy, the duke of Somerset, in the highest favor at the court of England. He presented several petitions to the king, against him and Suffolk; but his remonstrances made no impression on this weak prince, who was more fitted for the cloister than the throne, and who had given himself up to the control of his queen, Margaret, daughter of the titular king of Naples and Sicily. Margaret was a woman possessed of more resolution and of superior mind to her sex in general; and finding the king imbecile and unfit to govern, aided by Somerset, and others of her party, she undertook the administration of the kingdom. It was not the greatness of Somerset that gave umbrage to the duke of York. This prince, who was well aware of his own right to the throne, had already formed the design of restoring his family on

* They might with more truth be called the usurpations of their ancestors.

the ruins of the house of Lancaster, to which Somerset was bound by the ties of blood and interest. In order to remove this obstacle, the duke consulted his friends, among whom were the earl of Warwick, and his son, the earl of Salisbury. These noblemen having formed their plans, thought proper to supply the deficiency of remonstrance by force of arms, in order to effect the removal of Somerset. The duke of York accordingly caused troops to be levied in Wales, and the north of England, with whom he marched towards London; and was met by the king, queen, and Somerset, at the head of an army at St. Alban's, where the first blood was shed in the quarrel of the two Roses, A. D. 1455. Henry's army was defeated, and Somerset, who was the nominal cause of the war, with the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, found among the slain; the number of whom amounted to five thousand men. Henry was made prisoner, but treated with every respect, and led in triumph to London, by York and Warwick. They there obliged him to convene a parliament, in which the duke of York was declared guardian and protector of the kingdom.

Thomas, earl of Kildare, was at that time deputy for the duke of York in Ireland. This nobleman, zealous for the public welfare, convened the parliament twice in the city of Dublin, and once at Naas, in which regulations appertaining to the government were enacted.

John Mey, judge of the episcopal court of Meath, was nominated in 1444, by Pope Eugene IV., to the archbishopric of Armagh. Having held that see for about twelve years, he died in 1456, and was succeeded by John Bole. About this time, John, surnamed by some de Burgo, archbishop of Tuam, died. The year of his death is not exactly known; but we find that Donat O'Murry succeeded him, A. D. 1458.

The army of the duke of York was considerably weakened by the retreat of Andrew Trollop, who commanded the Calesians, on the eve of a battle with the king, for which the prince had collected all his forces. He was therefore obliged to seek an asylum in Ireland: where he continued for some time, and through his deputy, the earl of Kildare, had a parliament assembled in Dublin, and subsequently at Drogheda. In the interval a parliament was convened at Coventry in England, where the duke was declared a traitor, together with his son, Edward earl of March, Richard earl of Salisbury, Richard earl of Warwick, the lord Clifford, and the other confederates; and their estates and goods were all confiscated for the king's use.

The earl of March sailed soon after from Calais, to invade England. He landed at Sandwich, and on his march to Northampton, his forces were increased every step they advanced, by additional friends. An engagement took place between them and the king's army, which lasted for two hours, and in which ten thousand troops were slain on both sides. King Henry was taken prisoner a second time; and the queen and her son, the prince of Wales, saved themselves with difficulty. This new success raised the courage of the duke of York, who was still in Ireland: and he set out immediately for London, where he caused a parliament to be convened in the king's name He then advanced his claim to the crown, and expatiated upon all that his family had undergone for the house of Lancaster. It was then agreed that Henry should wear the crown during his life, and that the duke should be his successor. The prince, though he now believed that his right was well established, thought that other battles were necessary to render it the more secure. Parliamentary decrees seemed to him of little avail, when unsupported by an army. The queen and the new duke of Somerset, who had withdrawn to Scotland after the battle of Northampton, were already on their march with a formidable army, composed of Scotch and northern English, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, to renew the war. The duke of York therefore, having committed the king to the care of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, advanced to meet the queen with an army much inferior in numbers, consisting only of five thousand men; but placing too much reliance on the valor of his troops, and his good fortune, which had never yet forsaken him, he fell into an ambuscade in the plain of Wakefield, where he lost the victory and his life. The young earl of Rutland, his son, who was only twelve years old, strove to excite the pity of lord Clifford, by imploring him on his knees to spare his life: but was stabbed in the most inhuman manner by this barbarian, without any regard for either his birth, age, or tears. The earl of Salisbury was made prisoner, and afterwards beheaded: the duke of York was insulted even in his grave. By orders of the queen a paper diadem was placed upon his head, and it was thus exposed on a pole upon the walls of the city from which he had taken his title.

Four religious houses of the order of St. Francis, were founded at this time in Ireland; namely, three for Franciscan friars, and one for Observantines. At Enniscorthy on the river Slaney, in the county of Wex-

HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

ford, a convent for conventual Franciscans was founded by Domnal Cavanagh, lord of the country. At Inishircan, that is, the isle of Hircan, in the bay of Baltimore, there was a convent for Franciscans built by Florence O'Driscol, lord of the town of Ross, the island of Baltimore and Inishircan.* At Bantry, in the county of Cork, a convent for Franciscans was founded by O'Sullivan Beare, lord of that place. Nehimie O'Donochoe built a convent at Moyen, at the mouth of the river Moy, in the county of Mayo, for Observantine friars, in which he took the habit, and became vicar-general of the order. There was also a house founded for Dominicans at Glanore, in the county of Cork, by the Roches.

The public revenue was very moderate at this time in Ireland, the whole kingdom being still in possession of the Irish, except the English province, and some towns on the coast of Ulster; and the English were even obliged to pay tributes to the Irish, to preserve peace with them. Cox gives a list of these payments, which he calls scandalous, and of the districts which contributed their portions. The barony of Lecale paid O'Neill, of Clanneboy, twenty pounds a year; the county of Uriel forty pounds to O'Neill, the county of Meath sixty pounds to O'Connor; the county of Kildare twenty pounds to O'Connor; the exchequer paid eighty marks a year to M'Morrough; the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary forty pounds to O'Carroll; the county of Limerick forty pounds to O'Brien; and lastly, the county of Cork paid forty pounds to M'Carty of Muskerry. Cox complains bitterly of the Irish for taking advantage of the disturbances in England, and usurping extensive estates, as they had previously done under Richard II., and also, as he further observes, for holding, without any right, the greater part of Ulster, and many districts in Munster and Connaught.†

* The very ancient and noble family of the O'Driscols derives its origin from Ith, paternal uncle of Milesius. In the division of lands by the children of Milesius in Ireland, after the conquest of this island, a territory then called Corkaluigh, forming part of the country since called Carbry, near Ross and Baltimore, was assigned to Lughaid, son of Ith. His descendants afterwards took the name of O'Driscol. They supported themselves honorably in Carbry till the revolutions which took place under Elizabeth, and the war which the Irish carried on against that princess, in which the O'Driscols distinguished themselves in their country's cause.

† If we adopted the notions of English authors, we should be led to believe that the Anglo-Irish were the aborigines of Ireland. It would seem that the usurpation of the lands of others, was looked on as a virtue among these strangers, and that it was held a flagrant act of injustice for the ancient Irish to recover by arms part of what they had been so unjustly deprived of two or three centuries before.

CHAPTER XXIX.

After the battle of Wakefield, in which Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, lost his life, the house of York seemed to have fallen for ever; but Edward earl of March, who inherited his father's great qualities, as well as his claims to the throne, having assembled an army of twenty-three thousand men on the frontiers of Wales, came to an engagement with the king's forces, commanded by the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, at a place called Mortimer's Cross, near Ludlow.* The battle was bloody, and the victory for some time doubtful; but at length the royalists took to flight, leaving three thousand eight hundred men dead upon the field of battle, besides several prisoners, among whom was Owen Tudor, a Welsh nobleman, who had married queen Catherine, widow of Henry V., and mother of Henry VI., and who, by orders of the earl of March, was sacrificed to the manes of his father, the duke of York. After this action, the earl marched directly to London, where he was proclaimed king, under the name of Edward IV., in consequence of the act of parliament by which his father Richard had been declared successor to the throne. He was, however, forced to make good his title by the sword. Henry and Margaret had still a considerable army in the north of England, which Edward thought necessary to conquer before he assumed the crown. He marched therefore against them, and defeated his rival in the famous battle of Towton. This battle, which lasted two days, was remarkable for the number of men of rank who fell on both sides. The loss sustained by the two armies is said to have amounted to thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six men killed upon the spot; the cause of this fearful carnage being a prohibition which Edward had issued throughout his camp the day before the action, neither to give nor ask for quarter, A. D. 1461. After this victory, Edward was crowned with great solemnity, on the 28th of June, at Westminster, under the name of Edward IV., and in November following, King Henry and his son, Edward, were declared to have lost all right or claim to the crown.

* Baker, Chron. War. de Annal. Hib. Higgin's Short View

Thomas, earl of Kildare, was appointed by the council in Ireland to fill the office of lord-justice till the court should nominate a lord-lieutenant.

The king make several promotions this year; in England he created his brothers George and Richard dukes, the former of Clarence, the latter of Gloucester;* in Ireland he raised two persons to the rank of barons: namely, William St. Lawrence, lord-baron of Howth, in the county of Dublin, and Robert Barnwall, lord-baron of Trimlestown, in the county of Meath.† St. Lawrence was descended from Almeric Tristram, who, in 1177, had changed his name from Tristram to St. Lawrence, on account of a battle he gained against the Danes on St. Lawrence's day, having made a vow to transmit that name to his descendants, should he be victorious.

George, duke of Clarence, the king's brother, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland for life, A. D. 1462. Sir Rowland Fitzeustace was his first deputy, but was replaced by the earl of Desmond. The earl of Ormond was beheaded at Newcastle, and his family fell into disgrace during this reign for their attachment to the house of Lancaster. Mints were established in Dublin, Trim, Drogheda, Waterford, and Galway, for coining four-penny and two-penny pieces, &c.; and it was decreed that English money should increase a quarter in value in Ireland, that is, that nine pence should pass for twelve, and so in proportion. This was the first time that any difference was made between Irish and English money.

A convent for Franciscan friars was founded at Monaghan, in Ulster, this year, by Felim M'Mahon, a lord of the country.‡ Edward White, an English nobleman, and a Protestant, having obtained this house afterwards from Queen Elizabeth, had it pulled down, and built a fine castle for himself from the materials.§ We find also another convent dedicated to St. Michael, at Athenry, in the county of Galway, belonging to the Observantine monks. It was begun by an earl of Kildare, but completed by some other benefactors.

The lord-lieutenant held a parliament, A. D. 1463; which was adjourned several times. Previously to its dissolution, the privileges of the members of parliament, for forty days before, and forty days after each session, were established; the salaries of officers of justice regulated, and the value of coin that was clipped or broken. He held a parliament at Trim, A. D. 1465, in which several statutes were enacted; among others, that the Irish residing in the English province should dress in the English manner; that they should take English names, and the oath of allegiance, under pain of having their properties confiscated; that they should make use of the bow and arrow like the English; that an under officer, called a constable, should be appointed in every borough; that foreign vessels should be prevented from fishing on the coasts of the rebels, under pain of confiscation, and that those who did so on the coast of the English province, should pay a tax.

At Kilcrea, in the county Cork, a convent for Franciscan friars was built about this time, by Cormac, son of Thadeus M'Carty, lord of the country, who was buried in it. A convent for the third order of St. Francis, was also founded at Glancarm, on the sea-shore, in the county of Antrim, by Robert Bisset, a Scotch nobleman.

The earl of Desmond finding his influence diminished with the king, was obliged to resign his place to John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, treasurer and constable of England, A. D. 1467. This new deputy, a learned and eloquent man, convened a parliament at Drogheda, in which it was enacted that the governor should have the liberty of travelling into the adjacent islands; that no bulls should be bought at the court of Rome for the possession of livings; that the pardon granted by the king to purveyors should be considered void; that the courts of exchequer and common pleas should be removable at the will of the governor, on giving twenty-eight days' notice; and that the earls of Desmond and Kildare, together with Edward Plunket, should be attainted of high treason, for having formed alliances with the hostile Irish, and supported them against the king's subjects, by providing them with arms and horses, in violation of the laws of the prince, and the statutes of the kingdom. In consequence of this act, Thomas Fitzjohn Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, was beheaded at Drogheda on the 15th of February.

There is a diversity of opinions respecting the nature of the crime which led to the tragical end of the earl of Desmond.* It was most generally ascribed to the hatred which the queen, Elizabeth, had conceived against this nobleman, the cause of which must be explained. After the victories gained at Towton and other places, over the house

* Baker, Chron. England.
† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.
§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

* Relat. Giraldinorum.

of Lancaster, Edward IV. had reason to consider himself in peaceful possession of the throne. He was one of the handsomest princes in Europe, and not insensible to the charms of the female sex; and being at the time twenty-three years of age, it was proposed to him to marry, as necessary, both to preserve the house of York from becoming extinct, and to secure the crown in his own family. Warwick was accordingly sent to France, to negotiate a marriage between him and the Princess Bona, sister to the queen, and daughter to the duke of Savoy. The embassy was successful, and the proposal accepted; but in the meanwhile, Edward, forgetful of the engagement which Warwick had contracted in his name, sacrificed his honor to love, by marrying Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey, who had fought against him, and was killed in the battle of St. Alban's. This alliance, which drew upon Edward the contempt of foreign princes, and the hatred of many of his own subjects, was the cause of his subsequent misfortunes. The attachment of the earl of Desmond to the house of York having induced him to serve in all the wars against the house of Lancaster, he became a favorite with Edward, who asked him one day, what the people thought of his marriage? The earl took the liberty of telling him that it was universally disapproved of, on account of the great inequality in rank between him and the queen; that a young king who had gained a crown by his arms, should have allied himself to some sovereign prince, who might be powerful to assist him in any emergency, and, in fine, that it would be prudent to repudiate Elizabeth, and marry one of his own station. This advice, which was more in accordance with human policy than Christian principles, was soon communicated to the queen. She resolved to take revenge, and the anger of an injured woman is implacable. She had at first recourse to secret measures, to injure the earl in the king's esteem; and at length found means to affix the king's private seal to an order, which she sent to the earl of Worcester, at that time deputy in Ireland, to have Desmond beheaded; an order which was put into execution, to the great surprise of every Irish nobleman. The revolt of the five sons of Desmond, who flew to arms to revenge their father's death, obliged the king to examine into the affair: Worcester was recalled to England, where he was tried, and though he produced in his own defence, the order he had received, sealed with the king's seal, he was sacrificed to the manes of Desmond. By this act the king put a stop to the revolt of Desmond's sons, and in addition to his forgiveness, he conferred the palatinate of Kerry on James Fitzthomas, the earl's eldest son. He afterwards gave him the town and castle of Dungarvan, with special privileges, which were enjoyed by his descendants till the reign of Elizabeth.

Cox endeavors to throw a doubt on this history of the earl of Desmond,* by saying that it is founded on a vulgar tradition. The English usually try to turn things to their own advantage, a disposition which is particularly manifest in the writings of Cox Though the earl of Desmond was of English origin, he was not sufficiently English for the notions of this historian; being one of those degenerate Englishmen who began to feel compassion for an unjustly oppressed people, whose properties they had usurped and kept possession of.

The earl was more interested than any other person, says this historian, in condemning the king's marriage with Elizabeth; since if he had approved of it, he should also have sanctioned the marriage of his nephew Thomas, fifth earl of Desmond, with Catherine Ni-William M'Cormock; that is, Catherine, daughter of William M'Cormock, his doing which, it appears, would militate against the title of earl, with which the uncle was invested, only after the forced resignation of it by his nephew; the latter having yielded it to his uncle to stop the persecution of his family, who were displeased with his marriage, which they considered degrading. In order, therefore, to secure the earldom, Desmond, the uncle, according to Cox, was induced to condemn the king's marriage, and consequently that of his own nephew. We easily perceive the forced construction which Cox puts upon the earl's conduct; but what analogy is there between the marriage of a king and that of a private individual? The unequal alliance made by the king of England affected the entire state, while the public welfare was in no manner affected by the marriage of the earl of Desmond. This earl's highest title was that of nobleman, and he allied himself to M'Cormock, who was a M'Carty, the ancient proprietor of part of the extensive estates, which were at that time in possession of Desmond; and whose alliance, though he had become his vassal† by the dreadful rev-

* Hib. Anglic. ad an. 1467.

† Both at that time and subsequently we see ancient proprietors forced to become the farmers of their own lands, and pay an annual rent for them to those who had usurped them.

olution which deprived him of his property, was not unworthy of him who possessed it unjustly. However this be, Cox ascribes the earl of Desmond's misfortune to the exaction of *Coyn and Livery;* but there is no mention of this in the statute of the parliament of Drogheda, quoted by this author, in virtue of which he was convicted of high treason, with the earl of Kildare and Edward Plunket. As this nobleman's fate, too, differed from that of the others, it must have proceeded from another cause.

In the month of February, the court granted ten pounds sterling a-year to Edmund Butler, lord of Dunboyne, out of the confiscated estates of the earl of Ormond, together with certain privileges, and the estate of Castle Richard, in the county of Meath, during life, for having made Conn O'Connor prisoner, and given him up to the deputy, and other services rendered by him to the state.

A convent for Franciscan friars was built in 1414, at Kilconnel, in the county of Galway, by William O'Kelly, lord of that country. Wadding says that this convent was reformed by the Observantines in 1467.

Thomas, earl of Kildare, having cleared himself of the crimes of which he had been accused in the parliament of Drogheda, was first appointed lord-justice of Ireland, and afterwards deputy to the duke of Clarence, A. D. 1468. He convened two parliaments, one at Drogheda and the other at Naas, in the county of Kildare, which was adjourned to Dublin. Regulations for trade and various other purposes were made in them.

John Bole, abbot of our Lady of Navan, in the county of Meath, was promoted to the see of Armagh, which he governed for about thirteen years. After his death, which took place in 1470, this see remained vacant for four years, during which the temporal affairs belonging to it were attended to by Richard Lang, bishop of Kildare. Charles O'Mellan, dean of the cathedral of Armagh, wrote a letter to Pope Sixtus IV., in the name of the chapter, in which he requested that Richard might be appointed their archbishop; but this was refused by the pope, who nominated John Foxalls to the see. He, however, died in England the year after his consecration, without having seen his diocese, and was succeeded by Edmund Connesburgh.

In 1471, the death of Michael Tregury, archbishop of Dublin, also occurred; he was a man of profound erudition, and left several works quoted by Bale and Pitseus. He died at an advanced age, at Tawlaght, a country residence belonging to the prelates of this see. His body was removed to Dublin, and buried near St. Stephen's altar, in the cathedral of St. Patrick, where his tomb may still be seen with an inscription upon it. He was succeeded by John Walton.

Some houses were founded at this time for Augustin hermits: one at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, by the earls of Ormond; another at Athdare, county of Limerick, by an earl of Kildare; and two in the cities of Cork and Limerick, the founders of which are not known. Father Lubin places a convent of this order at Clonmine, in the diocese and county of Cork, which was built near the river Avon-More, on the estate of the O'Kelleghes, (in case he does not confound Clonmine with Clomin, in the county Wexford, where, as we have already remarked, there was a convent belonging to this order.) Ware places in 1473 the foundation of a house at Donegal, for the Observantine monks, by Hugh Roe O'Donnel, prince of that country. According to this author, there was formerly a very fine library attached to it.

At this time a military society was instituted in Ireland, by a decree of parliament for the defence of the English province. It was composed of thirteen members, of acknowledged honor and loyalty, in the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath, and Louth; namely, three for each of the other counties, and four for Meath. In the appointment of this society, Thomas earl of Kildare, Rowland Eustace lord of Pontlester, and Sir Rowland Eustace, were nominated for the county of Kildare; Robert baron of Howth, the mayor of Dublin, and Sir Robert Dowdal, for the county of Dublin; Preston lord of Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, Edward Plunket, seneschal, Alexander Plunket, and Barnaby Barnwell, for that of Meath; the mayor of Drogheda, Sir Lawrence Taaf, and Richard Bellew, for the county of Louth. According to their regulations, the members were to meet every year in Dublin, on St. George's day, to appoint one of their number captain for the following year; this captain was to have one hundred and twenty horse-archers, at six pence a day each for their maintenance and pay, besides forty horsemen, and the same number of pages, at five pence a day, and four marks a year; whose duty was to arrest rebels, and those against whom warrants would be issued. In order to support this corps, which consisted of two hundred men, the parliament granted twelve pence

in the pound, as an import and export duty on merchandise. They enjoyed likewise the privilege of making rules for the good government of their society, and the election of a new member in cases of death. This was the origin of St. George's fraternity, which was suppressed in the tenth year of the reign of Henry VII.

William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, was appointed deputy to the duke of Clarence in 1475. He held a parliament in Dublin, by which it was prohibited, under pain of treason, to send for bulls to Rome.

The nobles were commanded to attend parliament in their robes, under pain of being fined, and the barons of the exchequer to appear in court in their dresses of ceremony. It was decreed that an Englishman should be allowed the right of reprisal against the family or sept of an Irishman who was not subject to the laws, from whom he might have sustained any injury; but it was prohibited, under pain of felony, to take by force any pledges in opposition to the common law. George Nevil, duke of Bedford, was deprived this year, in England, of the dignity of duke, for not possessing sufficient property to support the title.

The title of viscount, till now unknown in Ireland, was conferred at this time by the king of England on Sir Robert Preston, who was first made knight of the Garter in 1470.* He was baron of Naas, in the county of Kildare, in virtue of the marriage of one of his ancestors with the heiress of William Loundres; and was created viscount Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, in 1477. Roche, otherwise De la Roche, or *De Rupe*, lord of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, was created Viscount Fermoy the same year.

The duke of Clarence had his deputies still in Ireland, A. D. 1478. Sherwood was succeeded in that office by Henry Grey, lord of Ruthen, who was succeeded by Robert Preston, the viscount of Gormanstown, and the latter by Gerald, earl of Kildare, who held a parliament at Naas, in which some regulations were made relative to the government.

Edmond Connesburgh, archbishop of Armagh, resigned his see in 1479, and was succeeded by his coadjutor Octavianus de Palatio.

At this time a convent was founded at Lislaghtin, in the county Kerry; in all likelihood the same that Wadding places in an island of the Shannon. This house was founded by John O'Connor, of the noble family of the O'Connors Kerry, for Observantine monks.

Richard, duke of York, the king's son, being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, after George duke of Clarence, the earl of Kildare was continued in the office of deputy for four years, by a patent from him, sealed with the king's privy seal. This earl undertook to maintain peace and loyalty throughout the English province, on condition of being provided with one hundred and twenty horsemen, and six hundred pounds sterling a year for their support; and in case that the Irish revenues were not equal to this, the English government was bound to supply the deficiency. This deputy held a parliament which prohibited the exportation of birds of prey without paying a duty; a decree was also published, prohibiting the inhabitants of the English province to hold any intercourse with the Irish. It was a singular occurrence, that Conn O'Neill, who had married the deputy's daughter, was naturalized by this parliament, in a country which had given birth to him and his ancestors for many centuries before.

About this time John Cantwell, archbishop of Cashel, died. This prelate was professor of law, and a graduate of the university of Oxford. He governed his diocese with wisdom. He held a synod at Limerick in 1453, the canons of which are still extant, and convened a second in 1480, at Fethard, composed of the bishops of his province. He had the Dominican convent repaired, and increased the revenues of the vicars of the choir of Cashel, where he ended his days in 1482, and was succeeded by David Creagh.

Such was the state of Ireland during the reign of Edward IV. The intestine commotions by which England was torn, not allowing him to extend his views to that country, its affairs were to a great extent neglected and abandoned to the feeble protection of the society of St. George. He had gained his crown by the sword, and maintained it by the frequent battles which he fought with the partisans of Henry VI.; and was sometimes compelled to yield to superior force, and seek an asylum in foreign countries. Henry was at one time restored, and Edward declared a usurper by the parliament. The latter prince, however, again returned, aided by the duke of Burgundy and two thousand Dutchmen; and joined by his faithful subjects, marched immediately to London, where he seized upon the unfortunate Henry, and sent him back to the tower. His right was now once more acknowledged by that parliament which, but six

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

months before, had declared him a usurper; facts which prove the instability and inconsistency of that tribunal. Even this did not terminate Edward's difficulties. He was again forced to take the field; and defeated Warwick at the battle of Barnet, in which that earl lost his life. He was also victorious over Queen Margaret and her son Edward, in the battle of Tewksbury, which was the last effort of the house of Lancaster. Young Edward, only son of Henry VI., having fallen into the hands of his enemies, was stabbed, in the most brutal manner, by the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence. The duke of Somerset and many other noblemen were also put to death. He was the third duke of his family who fell in the cause of the house of Lancaster. Soon after this the duke of Gloucester buried the dagger, still reeking with the blood of the son, in the bosom of the father, who was prisoner in the tower. Thus ended the unhappy life of Henry VI., whose innocence and piety could not preserve him from the punishment due to the crime of his grandfather, Henry IV., who had usurped the crown.

Edward IV. did not long enjoy that tranquillity which his last victories had gained him. He died in the forty-first year of his age, and was interred at Windsor, in the new chapel which he himself had caused to be built. George, duke of Clarence, was accused, some time before, of high treason, and sent to the tower, at the instigation of his brother, the duke of Gloucester, by whose orders he ended his days miserably, having been drowned in a butt of malmsy wine.

Edward IV. left two sons and seven daughters. The elder of his sons, named Edward, who was but eleven years old at his father's death, was to have succeeded him on the throne.* He was at that time at Ludlow, in Wales, under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Sir Anthony Woodville, and other friends of the queen; whose wish it was that he should be brought to London, attended by a strong guard, in order to be crowned. Richard, duke of Gloucester, the late king's brother, was then in the north of England, and solely occupied with a design upon the throne. He had already effected the death of his brother George, duke of Clarence, in the tower of London, and being desirous of getting the young prince Edward, who was an obstacle to his ambition, into his power, he succeeded by his intrigues in removing all suspicion from the prince's mind, who set out for London, unguarded, and attended only by a few noblemen of his retinue. Gloucester repaired, with his favorite the duke of Buckingham, to Northampton and Stony-Stratford, through which places the prince should pass, and carried him away by force from those who were in care of him. He then seized on the persons of Lord Richard Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hall, in presence of the prince. He had Woodville, lord Rivers, arrested at Northampton, and sent a prisoner to the north, with Lord Richard and Thomas Vaughan. He then brought young Edward to London, where, having assembled the great council, he had himself appointed protector of the young prince and of the kingdom. The queen foresaw the danger which threatened her family through the conduct and intrigues of Gloucester; and fled precipitately, with her son Richard, and the princesses her daughters, to Westminster abbey; but as no asylum can be secure against tyranny, Gloucester found means to get young Richard also into his power, under the pretext of placing the two princes in a place of safety till all disturbances would have subsided They were carried, in apparent triumph, through the city to the tower, which unfortunately was to them a prison instead of a palace, as they never left it more. Richard placed himself at the head of the government, and was crowned, together with his wife, in July, 1483, under the name of Richard III.

This tyrant, intent upon securing to himself the throne he had usurped, thought it prudent to make no change in the government of Ireland; he left it, therefore, in possession of Gerald, earl of Kildare, who convened some parliaments, in which nothing interesting occurred. Gerald was afterwards appointed deputy to the earl of Lincoln, who was nominated lord-lieutenant, A. D. 1484: and held a parliament in Dublin, which granted him a subsidy of thirteen shillings and four pence a year, upon every plough-land, to defray the expenses of his services against the Irish. O'Connor, it would appear, participated in these services, as he got part of the reward, viz., forty pence for every plough-land in the county of Meath.

The archbishops of Dublin and Tuam both died this year. The former was John Walton, who obtained, by order of parliament, the restitution of some lands which belonged to the archbishopric of Dublin, and which had been sold by his immediate predecessors, Talbot and Tregury. This prelate held the see for six years, but having lost his sight, and being reduced to a state of infirmity, he resigned it, reserving at Swords a competency

* Baker, Chron. on the year 1483

for his support. He was succeeded by Walter Fitz-Simmons. Donat O'Murray, a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, was nominated to the archbishopric of Tuam. John Bole, archbishop of Armagh, wrote a circular letter to this prelate and his suffragans, informing them that he would shortly visit the province of Tuam, inasmuch as the archbishops of Armagh, as primates, claimed at all times the right of visiting the other provinces every seven years. This prelate added some establishments to the church of St. Nicholas, in Galway; he was succeeded in the see of Tuam by William Shivy.

Some writers appeared in Ireland during this century.* William, surnamed Waterford, wrote a book on religion, which he dedicated to Cardinal Julian in 1433. A canon of the order of St. Augustin, at Loghkey, in the county Roscommon, left the annals of Ireland to his own time, written in Irish and Latin. Ware mentions having seen that part of his work which begins with the year 1249, and ends with 1408. John of Ireland flourished in 1460. According to Antonius Alfonsus Fernandus, and Michael Plodius, he wrote a book called the Bunch of Flowers, having taken from the sacred writers the most valuable thoughts on each subject of his work. It is probable that these writers have confounded this John with Thomas of Ireland, of whom we have already spoken, who wrote a book called the "Flowers of the Doctors," in the thirteenth century, which was printed in Paris in 1664. John of Ireland, a Dominican, is said to have been the author of a book called "Scala Dei," or "the Ladder to Heaven." Philip Norris, having taken the degree of doctor in theology, at Oxford, returned to Ireland, his native country, where he was made prebendary of Yagogstown, which depended on St. Patrick's church in Dublin. He was afterwards dean of that cathedral, in 1457. Like Richard of Armagh, he wrote against mendicants, and inveighed strongly against them in his sermons, which brought disgrace upon him. According to Bale, he left many works, namely, declamations, lectures on the holy Scriptures, sermons to the people, a treatise against mendicants in health, &c.

In England, the duke of Gloucester, not content with having deprived his nephews of their birthright to the crown, sacrificed them to his cruelty, and had them put to death. He also caused his favorite, the duke of Buckingham, who had taken up arms against him, to be executed. The only enemy that Richard had now to fear, was the earl of Richmond, the last of the house of Lancaster, who was, in a manner, prisoner at the court of Brittany. This prince, however, had correspondents in England. Having received some assistance in money from Charles VIII. king of France, he sailed from Harfleur with two thousand men, and, after seven days, landed at Milford, from which place he marched towards Hereford, where he was joined by the Welsh, and other friends, who flocked to his standard, and in a few days collected a considerable force. Richard having received intelligence of the success of Richmond, marched, at the head of a powerful army, to meet him, and gave him battle in the plain of Bosworth, which proved fatal to Richard, who lost in it both the crown and his life. Lord Stanly, in the thick of the fight, having discovered the crown upon the ground, took it up and placed it on the head of Richmond; which, together with the acclamations of the troops, shouting "Long live the king," gave to the earl an additional title, by a sort of military election.

* Wad. Tom. 4, Annal. Min. ad an. 1395.

CHAPTER XXX.

After the battle of Bosworth, Henry, earl of Richmond, was crowned at Westminster king of England, under the name of Henry VII.* He was of the house of Lancaster, being great-grandson to John, earl of Somerset, who was born before the marriage of John of Ghent, fourth son of Edward III., with Catherine, his third wife, widow of Swinford; but who, by an act of parliament under Richard II.,† was made legitimate. In order to secure himself more firmly upon the throne, Henry added a third title to the right of conquest and the claims he derived from the house of Lancaster, by marrying the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., and consequent heiress to the house of York and the crown, A. D. 1485. This happy union put an end to the feuds of the two roses, which had cost England so much blood. This prince confined the earl of Warwick, called Edward Plantagenet, only son and heir of George, duke of Clarence, and the last male child of the house of York, in the tower of London. He was the first king of England

* Polyd. Virgil. Ang. Hist. lib. 26, page 1433.
† Baker, Chron. Higgins' Short View.

who established a body guard, in imitation of the kings of France. He appointed a captain over them, and allowed them pay; and the corps has been continued by his successors.

The king having appointed the duke of Bedford lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Gerald, earl of Kildare, retained the office of deputy.* Henry also allowed the chancellor, treasurer, and other officers, whom he knew to have favored the cause of the white rose, to continue in office; he wished to make them feel that he reposed confidence in them, and at the same time, that he was above that weakness which generally arises from fear and suspicion. He was not, however, unmindful of his friends. Thomas Butler, whose family had been long in disgrace for their attachment to the house of Lancaster, was restored by an act of parliament to his wealth and honors, and after taking the usual oath, was admitted into the privy council of the king. It appears that the Desmond family was restored at the same time, as it is mentioned that Thomas Coppinger, seneschal of St. James, earl of Desmond, in the liberties of Kerry, administered justice in his name.

A dispute arose this year between James Keating and Marmeduke Lumley, respecting the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, called the priory of Kilmainham, near Dublin.† Keating having been accused to Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of the order, in the island of Rhodes, of having mortgaged or sold several ornaments belonging to the house, (among others, a bit of the true cross,) and of having made over, or encumbered with pensions, the revenues of the priory, was deprived of his office by the grand master, who nominated Lumley in his stead. The latter having arrived at Clontarf with the intention of taking possession of his new dignity, Keating and his attendants prevented him, by taking him prisoner, and obliging him to give up his credentials and every thing respecting his nomination; to compensate him for which Keating gave him the commandery of Kilsaran, in the county of Louth. Lumley, indignant at this treatment, wrote to the king and grand master, and on his complaints Keating was excommunicated, by which he was so exasperated, that he deprived Lumley of his commandery, and confined him, contrary to the request of the archbishop of Armagh, in prison, where it is probable he ended his days. Keating kept forcible possession of his priory for nine years; but was at length expelled with ignominy and disgrace. He was succeeded by James Vale.

There was a convent of Franciscans in the large island of Arran, at the entrance of the bay of Galway.* Wadding states, that, according to the annals of Ireland, this convent was built in 1485, in the island of saints, which is the same as the isle of Arran.

Wadding mentions likewise the convent of Kilcullen, built in 1486, for Observantine friars of the order of St. Francis, by Rowland Eustace, who was lord-justice and for some time chancellor and treasurer of Ireland.† He says there were tombs, not only of the founder, but of several other noblemen, in the church and chapels. At Dungarvan, a small seaport in the county of Waterford, a convent was built, according to Ware, by an earl of Desmond, for Augustin hermits. Father Lubin informs us that it is mentioned in the registries of the order, 1448.

Although Henry's strongest claim to the crown lay in his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, he did not treat the queen with the respect due to her; but manifested his indifference towards her, by delaying the ceremony of her coronation, till he was compelled to have it performed by the murmurs of the people, who were always attached to the house of York. The number of malecontents increased, and pretenders to the crown were set up, who disturbed a great part of his reign. The impostures of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, both supported by Margaret, sister of Edward IV., widow of Charles, duke of Burgundy, and the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster, form some of the most peculiar features in the history of the English nation.

The king having some suspicion of the earl of Kildare's loyalty, who was his deputy in Ireland, wrote to him to repair to England, under pretext of consulting him on some matters respecting the welfare of the state. The earl, who dreaded some disagreeable result from this order, showed the king's letter to the parliament that were assembled in Dublin: whereupon the nobles wrote to the king, representing to him that the presence of the deputy was necessary in some matters of importance, and entreating of his majesty to dispense with his voyage for the present. The ecclesiastics who signed this letter were the archbishops of Armagh

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an 1485
† War. de Annal. Hib.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.
† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. p. 284

and Dublin, the bishop of Meath, four abbots and a prior, all ecclesiastical lords who sat in parliament; the temporal lords were, viscount Gormanstown, and the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimlestown, and Dunsany. During this time, a faction was forming in favor of the White Rose. The person pitched upon to carry out its objects, was Lambert Simnel, son of a shoemaker, or baker, who had been educated at Oxford by a priest called Richard Symon, a man of learning. This young man had a prepossessing and noble aspect, and a lively understanding, and was to personate young Edward, earl of Warwick, son of George, duke of Clarence, in order to lay claim to the crown. This project, however, was for two reasons impracticable; first, the real Edward was in the tower; secondly, the right which Henry had acquired by his marriage with the heiress of Edward IV., excluded every other claimant. These circumstances did not prevent Simnel from acting the part of a prince. He was brought to Ireland, and presented to the deputy, the chancellor, the treasurer, and other noblemen of the English province, who received him with distinguished regard. He was acknowledged by all but the archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Clogher, the Butlers, the baron of Howth, and the inhabitants of Waterford. The king being informed by the baron of Howth, of the triumphal entry of Simnel into Ireland, gave orders to have the real earl of Warwick taken from the tower, and led, under a strong guard, through the streets of the city to St. Paul's church, in order to undeceive the people. In the mean time, the duchess of Burgundy sent over two thousand men to Simnel, under the command of Colonel Swart.

This army landed in Dublin in the month of May; and the earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel repaired thither also; whereupon the supposed Warwick was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of the Trinity, called Christ's church, after a sermon preached by John Payne, bishop of Meath, who made known his right to the crown, in presence of the deputy, the chancellor, treasurer, the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and several other noblemen, both spiritual and temporal, of the English province. A crown which had been found on a statue of the blessed Virgin, in a church bearing her name, was used for this ceremony. The new king was led through the city, followed by the acclamations of the people, to the castle, where a magnificent banquet was prepared. The parliament, and courts of justice were holden, lawsuits carried on, statutes enacted, and all the acts of the council gone through in the name of this pretended prince. These acts were all, however, annulled in the time of Poynings, when deputy, in a parliament held at Drogheda, in 1494.

In the month of June, 1487, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, chancellor of Ireland, in order to unburden himself, resigned his office to Rowland Eustace, baron of Portlester. Shortly after this, a fleet was prepared, by order of the council, for the expedition to England, and the Pretender and his army, commanded by the earl of Lincoln, set sail, attended by Lord Lovel, the ex-chancellor Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Colonel Swart, a German, and other noblemen. On their landing in Lancashire, they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, who commanded a body of troops. With this reinforcement they marched towards Newark, where they met the king at the head of his army, and having come to an engagement, the victory was undecided for three hours, but at length declared in favor of Henry. Several lives were lost on the Pretender's side; the principal were those of John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, Francis, viscount Lovel, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, Plunket, son of Baron Killeen, and Colonel Swart, besides four thousand soldiers. Simnel was among the number of the prisoners: and having confessed his crime, the king, with unexampled clemency, granted him his life, and gave him a situation in his falconry, which he held till his death. After this victory, Henry marched towards the north, where he discovered more partisans of Simnel, among whom was the earl of Lincoln. Some of these he had put to death as an example; others he made pay large sums of money, and pardoned the least guilty. He then returned to London, where he was joyfully received, and in the month of November, on St. Catherine's day, his queen, Elizabeth, was crowned with great pomp, at Westminster.

In Ulster, Hugh M'Mahon taking advantage of the disturbances in the state, assembled his vassals, and committed dreadful devastation on the lands of the Anglo-Irish in the county Louth, from which he carried off large herds of cattle, and other goods. It is said that twenty-eight villages were burned in this expedition. Some parts of the province were visited, at this time, by rains and storms, which tore up trees by their roots, and threw down churches and houses.

About this time, Henry VII. wrote to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, expressing to them his satisfaction for their loyalty to him, and exhorting them to persevere in it. He gave them permission to seize upon the vessels and merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, and others who traded with them, and turn them to their own advantage; some time afterwards he granted them privileges and immunities, as a reward for their fidelity.

The earl of Kildare, and other ministers of state who had abetted the cause of Simnel, being informed of his defeat, sent a deputation to the king, avowing their crime, and imploring his forgiveness. The king, gratified with their submission, wrote to them, and reprimanding them slightly, granted them a pardon, of which their future conduct should be a guarantee; while as a proof of his perfect reconciliation, he continued the earl in the government of Ireland, and gave him orders and instructions relative to the times. The king had indeed cause to suspect the fidelity of the people, and to dread, that, on the first opportunity, some sparks of rebellion would burst forth; but he did not deem it prudent either to employ rigorous measures, or send troops to Ireland to put down the remains of the York faction;* and lest he should weaken the colony, which was with difficulty maintained in a corner of the island, against the attacks of the old inhabitants, he confined himself to receive the submission of the guilty. For these purposes he sent Sir Richard Edgcombe with a commission to make his subjects renew their oath of allegiance, and to secure their fidelity for the future, by announcing to them his forgiveness. This minister, accompanied by a guard of five hundred men, arrived with five vessels, in the harbor of Kinsale, in the month of June, and as he was averse to come on shore, Lord Thomas Barry went on board his ship, paid him homage for himself and his barony, and took the oath of allegiance. At the solicitation, however, of Lord Courcy and the inhabitants, Edgcombe entered the town the day following, where Courcy did him homage in the church of St. Meltock; and with the inhabitants, took the oath of allegiance. After dining, he set sail for Waterford, the citizens of which he complimented for their fidelity to their king, of whose protection he assured them. He then sailed for Dublin, where he arrived on the 5th of July, and was honorably received by the mayor and citizens, at the gate of the Dominican convent, which had been assigned for his residence during his stay. The earl of Kildare was absent at the time, on an expedition against the Irish; but having returned after a few days, Edgcombe, attended by the bishop of Meath, the baron of Slane, and other lords, waited upon him in the abbey of Thomas-court, where he resided. He there presented to him his letters from the king, his master, with manifestations of displeasure, and after a private conference, they separated without coming to any conclusive arrangement. The lord-deputy went to his castle of Maynooth, and Edgcombe returned home.

In the beginning of these disturbances, the king obtained a bull from the pope to excommunicate the rebels; and by a similar authority, Edgcombe caused a general absolution to be proclaimed in Christ's cathedral on the following Sunday, for all those who should continue in their obedience to his majesty. The lord-deputy having returned to Dublin, was absolved from his excommunication, during the divine service, and paid his homage to Edgcombe in the large hall of the abbey of Thomas-court; the king's commissioner then announced his majesty's pardon, by putting a gold chain around the neck of the deputy, on the part of the king, in token of his perfect reconciliation. The form of an oath of allegiance was then drawn up, to be taken by the nobility and clergy; it was signed by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, and his predecessor John Walton, John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edmond Lane, bishop of Kildare, John Purcel, abbot of Thomas-court, near Dublin, Walter Champflour, abbot of our Lady's, and John Cogan, prior of Holm Patrick. Every thing having been settled to Edgcombe's satisfaction, he gave a magnificent banquet to the earl, and all the nobility, in the Dominican convent, and next day received in the Toulsel, the oath of allegiance from Thomas Meyler, mayor of Dublin, and all the citizens, of which he took a copy, sealed with the seal of the city. He went afterwards to Drogheda, and from that place to Trim, where he received the submission and oaths of the inhabitants. Their example was followed by Nicholas Herbert, prior of St. Peter's of Newtown, near Trim, Richard Nangle, abbot of Navan, and James, abbot of Castlemartin, of the order of Bectiff. On Edgcombe's return to Dublin, he received the submission of Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, Philip Bermingham, chief-justice of the king's bench and Thomas Dowdal, master of the rolls

* Hib. Anglic. on the reign of Henry VII

There were two persons not included in the pardon granted by Edgcombe to the king's subjects in Ireland; Keating, prior of Kilmainham, of whom we have already spoken, and Thomas Plunket, chief-justice of the court of common pleas; they being considered as the instigators of Simnel's rebellion. The lord-deputy and nobles solicited pardon for them from the commissioner. It was, however, granted only to the latter: Keating, so far from obtaining forgiveness, was deprived of the office of governor of the castle of Dublin, which he had taken by force, and Richard Archbold, the old governor, was restored. Edgcombe having terminated his commission, returned to England to give an account of his success to the king.

The lord-deputy and council deputed the bishop of Meath to express to his majesty their gratitude for the favors he had just granted to his people in Ireland, and to convince him of their submission, in order to remove every imputation which their enemies might cast upon their conduct. This prelate acquitted himself so ably in this undertaking, that he prevented the archbishop of Armagh, though the king's favorite, from obtaining the office of chancellor, lest the jealousy which subsisted between him and the deputy might be renewed, and thus disturb that tranquillity so lately restored to the state.

Some time afterwards the deputy marched at the head of his troops towards Kinalyach, in Westmeath, to check the incursions of Magheoghegan upon the English province, and surprised the castle of Bileragh. He laid waste the district of Moycashel, and carried away considerable booty, A. D. 1382; but was repulsed some time afterwards, by the Magheoghegans, and pursued to his castle of Maynooth, where he escaped their fury.

Henry VII., suspecting the loyalty of his subjects in Ireland, whom he knew to be attached to the house of York, made several of them come to England; namely, the earl of Kildare, the viscounts Gormanstown, Fermoy, and Buttevant, the barons of Athenry, Kinsale, Delvin, Howth, Trimlestown, Slane, Killeen, and Dunsany. These noblemen were presented to the king at Greenwich. Having given to each a reprimand in private, he was reconciled to them, and entertained them at a banquet. In order, however, to mortify their pride, Lambert Simnel, whom they had crowned son e time before, performed to them the office of cup-bearer. After this they had the honor of accompanying the king to a solemn procession at Greenwich. They then took leave of his majesty, who dismissed them with presents, and other demonstrations f his protection and friendship. It is mentioned that he made a present of three hundred pounds sterling to the baron of Howth.

While these noblemen were at court in England, Maurice Bockagh, (the lame,) earl of Desmond, was making war against his neighbors: he gained a victory over Morrough O'Carrol, who was killed in the action, with Moel-Murry, his brother; and a second over Dermod M'Carty, son of Thadeus, who was also killed. It is said that this earl was no loser by his troubles, as he added the estates of those with whom he made war to his own possessions. It was thus that these new-comers raised themselves at the expense of their neighbors.

Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, convened a synod in the month of July, in the church of our Lady, at Atherdee, at which John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edward Courcy, bishop of Clogher, William O'Ferrall, bishop of Ardagh, George, bishop of Dromore, Donald O'Fallon, bishop of Derry, Menelaus M'Cornycan, bishop of Raphoe, and Walter Blake, bishop of Clonmacnoisk, attended. A difference arose at this synod, between Thomas M'Brady and one Cormock, respecting the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Kilmore, which was left to the decision of the bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh; but their opinion is not recorded. They both, however, appeared six years afterwards, at the synod of Drogheda, each with the title of bishop of Kilmore.

It does not appear that the bishopric of Kilmore is very ancient.* It is not mentioned in the division of the bishoprics of Ireland which took place in 1152, at the synod where Cardinal Paparo presided. The first bishop of this district, who is to be met with in history, was Flanus O'Conacty, who died in 1231. This prelate and his successors were sometimes called bishops of Brefny, the ancient name of the district, and sometimes bishops of Triburna, an obscure village where they resided. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, Andrew M'Brady was appointed to this bishopric; and dissatisfied with finding the episcopal see established in so inconvenient a place, he removed it, with the consent of Pope Nicholas V., to the parish church of St. Felim, in a village called Kilmore, a short distance from Cavan. He erected this church into a cathedral, with thirteen canons and a dean: which establishment was confirmed the year following by Pope Calixtus III., so that since the above period, the diocese and the

* War. de Episc. cop. Kilmor.

bishops who governed it, have taken the name of Kilmore.*

Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., born in 1487, was declared prince of Wales in 1490. This year was remarkable in Ireland for tempests and frequent rains, which continued during the summer and autumn, and produced sickness, to which many fell victims.

At this time six muskets were sent from Germany to the earl of Kildare, and were made use of by his guard while they stood sentinel in his apartments. They were considered a rare present at that time, since it is said that fire-arms were not then known in Ireland, (A. D. 1491.) Baker asserts, however, that Edward III. had them at the siege of Calais.†

Warm disputes, which ultimately led to a war, arose about this time between Conn-More O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnel, two powerful princes in Ulster,—one in Tyrone, the other in Tirconnel. These disputes were caused by a tribute which O'Neill demanded from O'Donnel, as if the latter held his estates under him. O'Neill first sent a letter written in the Irish language, which, from its singularity, and its being too laconic to tire the reader, may be introduced here: "*Cuir hogom me kiesse, no mar à cuirhuir* —;" that is, "Send me my rent, or if not —." To this O'Donnel replied in the same style, saying, "*Neel kiesse à gut orm, agus da meh* —;" that is, "I owe you no rent, and if I did —." O'Neill was irritated by this reply, and hostilities began on both sides. Although the earl of Kildare strove to act as mediator between the two princes, they came to an engagement, and many lives were lost on both sides. O'Neill had the advantage; but his death, which took place soon afterwards, and the advanced age of O'Donnel, which obliged him to give up the principality to his son Conn, put an end to this war.

The duchess of Burgundy, an intriguing woman, and the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster, was still intent on her endeavors to disturb the reign of Henry VII. She first caused a report to be spread that Richard, duke of York, brother and heir of Edward V., had not been put to death, but that, having escaped from the tower, he was still alive. She then sought for a young man who might be capable to act his part; and discovered one Peter Osbeck, afterwards known by the name of Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournay, and son of John Osbeck, who filled the office of controller in that city, and Catherine de Faro, who was acquainted with the English language, and had, perhaps, taught it to her son. The duchess looked upon this young man as perfectly qualified for her views. She kept him with her some months, in order to initiate him into the manners of the court, and make him acquainted with every thing relative to the house of York; and taught him to assume the manners and support the dignity of a prince, the part of which he was about to act. It is asserted, too, that he really resembled the prince whom he was to personate. The better to conceal her designs, the duchess sent him afterwards to Portugal, well equipped, and attended by persons to watch all his actions, till she should think fit to send him to Ireland.

Henry VII., who was well acquainted with Margaret of Burgundy's proceedings, thought prudent to change his ministers in Ireland, and put persons attached to his interests into office. He therefore nominated Gaspar duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant, in place of the earl of Kildare; and Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, his deputy. Sir James Ormond, natural son of John earl of Ormond, was appointed treasurer in place of Eustace, lord of Portlester, who had filled that office for thirty-eight years, (A. D. 1492.) The new treasurer arrived in Ireland in the month of June, attended by a cohort of English troops. He had an altercation immediately with the earl of Kildare, which was followed by a battle disastrous to the families of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds, and to the colony in general; as the Irish took advantage of it to lay waste the frontiers of the English province.

On the 22d of June, the same year, is

* Andrew M'Brady, first bishop of Kilmore, was of the noble family of the M'Bradys of Lochtee. The sept of the M'Bradys is a branch of the tribes of the Hy Brunes of Connaught, of which O'Connor was chief. They were anciently known by the name of Carbhuillis, and, according to Gratianus Lucius, owned the territory of Cabria, in Brefny, now the county of Cavan, as we have seen in the previous part of this history. It was in the thirteenth century that this family changed the name of Carbhuillis for that of M'Brada, or Brady, from one of the chiefs; and that the name of Cabria was changed to Lochtee, at present a barony in the county of Cavan, the patrimony of this noble family till the revolution caused by the tyrant Cromwell. This family gave several bishops to the church; Ware reckons five of Brefny, one of Ardagh, and one of Meath. It is probable that the latter embraced the reformed religion, as he was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to replace William Walsh, bishop of Meath, who was dispossessed, thrown into prison, and subsequently banished from the kingdom, for his attachment to the old religion.

† Chron. Engl. page 126.

fixed the birth of Henry, second son of Henry VII., and his successor on the throne under the name of Henry VIII., so well known in history for his debaucheries, and the changes he effected in religion.

In the month of September, some of the state officers in Ireland were again changed; Alexander Plunket was nominated chancellor, Thomas Butler was appointed master of the rolls, and Nicholas Turner chief-justice of the court of common pleas. About this time the earl of Ormond and the prior of Canterbury were sent on an embassy to the court of France; but were, however, recalled as soon as their master heard that Charles VIII. was about to form an alliance with Anne of Brittany.

The drought in Ireland this summer was so great, that the cattle died for want of water. It also caused contagious disorders, by which many lives were lost.

It was now time to bring forward Perkin Warbeck, (whom we left in Portugal,) to perform the part of Richard, duke of York, for which he was intended; and so well did he acquit himself, that it was doubted for some time whether he was in reality Richard, or an impostor. The duchess of Burgundy gave orders that Perkin should sail from Lisbon, for Cork, in Ireland, where he was honorably received by the citizens, and particularly by John Waters, an eminent merchant, and mayor of the city, in whose house, it is said, he was instructed how to act. The young pretender wrote immediately to the earls of Kildare and Desmond to assist him against King Henry; but before their answer could be received, Charles VIII. invited him to go to France, where he was received in the kindest manner. He remained there till peace was concluded between that prince and the king of England, at the siege of Boulogne, after which Perkin withdrew to Flanders, where he was likewise well received by his supposed aunt, the duchess of Burgundy. This year was remarkable for the voyage of Christopher Columbus, and his discovery of the new world, which Seneca seems to have predicted in his Medea.*

Henry VII., to whom Columbus first applied, neglected, it appears, both his own interest and glory, by refusing the offer which this great man made to him in his projected voyage, and which Ferdinand of Castile contrived to turn to his own advantage.

* "Ages will arise in after years, when the ocean will loose her chains, and the great globe will open; when the sea will develope new orbs, and that Thule will not be the extreme region of the earth."

The deputy of Ireland held a parliament in Dublin, in the month of June, 1493, in which some laws that had been enacted at the instance of Eustace of Portlester, were repealed. Matters having taken a change, and the partisans of the house of Lancaster being in office, Portlester himself was commanded to appear before the court of exchequer, and render an account of his bad government while he filled the office of treasurer. The city of Waterford was restored to its ancient privileges and freedom, of which it had been deprived, and the crown lands were ordered to be recovered, which had been sold after the first year of Henry VI.'s reign. This parliament being dissolved in the month of August, the lord-deputy resigned his commission to Robert Preston, viscount of Gormanstown. The new deputy summoned a meeting of the nobility and leading persons of the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, to Trim. On this occasion the chancellor, with the earl of Kildare, the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimlestown, Dunsany, &c., were assembled. Articles for preserving the peace and welfare of the state were signed: among others, that no individual should make war unless authorized by the king or his deputy; that the extortions and taxes with which the people had been burdened, should be abolished; and that all vagrants, robbers, and murderers should be brought to condign punishment. Robert Preston then convened a parliament at Drogheda, the statutes of which were, however, declared null and void by a subsequent parliament, which was held the year following in the same city, by the deputy Poynings, for the following reasons, viz.: that the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to whom Preston was deputy, had resigned his office before this parliament had been convened; that the parliament was not composed of members from the whole province, but from four counties only; and lastly, that, in the letters patent which the king had granted to the deputy, no mention was made of any power to convene parliaments.

In the month of October, Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, ex-deputy in Ireland, went over to England to give the king an account, not only of his own administration while deputy, but also of the state of affairs in Ireland at the time. The earl of Kildare having learned that his enemies in England were injuring him in the king's opinion, went over also in November, to clear himself of the crimes which had been imputed to him. He was followed by the deputy, who con-

fided the care of government to his son during his absence, and by Ormond, the treasurer, who prevented his vindication from being received, and had him sent back to Ireland a prisoner, to be tried.

Sir Edward Poynings was at this time, A. D. 1494, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. His principal business was to suppress the revolt of Perkin Warbeck's partisans. He arrived there in the month of September, effected great changes among the state ministers, and put Englishmen by birth in their places; he nominated Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, chancellor of Ireland; Sir Hugh Conway, treasurer; Thomas Bowring, chief-justice of the king's bench; John Topcliff, chief-justice of the common pleas, and Walter Ever, chief-baron of the exchequer. This deputy brought a thousand men with him to Ireland, with whom, and the other troops of the English province, he entered Ulster, under pretext that some of Perkin's adherents had taken refuge among them. It appears extraordinary that he should have been attended in this expedition by the earl of Kildare and Sir James Ormond, who had been deprived of the office of treasurer. He laid waste the districts of O'Hanlon, Magennis, and others. The earl of Kildare was suspected and accused of having conspired secretly with O'Hanlon, to destroy the deputy, but was afterwards declared innocent. The earl of Kildare's brother having, in the mean time, taken possession of the castle of Carlow, the deputy was obliged to give up what he had seized on in Ulster, to bring assistance to that place. For this purpose he made peace with O'Hanlon and Magennis, and marched direct to Carlow, which he besieged, and made himself master of in ten days.

The king, who kept a continual watch over the duchess of Burgundy, and the supposititious duke of York, sent his spies to Flanders, by which means the whole secret of the party was discovered, and several of the conspirators executed in England.

The archbishop of Dublin being at court, the king, who confided in him, frequently interrogated him respecting the state of affairs in Ireland. This prelate was one day present at a discourse delivered before the king; who having asked him what he thought of it, the prelate answered, with a freedom worthy of the ancient philosophers, that "if his highness was satisfied, he was so likewise, but that, at the same time, he thought his highness was too much flattered." "In good faith, father of Dublin," replied the king, "I think so too."

Poynings convened the celebrated parliament of Drogheda, in November, in which many statutes were enacted which are quoted by Ware, Cox, and others. Among them was one against the exaction of *Coyn and Livery*, and one against those who protected traitors; it was also expressly forbidden to all persons, under pain of high treason, to excite the ancient Irish to make war upon the English, but the most celebrated statute, which was called Poyning's law, made it illegal to convene any parliament in Ireland without informing the king, and apprizing him of the motives for the meeting, and the laws which were to be passed in it; and further receiving the approbation of his majesty and council, obtained under the great seal of England, for such meeting, and that every parliament convened otherwise than on thes conditions, should be null and without effect.

This statute was not favorable to the Anglo-Irish, whose interests had already become different from those of the English. It was passed by a parliament, the chief men of which were the deputy, chancellor, treasurer, and other influential ministers, themselves Englishmen by birth. The statute, however, was not always carried into effect, but was frequently suspended in the succeeding reigns.

Many other regulations that have not been printed were made in this parliament. Subsidies were granted to the king, and power given to the treasurer to govern the province in case of the death or resignation of the governor, till the king's pleasure should be made known. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem were allowed to recover the lands which had been disposed of by Keating, or his predecessor, Thomas Talbot, and the grants which had been made by the kings subsequent to Edward II. were ordered to be revoked. By another act of this parliament, the earl of Kildare and his brother James were accused of high treason, on account of their intercourse with O'Hanlon, their having seized upon the castle of Carlow, and exacted *Coyn and Livery*; and lastly, for having entered into a secret treaty with the king of Scotland: the earl, however, cleared himself in England of all these crimes, and was restored to favor. The military society of St. George, which had been established in 1479, by an act of parliament under Edward IV., was now suppressed.

Perkin Warbeck, who withdrew to Flanders with the duchess of Burgundy, A. D. 1495, filled with the extravagant notion of his assumed greatness, and instigated by

his patroness, set sail for England with near six hundred men. On his arrival upon the coast of Kent he was badly received, and lost more than a hundred and sixty of his followers, who were made prisoners, and afterwards executed. He then sailed for Ireland, in hopes of meeting with a more favorable reception. Having remained some time at Cork and the neighborhood, and finding it impossible that his adherents could support him against the superior forces of the deputy and other English ministers, he went over to Scotland, where he was honorably received, and with the consent of James IV., who was then king, married Catherine, daughter of Alexander, earl of Huntly, who was allied to the crown.

The king of Scotland, who had some cause of displeasure against Henry VII., availed himself of this opportunity to declare war against him. It is said that he was encouraged by letters which he received from the Emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII., and Margaret of Burgundy, in favor of the impostor. However this was, he entered England in a hostile manner; but not finding among the English any partisans of the pretended prince, he laid waste the county of Northumberland, and returned to Scotland.

Poynings, having governed the English province in Ireland with prudence, and enacted wise laws, which were not, however, obeyed beyond the limits of the province, was recalled in the month of January, to receive the reward of his labors. The king, who was pleased with the services he had rendered him, made him a knight of the order of the Garter.

Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed in the month of April, 1496, lord-justice of Ireland, in place of Poynings; William Ratcliff, vice-treasurer; and John Pimpe, secretary of war; and in the month of June following, Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, was appointed general of the troops and commander-in-chief, for the defence of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, or Louth.

Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, convened a synod in the month of July, at Drogheda, the acts of which have been lost.

On the return of Hugh O'Donnell from Scotland, he attacked and defeated O'Connor near Sligo. He then laid siege to the castle, but was forced to raise it on the approach of the Burkes of Clanrickard, who laid waste the frontiers of Tyrconnel.

New accusations were preferred against the earl of Kildare in England, where he was arrested and thrown into prison, which caused the death of his wife Alicia, daughter of Rowland Eustace, baron of Portlester He was accused, in presence of the king, of having burned the church of Cashel, but was saved by the ingenuousness of his answers. His enemies then said that all Ireland was not able to govern him. "Is it so?" said the king, "he is then the fittest person to rule Ireland," and he immediately appointed him lord-lieutenant by letters patent, dated 6th of August, and restored him to his dignities and possessions. He, however, detained Gerald, eldest son of the earl, as a hostage, to secure the loyalty of the father, who proved himself afterwards a faithful subject.

The earl having returned to Ireland with Elizabeth St. John, whom he had just married, and having received, according to custom, the sword of his predecessor, marched towards Thuomond against O'Brien, passed through Limerick, and took the castle of Felyback, which belonged to Finin-Mac-Nemara. He next took the castle of Ballynice, and other fortified places; after which expeditions he returned to Dublin, and was reconciled to Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh.

Dean, bishop of Bangor, having been recalled to England, Walter, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor in his stead. The king, by the advice of the lord-lieutenant, resolved to grant a general pardon to all the noblemen who had been engaged in the affair of Perkin Warbeck, lest despair might instigate them to excite new disturbances; he therefore granted a general amnesty to the earl of Desmond, the archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Cork and Waterford, and several of the principal men of Munster. He also had the liberties and charters of Youghal restored and confirmed, and extended its privileges.

The king of Scotland having made some efforts in favor of Perkin Warbeck, was forced to beg a peace from Henry VII. That king, however, would listen to no overtures till the king of Scotland would first give up the impostor from under his protection. Under this gloomy state of things, Perkin saw that he must leave Scotland. The king, who was too generous to deliver him over to his enemies, supplied him with money to enable him to do so. He accordingly embarked with his wife and family for Ireland, A. D. 1497, and having arrived in Cork, found some friends there, who, however, were unable to render him any important services. In the mean time, an invita-

tion was sent to him by the people of Cornwall in England, who were ready to sacrifice every thing in his cause. He accordingly set sail, in the month of September, with his family, and about one hundred and twenty soldiers, and arrived at Whitesandbay, in Cornwall, although the inhabitants of Waterford dispatched four vessels in pursuit of him. On his landing, he assumed the name and title of Richard IV., king of England, and was joined at Bodmin by a few thousand men, with whom he besieged Exeter.

The defence which the inhabitants made being equal to the courage of the assailants, and Perkin seeing that the bravery and goodwill of his men were superior to their strength, and that the king's army was on its march, resolved to withdraw, and seek an asylum at Beaulieu, in Hampshire. He afterwards, however, surrendered himself a prisoner, and was brought to the tower, from which he escaped; but having been retaken and arrested in an attempt to escape a second time, he was hanged at Tyburn, with his friend John Waters, mayor of Cork.

The earl of Kildare was continually occupied in discharging the duties of his office. He convened a parliament at Trim, in the month of August, 1498, in which it was decreed, among other things, that all the custom-house laws which were enacted in England, should be adopted in Ireland.

A dispute happened at this time between Henry O'Neill and his two nephews, Tyrlogh and Conn, respecting the principality of Tyrone, which the former, in opposition to their interest, usurped, after killing their father, Conn O'Neill. The earl of Kildare, who was the maternal uncle of these young noblemen, espoused their cause, and at the head of an army, entered Ulster, where he was joined by O'Donnel, Maguire, and other allies of Tyrlogh O'Neill. With this combined force he laid siege to Dungannon, forced Niall M'Art O'Neill, who was the commander. to surrender the castle, and set the prisoners at liberty, as well as to give hostages. Henry O'Neill having been killed, young Conn took possession of Tyrone, the patrimony of his ancestors, and the earl of Tyrone took the castle of Omey.

After the expedition to Ulster, the earl marched in October towards Cork, where he placed a garrison, as he had reason to suspect the loyalty of its inhabitants. He obliged them and the citizens of Kinsale to take the usual oath, and made them give hostages. It appears that young Henry, second son of Henry VII., was appointed to the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, since, on the earl's return from Cork, he convened a parliament in Dublin in the month of March, and assumed the title of lord-deputy to that young prince. Richard Talbot, who had governed the priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland for some time, was recalled, and Robert Evers, an Englishman, was nominated prior by the grand master of Rhodes.

Some religious houses were founded at this time in Ireland. Ware mentions the convent of Rosserelly to have been established in the county of Galway, in 1498, for Observantine monks, by an English lord called Gannard. At Invert, in the county of Antrim, there was a convent founded for the third order of Franciscans, by a Scotch nobleman. One also for the same order was founded at Dungannon in Tyrone, by Conn O'Neill, prince of that district. A house was established for them about the same time, at Clonrahan, in the county of Roscommon, by O'Connor Roe, an Irish nobleman, of the illustrious tribe of the O'Connors of Connaught.

Ireland produced some writers about this period. Philip Higgins, a Franciscan, wrote some sacred poems: he died in 1487. Panderus, who is thought to have been the author of a book called "Salus Populi," flourished at the same time. He treats in it on the cause of the miseries with which Ireland was afflicted, and points out a mode by which they might be remedied. Charles Maguire, a native of the county Fermanagh, and canon of Armagh, flourished at this time also. He was a learned philosopher, a deep theologian, and well versed in history. He wrote the annals of Ireland down to his own time, and died in 1495, at the age of sixty years. Donald O'Fihely, a native of the county Cork, wrote also the annals of his country to his own time, in the Irish language, which he dedicated to Florence O'Mahony. Ware mentions having seen them in manuscript in London.

The lord-deputy undertook an expedition into Connaught, A. D. 1499, and seized upon the castles of Athleagh, Roscommon, Tuilsk, and Castlereagh, in which he placed a garrison. About this time, Tirlogh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, after the death of Gilduff, had a dispute with Sir Pierce Butler, respecting the boundaries of their estates. It was terminated by a sanguinary conflict, in which Butler and his men were put to flight, leaving several dead upon the field of battle.

The lord-deputy held a parliament at

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Castledermod, in the month of August, which granted to the king and his successors a tax of twelve pence in the pound, on all kinds of merchandise that were imported, except wine and oil. In this parliament it was enacted, that the nobility, when riding, should, like the English, make use of saddles, and attend parliament in their robes. Subsidies, too, were permitted to be levied upon the people and clergy for the king's use.

The adherents of the house of York being still dissatisfied, sought means, after the death of Perkin, to rescue the natural son of Richard III. from prison, and make him undertake a similar part as Perkin; but the conspirators were discovered, and their attempts tended only to shorten the days of that young man.

The lord-deputy returned to Ulster this year, to quell some sedition which had been raised against his nephew, Tyrlogh O'Neill. He took the castle of Kinard, in which he placed a garrison, and gave the command of it to Tyrlogh, A. D. 1500. The king, who was always inclined to mercy, pardoned the inhabitants of Cork, in the month of August, and extended their privileges by a new charter. This generous act was followed by one equally barbarous and cruel on the part of David Barry, archdeacon of Cork and Cloyne. He assassinated his brother, William Barry; but his crime did not long escape punishment; he was arrested, and put to death by Thomas Barry, and his body, after having lain twenty days in the earth, was taken up and publicly burned, by order of the earl of Desmond.

Domnal O'Fallon, of the order of St. Francis, and bishop of Derry, died at this time, having governed that see for fifteen years; he was the most celebrated prelate of the church of Ireland in his time, for his erudition and preaching. He particularly excelled in the latter, which he exercised with applause, throughout the island, for thirty years.

A general peace prevailed in 1501, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, while Connaught and Ulster became a prey to sedition. The fort of Sligo, in Connaught, was scaled and taken by the troops of Rory, son of Tirlogh O'Connor, surnamed Curragh. The discord which prevailed between the nobility of Ulster, caused several of them to perish by the sword. The O'Neills gave battle to the Scotch, by whom they were attacked. It was fatal to the latter, who lost four of their captains, of the tribe of the M'Donnels, and about sixty soldiers.

William Shioy, or Joy, who was appointed to the see of Tuam by the pope, in 1485, governed it for sixteen years and a few months. He died A. D. 1501, and was succeeded by Philip Pinson.

This year was remarkable for two marriages that were celebrated in England. Arthur, the king's eldest son, and prince of Wales, married, at the age of fifteen, the princess Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand, king of Spain, on the fourteenth of November; and on the 25th of January following, Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, and sister to Arthur, was given in marriage to James IV. of Scotland.

Prince Arthur died on the 2d of April, having lived but four months and a half after his marriage, which was never consummated.* His young widow was given, six months afterwards, with the mutual consent of their parents, to his brother Henry, who was then but twelve years old; a dispensation being sought for their marriage. The death of Arthur was soon followed by that of his mother, queen Elizabeth, whose virtues made her an ornament to her sex, and the age in which she lived.

About this time there was a great mortality among the cattle in Ireland, and frequent seditions broke out in Ulster, which were accompanied by murders. In the month of April, 1503, the earl of Kildare was ordered to repair to England, both to give an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and to receive fresh instructions relative to the government of the country. The earl having ended his business at court, was sent back with honor, and continued in his rank of deputy. He resumed on his return the reins of government, which he had confided in his absence to William Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin.

Towards the end of autumn, the lord-deputy undertook an expedition into Ulster, where he destroyed the castle of Belfast. He next entered Carrickfergus, and placed a garrison in the castle; the command of which he confided to one Staunton, and then returned to Dublin.

At this time, Theobald Burke, lord of Muskry Cuirk, in Munster, was killed in a skirmish by Donagh O'Carrol and Cornelius O'Dwyer. About the same time, Malachy O'Kelly, and some of the Burkes, who had

* Cæterum Henricus septimus de medicorum concilio caveret ut gravis quædam Matrona in eodem cum illis thalamo sociata, videret, ne carne conjungerentur, eò quòd Arthurus decimum quintum ætatis annum vix dum attingens, ex lento præterea morbo laboraret, cujus tabe post quintum mensem confectus, ex hac migravit. Sanderus de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, page 2.



(GIULIANO DELLA ROVERA).

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE BY RAFFAELLE.

D. & J. SADLIER NEW YORK.

taken his part, were defeated in Connaught by Ulysses Burke..

On the 18th of February following, after the death of his brother Arthur, Henry, duke of York, was created, according to custom, prince of Wales and earl of Chester. Ten days afterwards, Gerald, son of the earl of Kildare, was appointed treasurer of Ireland, and took the oath in presence of the deputy and council, in Dublin.

David Creagh, a native of Limerick, and archbishop of Cashel, died at this time, and was succeeded by Maurice Fitzgerald. During the episcopacy of David, the earl of Kildare caused St. Patrick's cathedral, in Cashel, to be burned; but it is a strange fact, that the complaint which the bishop made of it to the king was rejected, although the earl acknowledged himself guilty. When asked why he had committed so great a sacrilege, he replied, swearing by his God, that he had done so, thinking that the prelate was in the church. The king, it seems, found sufficient merit in his answer, not only to grant him his pardon, but likewise to repose confidence in him, by appointing him deputy of Ireland.

Philip Pinson, an Englishman, of the order of St. Francis, and lecturer in theology, was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam by the pope, at the solicitation of Henry VII.* This prelate never went thither, having died of the plague at Rome, three days after his election. Two years after the death of Philip, the archbishopric of Tuam was given to Maurice O'Fihely, or Mauritius de Porter, a man celebrated for his learning. He is mentioned by John Camus, in the following words:—"Maurice à Porter," says he, "a native of Ireland, of the order of St. Francis, was celebrated for his profound knowledge in theology, logic, philosophy, and metaphysics. It is impossible to give an idea of his polite, and at the same time holy and religious conversation. Having taught the sciences with general approbation during many years, in the university of Padua, he was nominated by Pope Julian II. to the archbishopric of Tuam, whither he repaired, Italy being at the time a prey to the calamities of war. He died, however, soon after his arrival, deeply regretted by the learned world, having just attained his fiftieth year. He left many monuments of his learning, in manuscript, which were not published, on account of his premature death." Francis Gonzaga also makes mention of him.† "Maurice, an Irishman," says he, "revived the doctrine of John Scot, by his commentaries on 'Universality.' He published also a dictionary of the holy scriptures." Possevinus speaks of him in the following manner:*—"Maurice, an Irishman, a minorite and archbishop of Tuam, composed a dictionary of the holy scriptures, which was first printed at Venice, in 1603, by John Anthony and James Francis, by order of the most illustrious Matthew Zane, patriarch of Venice; but what remains of it at present does not go beyond the letter E. inclusive. Besides this, he explains, by commentaries, the whole doctrine of Scot, part of which was printed at Venice, by Simon de Luere, in 1500. In his exposition of Scot, the theorems were published at Venice, in 1514, by Lazare Soard. His 'Enchiridion of the Faith,' was published 1509, by Octavianus Scotus." John Grace also published a work of this author, entitled "Reportata." It is said that he wrote the "Life of John Scot," with a book of distinctions, which belongs to the Franciscans at Ravenna. He is thought to have been author of an abridgment of truth, in verse, and a work on Porphyrius, published at Venice, in 1519. Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, wrote a chronicle at this time, which was of much benefit to Thadeus Dowling in composing his Annals. He also wrote the life of his predecessor, Milo, and began other works, which his death prevented him from completing.

Some houses were founded at this time for the third order of Franciscans. The convent of Kil O'Donnel was built in the beginning of this century by O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel. There were two other convents belonging to this order, in the same district; one at Killybeg, a seaport, built by M'Sweeny Banach; the other at Fanegara, by M'Sweeny Panid, both Irish noblemen.†

Ulysses Burke, commonly called M'William, lord of Clanricard, in Connaught, made great preparations this year for some expedition, the object of which could not be discovered. He made a league with other lords of his name, with Tirlagh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, Mebrony O'Carrol, of Eile, and other noblemen in the south, with whom he began his campaign. Intelligence having been sent to the deputy, he collected all his forces and advanced towards Connaught, attended by several of the nobles of Meath; namely, Viscount Gormanstown, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Primestown, and Dunsany. John Blake, mayor of Dublin, with his archers, and the inhabitants

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuam. War. de Script. Hib. in 35, cap. Solini.

† De Origin. Francise. part 1, p. 88.

* In Apparat. Sacro.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist Monast. d'Irlande.

of Drogheda ; O'Donnel, O'Reilly, O'Ferral, bishop of Ardagh and lord of Annaly, (Longford,) besides other chiefs, also joined the deputy. Both armies having met, on the 19th of August, A. D. 1504, within a few miles of Galway, at a place called Knock To, or Knock Tuah, which implies the "Mount of Axes," the action began, and the ground was disputed for some hours, with equal loss on both sides ; but the Connaught army having at length lost ground, were routed, with the loss of two thousand men ; and the deputy was victorious His loss is not known. According to the book of Howth, says Ware, that of the vanquished amounted to nine thousand men ; and in the white book of the exchequer, it is alleged that not one Englishman was wounded in the deputy's army. Ware, however, rejects both statements as incredible. After this victory the deputy laid the country waste, and made himself master of the towns of Galway and Athenry, and carried off considerable booty. He also took the two sons of Ulysses prisoners ; but the father escaped by flight. On his return, the earl distributed thirty barrels of wine among the soldiers who fought with him. It is affirmed by some, that this battle, in which so many lives were lost, was caused by a private dispute that occurred between the deputy and Clanricard. However this may be, the king rewarded the deputy, by making him a knight of the garter.

Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, was sent over to England, some time after this, by the deputy and council, to give to the king an account of his success, and on other matters of state. This prelate acquitted himself in the discharge of his commission, to the satisfaction of all parties.

A plague raged in Ireland during this year, and was particularly malignant in Ulster. It interrupted the synod which the archbishop of Armagh had convened, first at Drogheda, and afterwards at Ardee. The plague was followed by a famine, caused by continued rains in the summer and autumn of 1505. The year following, a disastrous fire, caused by lightning, consumed the town of Trim, at that time the most considerable in Meath. In October, 1508, the lord-deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in which subsidies were granted to the king, by taxing the lands according to their produce.

The deputy proceeded on another expedition into Ulster, at the solicitation of his relations, the O'Neills, to assist them in recovering the forts of Dungannon and Omey, which had been seized upon by their enemies, A. D. 1509. The fort of Dungannon surrendered before his arrival in Tyrone. He proceeded then against Omey, which he took by assault, and had it razed to the ground, after restoring Arthur, son of Conn O'Neill, to liberty, who had been a prisoner in the fort.

At this time, a convent for Observantine Franciscans was founded at Cruleagh, or Balli-Rourk, in the district of Leitrim, formerly Brefny, by O'Rourk, lord of that country.*

This was the last year of the reign and life of Henry VII. He was first attacked by the gout, and afterwards by a cold and disease of his lungs ; and died at Richmond palace on the 22d of April, in the fifty-second year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He was interred with pomp at Westminster. This prince was considered wise and valiant, and ranked among the best kings that have ruled over England. If we except a few acts of cruelty, which he had, perhaps, thought necessary to maintain himself upon the throne, he was naturally inclined to clemency. For the fair sex he manifested indifference, and for every bodily pleasure, to which persons in his station too generally think themselves entitled. His respect for religion appears from the confidence which he placed in the clergy, whose advice he followed in his most important undertakings. He was, from his youth, frugal without avarice ; though this vice gained strength in his latter years, to the injury of his subjects, which must be ascribed to his weakness. Finding his death approach, however, he ordered by his will, that all the money which his officers had raised unjustly in his name should be restored.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Henry VII. being dead, his only son, Henry, in whose person were united the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, succeeded to the throne of his ancestors on the 22d of April, 1509, at the age of eighteen years.† Having performed the funeral ceremonies of his father, he married Catherine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow, on the 3d of June following, (a dispensation being obtained from Pope Julian II.,) and was solemnly crowned with her, on the 24th of the same month, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, by William Warham, archbishop

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

† Polydor. Virgil. Anglic. Hist. lib. 27.

of Canterbury, to the great satisfaction of the whole kingdom.*

Henry applied himself so assiduously to study in his youth, that he was considered the most learned prince in Europe. On coming to the throne, he chose the most grave and wise among the nobles to be his counsellors; by whose aid he matured still more his capability for government, and submitted his authority to their prudence on many occasions. The greatness of this prince's mind, the beauty of his person, his munificence, courage, and other great qualities, seemed to promise a happier and more brilliant reign than that of which he has left so awful and disgusting a picture to posterity. The beginning of his reign, when kings generally display their best qualities, by performing acts of clemency, in order to make favorable impressions upon their people, was, however, stained by the death of Delapool, earl of Suffolk: that nobleman, who was detained a prisoner for a considerable time under the preceding reign, having died on the scaffold by order of the new king. His treasures soon became exhausted in tournaments, balls, masquerades, and other amusements suited to a young prince who wished to immortalize himself by the splendor of his court; and finding himself forced to supply the deficiency of his finances, sacrilege, and usurpation of the goods of others, were, ere long, resorted to by him.

On his accession to the throne, Henry found the earl of Kildare intrusted with the government of Ireland, as deputy. Not wishing to make any change in this country, that prince appointed him, by letters patent, to exercise the functions of lord-justice; having informed him of the death of his father, Henry VII., and his own succession to the crown. All the other state officers he likewise confirmed in their respective posts, in consequence of which Henry VIII. was proclaimed in Dublin, and all the other towns in the English province, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

The earl of Kildare undertook an expedition this year, A. D. 1510, into Munster, in which he was unsuccessful.† Having collected the troops of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth, and being joined by Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, he directed his march towards that province, where he took some strong places in the district of Desmond, and laid the whole country waste, without meeting any opposition; but his army being loaded with their spoils and plunder, he was attacked in his retreat, at Monetrar, in the county of Limerick, by the enemy, headed by James, eldest son of Maurice earl of Desmond, Tirlagh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, and M'William of the family of the Burkes. The action was bloody, and the loss was very considerable, particularly on the side of the royalists, who owed their safety to the darkness of the night, which concealed them from their pursuers.

Robert Evers, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, after an administration of thirteen years, was recalled at this time, A. D. 1511,* by order of the grand master, resident in the island of Rhodes, for which no cause is given by historians. They merely mention that he was appointed to the commandery of Slebich, in the county of Pembroke, in Wales, and that he was succeeded in the priory of Ireland by John Rawson, an Englishman, who was afterwards made a member of the king's privy council.

At this time Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, died. He was a graduate in canon and civil law, a subtle philosopher, and profound theologian.† He had been grand chorister of St. Patrick's cathedral from which situation he was raised by Pope Sixtus IV. to the archiepiscopal dignity; had held the office of deputy under the duke of Bedford, viceroy of Ireland, and was afterwards chancellor. This prelate having governed the church of Dublin for twenty-seven years, died at Finglass, two miles from the city, and was interred in St. Patrick's cathedral. After the death of this prelate, Richard Skerrett, prior of Christ's cathedral, took, according to custom, possession of the crosier, of which he was the guardian in virtue of his benefice, to give to his successor, whose name was William Rokeby.

Caher, or Charles O'Connor, prince of Offaly, was assassinated at this time, near the Franciscan convent of Monaster-Feoris, in the district of Offaly. A son was born this year to Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon. He was called Henry. His death, which took place a few days after his birth, was the cause of great sorrow, particularly to his parents.

The earl of Kildare marched at the head of his army into Ulster, A. D. 1512, where he took, and razed to the ground, the castle of Belfast, which had been recently rebuilt. History makes no mention of the earl's hav-

* Baker, Chron. on the reign of Henry VII. War. de Annal. Hib. reg. Henry VIII., cap. 1.
† Higgins' Short View.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 3.
† War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

ing met with resistance in this expedition; he therefore burned and pillaged the country with impunity, and carried away considerable booty, which he distributed among his soldiers.

We must mention in this place the names of two great writers: Thomas Brown, a secular priest, who wrote the life of Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, to whom he was chaplain;* and Thomas Fich, a regular, and sub-prior of Christ's church, Dublin, who wrote a book on the affairs of that church, called the "White Book."

There were other writers also at this time. Philip Flatisbury, of John's-town, near Naas, in the county of Kildare, according to Stanihurst,† wrote some chronicles at the request of Gerald, earl of Kildare. Ware, who has compared these chronicles with those written by Pembrige, alleges that they are the same, and that Flatisbury made only a transcript of them with some additions. George Cogley, notary and register of the bishopric of Meath, wrote a catalogue of the prelates of that see, from Simon Rochford, who was the first English bishop of it, to the time of Hugh Inge, of whom this author was contemporary.

A monk of the Cistertian order, belonging to the abbey of Duiske, in the county of Kilkenny, wrote the Annals of Ireland, by order of his abbot, Charles Cavenagh, which he continued till the time of the suppression of monasteries. He inserted them afterwards in the registry of the charters of this abbey.

Two convents for the third order of St. Francis, were founded this year in Ireland: one at Slane, in the county of Meath, by Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, and his wife Elizabeth Stukely; the other at Bunamargy, in the county of Antrim, by a M'Donnel, of the house of Antrim.‡

Jealousy, the certain and usual source of discord, still prevailed between the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and the Butlers of Ormond. These noblemen having embraced opposite parties in the wars between York and Lancaster, their greatness depended on the success of those rival houses.§ Ormond beheld with displeasure the government of Ireland vested in the house of Kildare; of which feeling the deputy was aware, but yet was not sufficiently guarded against his artifice. Ormond wrote a polite letter to him, representing that the public having accused him of being opposed to his government, he was desirous of coming to an explanation upon the subject. For this purpose he proposed to meet him in Dublin, in order to clear himself in his presence, at a public assembly, of these false imputations Kildare readily acceded to it. Ormond set out on his march, at the head of an army, for Dublin, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Thomas-court, one of the suburbs of the city. The deputy and council were not less alarmed than the inhabitants of Dublin, at the approach of these troops, who committed dreadful excesses upon their march. Ormond, however, appearing to have nothing hostile in view, sent to inform the deputy of his arrival; told him he was ready to perform all that he had promised in his letter, and that no uneasiness need be apprehended on account of the troops. He knew, he said, that evil-minded persons had cast imputations on his conduct; but he trusted to be able to exculpate himself on the first opportunity, in the opinion of his highness. The earl of Kildare, who was flattered by this communication, sent word to the earl of Ormond to repair, on a day appointed, to St. Patrick's cathedral, that they might treat together; but instead of seeking measures of reconciliation, the earls began their conference by reciprocal abuse, and their example was followed by the people. The citizens had an altercation with the troops of Ormond, respecting the tyranny and oppression they exercised in the city and the suburbs. In the mean time, a company of armed archers entered, who increased the confusion, by endeavoring to kill the earl of Ormond, as the principal cause of the disturbance. The earl, seeing the danger he was in, hastened into the chapter-house, and shut himself up, by closing the door after him. He was pursued by the earl of Kildare, who promised, on his word of honor, that nothing mischievous should occur to him. Ormond, however, having asked him for his hand, as a security for his life, a hole was cut in the door, and the two noblemen shook hands through it, as a token of being reconciled. This ludicrous scene is mentioned by Cox, and Holingshed, an English writer. The church having been profaned in this sedition by the blood of some persons who had been killed, and disrespect manifested for the images, which were pierced with arrows, a legate was deputed by the pope to have the whole affair investigated. As a penance, and to expiate the sacrilege thus committed, he

* War. ibid. cap. 4.
† War. de Scrip. Hib. cap. 7.
‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist Monast. d'Irlande.
§ Cox, Hib. Anglic. p. 232.

commanded that the lord-mayor should walk barefooted through the city, preceded by the holy sacrament, carried in procession, on Corpus Christi day, which penance was duly performed by that magistrate.

The earl of Kildare, who was continually intent on great designs against the Irish, collected all his forces, and began his march in August, 1513, towards Eile, the country of the O'Carrols ;* but having fallen sick at Athy, he was removed to Kildare, where he died on the 3d of September. His body was brought to Dublin, and honorably interred in Christ's cathedral, to which he had been a benefactor. The army being disheartened by the death of their general, dispersed immediately; and thus ended the projects of this great man, in the midst of his career, at a time he promised himself most glory and success.

Gerald, son of the deceased earl of Kildare, being treasurer at that time, was appointed lord-justice by the council, in place of his father, in virtue of the law enacted by parliament in the preceding reign. He was afterwards appointed deputy by letters patent from the king. Crompton was made chancellor, and Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, treasurer. The other offices were filled up with all possible dispatch.

While the lords of the English province were regulating their affairs of state, the Irish were making incursions on their lands: the O'Morras and O'Reillys were up in arms, and Donald M'Guillin took the fort of Dunluse, in Ulster, by assault.

This year was remarkable for the death of two celebrated members of the church of Ireland, namely, the archbishops of Tuam and Armagh.

Maurice O'Fihely, or *De Portu*, was born near Baltimore, in the county of Cork.† He embraced the order of the Minor Franciscans, and was educated at Padua, in Italy, where he became celebrated for his erudition, and took the degree of doctor in theology. He was promoted to the see of Tuam by Pope Julian II.,‡ in which character he attended the two first sessions of the council of Lateran. He came to Ireland the year following, and having fallen sick on his arrival in Galway, he died in the month of May, at the age of fifty years, and was interred in the convent of his order. We have already spoken of his learning and literary productions. He was succeeded in the see of Tuam by Thomas O'Mullaly, or Lally.

* War. ibid, cap. 5.
† War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.
‡ Biny, Concil. t. 9.

Octavianus de Palatio, a native of Florence, and doctor in canon law, was nominated to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV.* He governed that church, and held several synods, during thirty-three years. His death took place at an advanced age, and he was interred in the church of Drogheda. His successor was John Kite.

In order to check the inroads which the Irish were making on the English province, the earl of Kildare advanced with his army into the district of Leix, and defeated the O'Morras, A. D. 1514; he then passed through Brefney, where he attacked the O'Reillys, killed Hugh their chief, and razed the castle of Cavan to the ground; after which he burned the surrounding country, and returned home loaded with spoil.

Kildare having been obliged to go to England on some affairs of moment, A. D. 1515, William Preston, viscount Gormanstown, was appointed lord-justice during his absence.† On his return, he convened, by orders of the king, a parliament in Dublin, in which the liberties and prerogatives of the church and kingdom were confirmed, and subsidies were granted to the crown. The custom was then abolished which authorized an appeal in suits of law from Ireland to England, in virtue of the privy seal, unless the plaintiff became responsible to the court of chancery in Ireland for the costs and expenses of the lawsuit, in the event of a verdict being granted in favor of the defendant.

William Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor of Ireland by letters patent from the king; which office he held till his death.

Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, died in London in the month of August. He had been ambassador to France, and member of the privy council; and took his seat in the English parliament in precedence of the barons. He was the richest of all the king's subjects: and besides his plate and jewels, left forty thousand pounds sterling in ready money. Having no male children, he bequeathed all the property he possessed in England, amounting to thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum, to his two daughters, Ann and Margaret, the elder of whom had been married to Sir James St. Leger, and the second to Sir William Bollen, son of Geoffry Bollen, mayor of London, by whom she had Sir Thomas Bollen, so

* War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.
† War. ibid. c. 7.

well known under Henry VIII. The earl's property in Ireland, with the Ormond title, reverted to Pierce Butler of Carrick, his heir in a collateral line; but the king, some time afterwards, made him resign it in favor of Sir Thomas Bollen, and created him earl of Ossory. Bollen having died without an heir, the title of Ormond was restored to Butler, who thereupon resigned that of Ossory.

The lord-deputy was continually intent on conquering the Irish. In 1516 he entered the district of Imayle in the county of Wicklow, at the head of his troops, where he killed Shane O'Tool in battle, and sent his head to the mayor of Dublin.* He then marched into the territory of Eile against O'Carrol, where he was joined by such of the nobility of Leinster and Munster as were of English descent; among whom were Pierce Butler, earl of Ormond, and James, eldest son of the earl of Desmond. With these reinforcements he penetrated still further, and laid siege to the castle of Lemevan, which he took after a siege of ten days, the garrison having abandoned and dismantled it. Inflated with pride and confidence from these successes, he marched with all possible diligence towards the town of Clonmel, situated on the river Suire; the inhabitants of which, terrified at his approach, surrendered on certain conditions. The campaign being thus ended, he returned home with hostages and prisoners. The following year, 1517, Kildare carried the war into Ulster. He entered the district of Lecale, and surprised the fort of Dundrum, from which the English had been driven by the Irish some time before.† He took Phelim M'Gennis prisoner in an engagement in which he lost several of his men, and burned the neighboring villages. He then marched to Tyrone, which he laid waste, and burned the fort of Dungannon; and having enriched himself with booty in this expedition, returned to Dublin.

A desire for plunder induced the inhabitants of Dublin to collect in bodies at this time. They went out of the city well armed to ravage the territory of Imale, in the county of Wicklow, but were soon put to flight, with considerable loss, by the sept of the O'Tools, who pursued them to their very gates. The coldness of the weather caused hostilities to cease for some time; the frost being so intense that the rivers were frozen over, and supported the heaviest carriages, a circumstance which seldom occurs in Ireland.

Henry VIII. had three sons by Catherine of Aragon, who died in their infancy; and likewise a daughter called Mary, born at Greenwich, A. D. 1517, who afterwards became queen of England.* The education of this princess was confided to Margaret, niece of Edward IV., a virtuous lady, and mother of Reginald, afterwards Cardinal Pole. Mary was declared princess of Wales, and heiress to the crown, by the king her father, who sent her, attended by a brilliant court, to Wales, to assume the government of that principality. She was sought for in marriage by many of the neighboring kings and princes A. D. 1518. One of the conditions of the peace concluded by Henry with France, after the battle of the spurs, and the taking of Therouane and Tournay, was, that the dauphin of France should marry the princess Mary, who was then only two years old, so soon as she should be marriageable.

The inheritance of Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, was warmly disputed between Pierce Butler of Carrick and Sir James Ormond, each of whom declared himself his heir. Although the right of Pierce was indisputable, his grandfather, Edmond Butler, having been cousin-german to the deceased earl Thomas; still, James Ormond, natural son of John Butler, brother to the last earl, and a popular character, who had held for some time the office of treasurer of Ireland, took possession of the entire property, leaving nothing to the lawful heir, who had married Margaret, sister of the earl of Kildare. The dispute was at length terminated by the death of James Ormond, who was killed between Dromore and Kilkenny by his opponent, who by this means recovered his right.

Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, convened a provincial synod in Dublin, the canons of which are to be met with in the registry of the bishopric of Ossory. Some differences having arisen between Arthur O'Neill, a prince of the house of Tyrone, and O'Dogharty, O'Neill marched into the peninsula of Inis-Owen, the country of O'Dogharty, where he put all to fire and sword.

The great authority of the earl of Kildare, who was still deputy in Ireland, created enemies for him, who left nothing undone to render him suspected by the court of London. He was accused, A. D. 1519, of having governed unjustly, and particularly of having enriched himself by appropriating the revenues and lands of the crown to his own use,

* Ware, ibid. cap. 88.
† War. ibid. cap. 9.

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. Edit. Ingolstad lib. 1, p. 4, et seq.

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and of having tried to conciliate the friendship of the Irish, so as to attach them to his interests. The influence of Cardinal Wolsey was made use of, to oblige him to go to England, in order to clear himself of these charges. Previous, however, to his departure, he substituted in his place, with the king's permission, Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald of Lackagh, his relative, with the title of lord-justice. The earl having presented himself at court, his case was examined into before the council: during which investigation he married Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the marquis of Dorset. This alliance having procured him friends in England, he was restored to the king's favor, whom he accompanied to France, and was present at the interview between the kings of France and England, which took place near Calais, between Ardres and Guisnes, at a place called the field of the Cloth of Gold, from the splendor of the meeting of the two princes.

At this time Cardinal Wolsey possessed the unbounded confidence of the king:* having from being a man of obscure origin, become the most powerful subject in the kingdom. This prelate, called Thomas at his baptism, was the son of a butcher at Ipswich in Suffolk. He was educated at Oxford, in Magdalen college, where he evinced a particular fondness for study. His fortune was first raised by the marquis of Dorset, who gave him a living. His second patron was John Naphant, treasurer of Calais, who presented him to Henry VII., which monarch having a matter of importance to negotiate with the Emperor Maximilian, intrusted Wolsey, who was then his chaplain, with his dispatches. So promptly was this commission performed, that Wolsey had returned to England, when it was supposed he could scarcely have arrived at the imperial court. The king was so pleased with the success of his envoy, that he conferred upon him the deanery of Lincoln, and subsequently made him his almoner, which office he held on the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne. The favor of this prince he secured to himself so well that he was appointed a member of his council, and successively bishop of Tournay, Lincoln, archbishop of York, and lastly, cardinal and legate, chancellor of England, and bishop of Winchester. He was abbot of the convent of St. Alban's, and possessed likewise the revenues of the episcopal sees of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which he held like farms from foreign titular bishops, who did not reside in the kingdom; besides several priories and other benefices. So great was the splendor to which he attained, that he kept an almost incredible number of officers and servants in his household; and when sent by the king as an ambassador to the court of France, he brought with him, in his train, twelve hundred horses, eighty chariots, sixty mules, and other parts of his retinue in proportion. Splendor cannot be supported without wealth, and Wolsey was insatiable in his pursuit of it. Man generally possesses many passions, but one usually preponderates, in which the others seem to centre. The cardinal's ruling passion was ambition. He aspired to nothing less than the papal chair, for which object he sought to obtain the friendship and influence of Charles V.* This emperor, who looked upon him as necessary to aid him in carrying his plans into effect, began to display much regard towards him by a frequent correspondence, and in the letters which he wrote, he signed himself, "*Charles your son and relation.*" The emperor gave him cause to hope that he would use his influence to have him elected to the see of St. Peter, on the death of Leo X., provided, however, that he would influence the king of England to unite with him in a war, offensive and defensive, against France. The cardinal endeavored to fulfil these conditions, but finding his hopes frustrated upon the death of Pope Leo, by the election of Adrian VI., at the recommendation of Charles, whose preceptor he had been, he thought it prudent to dissemble for a while, and await the death of Adrian. He then discovered that this prince had no longer the same regard for him, and that, after Francis I. had been taken at the battle of Pavia, he wrote to him but seldom, and in a hand different from his own, subscribing himself simply, "*Charles.*" He accordingly formed a plan of being revenged, by espousing the cause of France; which was the real motive for the pains which Wolsey took to procure the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, queen of England, and maternal aunt of Charles V. As we shall have frequent occasion to speak of the cardinal, we have thought this digression necessary, in order to elucidate his character, and make it known. In the sequel we shall witness his fall and ruin.

Wolsey having represented to the king that his affairs in Ireland were too much neglected, and that it was of absolute necessity to confide the government of it to a man of impartiality, wholly unconnected with the factions by which that country was torn, and

* Baker's Chron. on the Reign of Henry VIII.

* Sanderus, ibid. lib. 1, page 8.

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which caused so much blood to flow, recommended and caused Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, to be appointed, less, however, it is said, through love for this nobleman, than hatred for the earl of Kildare.

The earl of Surrey, lord-admiral of England and Ireland, and knight of the garter, having been nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland, A. D. 1520, landed in Dublin the week before Pentecost, with his wife, daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham.* He was escorted by one hundred men as a guard, and a thousand soldiers, cavalry and infantry. This viceroy had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he received intelligence that Conn Backagh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, was advancing at the head of an army, to devastate the county of Meath, which was not in a state to defend itself.† Hoping to signalize the beginning of his administration by a victory, the governor collected the provincial troops, with those he had brought from England, and marched towards Slane; but O'Neill had already returned to Ulster. Paulus Jovius asserts that the prince of Ulster had four thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry, and that the viceroy, not deeming it prudent to attack him, endeavored to conciliate him by presents. The truth is, that O'Neill made his peace with the king by letters, and was restored to favor.

Surrey wrote to Wolsey in the month of September, to inform him that some soldiers who were taken as pirates upon the coasts, were thrown into prison; but complained to him that his commission did not authorize him to have them put to death. In order to make the cardinal his friend, he informed him that the earl of Kildare was fomenting a rebellion in Ireland, and that he had written for that end some letters to O'Carroll; and that the country would be lost if he were permitted to return. He added, that so great was the scarcity of provisions in Ireland, that a soldier could not subsist himself on four pence a day, and asked that a penny might be added to their pay.

This address from the deputy to Wolsey, was, perhaps, the cause of a letter which the king wrote to him in the month of October following.‡ This prince, who began to discover that it was imprudent, and even unjust, to endeavor to make the Irish pass for enemies in their own country, informed him that in order to keep peace with them, and introduce a form of government among them, it was necessary to grant them the privileges of the law. He then sent him a more extended commission, with the power of creating knights, and ordered him to confer the degree of knighthood upon O'Neill and other Irish noblemen; and also to propose a marriage between the son of the earl of Ormond, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Bollen. Lastly, the king sent O'Neill a gold collar, as a pledge of his friendship, and wrote to the deputy to endeavor to induce him to go to court.

Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald of Lackagh, of whom we have already spoken, was killed in an engagement, by the O'Morras of Leix; the cause of which is not mentioned by historians. Maurice, earl of Desmond, having died, James, his son and successor, repaired to Waterford to the lord-deputy, who labored with success to effect a reconciliation between the houses of Desmond and Ormond.

Two convents were founded at this time in the county of Antrim, for friars of the third order of St. Francis; one at Masserin, by O'Neill, another at Limbeg, by M'Donnel of Antrim.*

The O'Byrnes, of Wicklow, having taken up arms, the earl of Surrey marched against them with a formidable army, A. D. 1521; but he had no difficulty in reducing a light-armed, and inexperienced soldiery, his army being superior both in numbers and military discipline. He disbanded the company of Bulmer, consisting of fifty horsemen, for having shown marks of cowardice in this expedition.

The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in the month of June, in which laws were made relative to the state of affairs at that time.† It was enacted that the burning of houses or ricks of corn, either through design or premeditated malice, should be subject to the same punishment as felony. The exportation of flocks and of wool was prohibited, under the penalty of a fine and confiscation. It was enacted, likewise, that from the small number of subjects in the counties subject to the laws of England, a man worth ten marks a year might be appointed a juror on public trials. This parliament, which was several times prorogued, terminated its sittings in the month of May following.

The deputy having received intelligence in Dublin, that the O'Morras, O'Connors Faly, O'Carrolls, and other Irish chieftains, were threatening the frontiers of the English province, gave orders to have his forces col-

* War. ibid. cap. 12.

† Cox, History of Ireland, on the reign of Henry VIII.

‡ Cox, History of Ireland, page 209.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. Allemand, Hist. Monast d'Irlande.

† War. ibid. cap. 13.

lected. He intended both to repel the enemy and revenge at the same time the death of Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, who had been killed the preceding year by the O'Morras. The deputy was soon joined by the militia of Dublin and Drogheda, under the command of the mayors of those cities, and several noblemen followed by their vassals, to whom a few Irish nobles, with their light cavalry, were also added. All these troops being joined to the forces which the deputy had brought from England, and supported with some pieces of cannon, which were not at that time made use of by the Irish, formed an army that was more than equal to put down men that were badly armed. Notwithstanding this, the English make a boast of their victories. All things being prepared, the deputy marched at the head of his army towards the district of Leix. The Irish troops were divided into companies, headed by their respective chiefs. This was done apparently with a view of narassing the enemy, as they were not strong enough to face them in a body. One of these detachments made a vigorous attack upon the baggage of the enemy, and put a body of English who were guarding it to flight; but being promptly relieved by the enemy, the Irish lost the glory of this action, and the hope of a rich spoil. An accident which occurred to the deputy, proved the danger he would incur by penetrating the district of Leix. As he was passing a defile at the head of his army, a musket-shot was fired at him, which, but for his helmet, must have been fatal. The man who fired it was put to death upon the spot. The deputy not finding himself secure, turned his arms towards Offaly, and laid siege to a monastery called Monaster-Feoris, where O'Connor kept a garrison. The walls of the convent could not long withstand the battering of three pieces of cannon, and the garrison, alarmed at this new mode of carrying on a siege, escaped during the night, and abandoned the place to the deputy, who left a detachment to guard it. With the rest of the troops he laid the neighboring country waste. Little booty, however, was found in it, as O'Connor took care to have all the corn, cattle, and every thing necessary for the subsistence of an army, carried away.

In the mean time O'Connor, with O'Carrol, and other allies, made incursions into Meath, either to create a diversion or to be revenged for the tyranny that was exercised over them, and thereby prevent the English in that country from uniting with the deputy. However this may have been, they found themselves, on their return, in front of the English army, whose superior numbers were a just cause of alarm. They resolved therefore to act on the defensive, and to fight retreating; by which both parties sustained considerable loss. Among the English, Edward Plunket, lord of Dunsany, in that county, whose descendants have since borne the title of barons of Dunsany, was found among the slain.

About this time, Aodh, or Hugh O'Donnel, prince Tyrconnel, returned from a pilgrimage to Rome, and made a truce with the king of England. He wrote some letters on this occasion to the deputy, promising to assist him against his enemies. The deputy received his proposal gladly, calculating upon his alliance, and that of O'Neill, who provided him with four hundred horse, and twelve hundred light-armed troops. An expedition was now undertaken against O'Malaghlin of Clonlolan, a powerful nobleman, descended from the kings of Meath.* O'Neill and O'Donnel were the chiefs of two rival houses in Ulster, as M'Carty and O'Brien were in Munster. These noblemen were often known to sacrifice every thing, even the welfare of their country, to their private resentments. O'Donnel, finding his neighbor and friend ready to fall, under the united efforts of the deputy and Tyrone, thought it prudent, notwithstanding the peace he had lately concluded with the former, to cause a diversion in favor of O'Malaghlin; and for this purpose he invaded Tyrone, whereby O'Neill was forced to abandon his ally, in order to defend his own patrimony, by which means the enterprise against O'Malaghlin proved abortive.

A war broke out at the same time in Munster, between Cormac Mac-Carthy of Muskerry, commonly called Cormac Oge Lader, and James, earl of Desmond.† William Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, and other commissioners, were deputed to settle their differences, and repaired for that purpose to Waterford, but their efforts failed, as Desmond would hear of no settlement, but continued to pillage and lay waste the lands of M'Carty. The latter was a brave and powerful nobleman; and being joined by MacCarty Riagh, the O'Mahonys, and other lords of Carbry, he met the earl near the monastery of Morn, otherwise More, or Ballinamony, which was a commandery belonging to the order of Malta, between Mallow and Cork. A sanguinary engagement took place in September, between these noblemen and

* Camd. Brit. page 754.
† Ware, ibid. c. 13.

the earl, which was fatal to him; his uncles John and Gerald were made prisoners, and more than a thousand of his men fell on the field of battle; the earl, however, saved himself by flight.

John Kite, a native of London, having held the commission of legate or ambassador for Henry VIII., in Spain, was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1513, by Pope Leo X.* This prelate, says our author, was celebrated for his hospitality and the goodness of his table. He resigned the see of Armagh in 1521, and was succeeded by George Cromer.

About this time William Rokeby, the archbishop of Dublin, died.† He was first nominated to the bishopric of Meath in 1507, by Julian II., and admitted the same year into the council of Henry VII. In 1511 he was removed to the archbishopric of Dublin by the same pope, and was afterwards made chancellor of Ireland. He convened a provincial synod, the statutes of which are in the Red Book of the church of Ossory. His body was interred in St. Patrick's cathedral, and his heart brought to England, and deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. His successor in the see of Dublin was Hugh Inge.

The earl of Surrey, lord-deputy of Ireland, finding it impossible to reduce the Irish, or support himself honorably in the government of the country for want of money, (the treasury in England being exhausted,) solicited Cardinal Wolsey to have him recalled, which request was granted him. He returned to England with all his family, and the troops he had taken with him. By order of the king, Piers, or Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, his friend, was appointed deputy in his stead. Surrey was kindly received, on his return, by the king, and appointed to the command of his fleet in the war against France. Ormond, finding that the Irish forces were considerably weakened by the departure of the English troops, and dreading an invasion from the Scotch, requested the cardinal to order that six ships of war should cruize between Ireland and Scotland, to act as a check upon that people.

CHAPTER XXXII.

We have now arrived at the period of the fall of religion in many of the states of Europe, and of the glory of Henry VIII. king of England. If it be painful to behold an ambitious and profligate monk oppose himself to a religion which he should, from his station, have supported even with the loss of life; it is, on the other hand, edifying to see a king acting the part of a divine in its defence

Before the beginning of the fifth century, all the nations of Europe were united in the same worship, the same sacrifice, the same sacraments, and in subordination to the same head in matters of religion. Though there were a few sects who differed in some points from the common faith, such as the Vaudois in the valleys of Piedmont, the Lollards in England, and the disciples of John Huss in Bohemia; still they were but obscure characters, whose influence could make little impression against the unity in religion, and submission to the legitimate authority of the church, which prevailed at the time. Martin Luther, of Wirtemberg in Saxony, and a friar of the order of St. Augustin, was more successful. Being jealous of the preference which Leo X. had given to the Dominicans, by allowing them to preach certain indulgences, he began in 1517 to excite controversies, and refute those indulgences, together with other points of the Catholic tenets in religion. Being condemned in a bull issued by the pope in 1520, he no longer kept any terms with the holy see. He was, as he himself acknowledges in the preface to his works at Wirtemberg, alone in the beginning, and diffident of succeeding, but finding himself supported by Andrew Carlostad, archdeacon of Wirtemberg, and Philip Melancthon, professor of Greek in that university, who embraced his doctrine, and protected by his sovereign, the elector of Saxony, he removed the mask, and used his pen in publishing the most heinous and calumnious attacks upon the spouse of Jesus Christ, and the pope, whom he termed Antichrist. In 1525 he married Catherine Boren, a nun, who found means to escape from her convent, in defiance of the solemn vows of chastity they had both made when embracing the monastic life; imitating therein Carlostad, who had married some time previously. Their example was followed, in this respect, by most of the early preachers of the Protestant religion. These new reformers first took the name of Evangelicals; as heretics always boast of the authority of the Scriptures and the holy fathers, and, by forced interpretations, make them appear to favor their own views. They were afterwards called Protestants in 1529, from the protest made by six princes of the empire, and fourteen towns, when the diet of Spires had published a decree against them.*

* War de Archiep. Ardmach.
† Idem. de Archiep. Dubliniens.

* Sleidan, lib. 6. Osiander. lib. 2, cap. 9.

Luther was specially protected by Philip, landgrave of Hesse, to whom this false apostle gave permission to keep two wives at the same time; and his doctrine spread itself through the north of Germany, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and a part of Poland. Avarice and cupidity had a considerable share in their sudden conversion.* Frederick I. having dethroned his nephew Christiern II., began his reign in Denmark in 1522, and introduced Lutheranism into that kingdom, through the ministry of Bugenhage, a Lutheran of Pomerania. All the bishops who would not subscribe to the reformed tenets, were dispossessed, and others nominated in their stead, whose power and revenues were considerably lessened. The same system took place in Sweden in 1523. King Christiern was expelled by Gustavus Eric, through the influence of Peter Nevicius, a Lutheran.† The Lutheran religion was established in the country by the new king, with the intention of appropriating the revenues of the church to his own purposes. They were therefore siezed upon, and a law enacted by which the properties of bishops became dependent on the king's will. Dantzic was the first city in Poland which received the doctrine of Luther; and in so tumultuous a manner was this effected, that the common council was suddenly changed by the patrons of the new religion. The churches were profaned and stripped of their ornaments, the priests and other religious persons shamefully abused, the mass abolished, and every thing changed through the fury of these innovators. It was thus they had their gospel preached by the populace in other towns of Germany.

In this manner did the doctrine of Luther spread itself in the north, while Zuingle, a priest of Zurich, Œcolampadius, a monk of Basle, in Switzerland, and a few others, preached a different doctrine, which drew upon them the censures of Luther, who termed them fanatics, heretics, and blasphemers, men possessed by the devil, and who sinned against the Holy Ghost, &c. John Calvin, a priest, and native of Noyon in Picardy, came to their assistance. He embraced the doctrine of Zuingle, which he reformed by the addition of some articles respecting the real presence, predestination, free will, &c. "While the Lutherans," says Heylin, an English Protestant writer,‡ "were acting their part in Germany, another party began to appear in Switzerland, headed by Zuingle. They did not consult together, and all pursued different ways, particularly in what related to transubstantiation and the real presence: on these points neither they nor their disciples could agree. Calvin having got precedence to Zuingle, added some articles to the doctrine of the latter, respecting predestination and freedom of the will, &c.; so that their differences having increased, the breach became irreparable, and the cause was followed up on both sides so warmly, that they sought less after the truth than the victory. The religion having been again changed in 1528," continues Heylin,* "in the canton of Berne, by Viret and Farellus, two Zuinglian preachers, the same thing was attempted in Geneva, where they insinuated themselves into the minds of the people to such a degree, that the bishop and clergy, who were opposed to their proceedings, were forced, by a rising of the people, to leave the city." A few fanatics, under the name of reformers, are generally sufficient to impose upon the populace, and drive them to acts of outrage; as they are easily seduced by appearances, and are not upon their guard against that spirit of ambition and revolt against legal authority, by which these false teachers are actuated and urged on. "They changed," says Heylin "the doctrine and discipline established in the church, overthrew the government of the state, and renounced, under the pretext of liberty, that allegiance which they had promised to their prince. Their conduct was, however, approved of by Calvin, who afterwards came to settle among them." Our author speaks in the same place, of the ecclesiastical discipline of Presbyterianism, introduced by Calvin into the church of Geneva, and thence extended to wherever Calvinism was received; "a discipline, (says he,) which was engendered in rebellion, born in sedition, and nurtured by faction." He says again, speaking of these reformers,† "Rather than see their discipline rejected, and episcopacy left unannihilated in all Christian churches, they determined to depose kings, to destroy kingdoms, and overthrow the fundamental constitution of states. Their ambition led them to commit these excesses, by affecting a sort of supremacy in their parishes, and creating lords in the inheritance of God, under pretence of placing Jesus Christ upon his throne. This passion for pre-eminence induced them to use violent invectives against the bishops, whom they not only refused to

* Heylin. Cosmog. edit. 5, page 106.
† Idem. Cosmog. page 140
‡ Cosmog. lib. 2, page 36.

* Cosmog. lib. 2, page 136.
† Cosmog. lib. 1, page 137.

receive, but expelled all those who acknowledged them from their churches. This ambition in the ordinary ministers of parishes, was artfully fomented by some of the higher clergy, and the lay patrons, who all had their own respective interests in view; some to increase their fortunes by despoiling the bishops, and others to apply to their own use the tenth of the benefices, of which they were only the depositaries. Such was the artifice made use of to spread the doctrine of Calvin.

This new doctrine, which, from its author, was called Calvinism, was received into Switzerland, and some provinces of France, parts of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, the united provinces of Holland, and Scotland, where it was introduced by John Knox and his associates.

The Catholic theologians testified their zeal in refuting these new teachers. The first and principal writers against Luther, were Eckius, Cochlæus, and Faber, in Germany; Silvester de Prieris, general of the Dominicans in Italy; the theologians of Paris and Louvain, in France and Flanders; Fisher, bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas More, in England. But the most celebrated antagonist of this heresiarch was Henry VIII., who wrote a book against the Babylonian captivity, entitled the "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," which he dedicated to Pope Leo X. This work gained him the glorious title of *Defender of the Faith*, which his holiness conferred on him by a bull, dated St. Peter's, Rome, the 11th of October, and signed by twenty-seven cardinals and bishops.

Leo X. died in the December following. He was succeeded by Adrian VI., a native of Holland, who had been preceptor of Charles V., and was elected while viceroy in Spain, before the arrival of Richard Pacey, dean of St. Paul's, London, whom Wolsey had sent to interfere in his own behalf.

Though the earl of Surrey brought back his troops to England, tranquillity prevailed in the English province, A. D. 1522. It was not so in the north of Ireland, where two powerful and rival princes, O'Neill and O'Donnel, were continually at war. After some engagements, O'Neill invaded the district of Tirconnel, where he committed dreadful devastations, and burned Ballyshannon castle, the principal place in that district, situated at the mouth of Lough Earne, while O'Donnel was desolating Tyrone, from which he carried away many prisoners.

The English who had settled in Ireland, not content with their first usurpations sought incessantly the opportunity of extending their possessions, at the expense of their neighbors. M'Giolla Phadruig, or Fitzpatrick, lord of Ossory, and neighbor to the Butlers, having had some cause of displeasure against Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, who was then deputy, sent his complaint to the king of England, threatening to declare war against him in case he should refuse to punish Red Peter. The faithful messenger, meeting the king on his way to mass, spoke to him in the following words, which are mentioned in the book of Howth, and are too remarkable to be omitted: "Stop, my lord king," said he; "my lord M'Giolla Phadruig has sent me to tell you, that if you do not chastise Red Peter, he will declare war against you."

At this time the plague depopulated Limerick and its environs;* David Comin, mayor of the city, was among the number of those who fell victims to it. He was succeeded in office by Nicholas Arthur. This year was remarkable for the taking of the island of Rhodes, which surrendered on Christmas day, to Soliman XI., emperor of the Turks, after a vigorous defence of some months, by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The earl of Kildare having returned from England, A. D. 1523, invaded, by the permission of the earl of Ormond, who was deputy, the territory of Leix, attended by his troops, and the inhabitants of Dublin, under the command of John Fitzsimon, mayor of the city. Having burned a few villages, he fell into an ambuscade, which had been prepared for him by the O'Morras, in which he sustained a heavy loss, but considered himself fortunate in having escaped with a portion of his army.

The old enmities which formerly prevailed between the earl of Kildare and Ormond, his brother-in-law, broke out anew about this time. James Fitzgerald had not a little contributed to this. He was the favorite of Kildare, and having met, near Ballymore, with Robert Talbot of Belgard, who was going to spend the Christmas at Kilkenny with the deputy, of whom he was suspected to have been the spy, he murdered him. Ormond, who was justly incensed by this cruel act, committed through hatred towards himself, sent his complaints to court against Kildare, whom he accused of various crimes.

Maurice Fitzgerald, archbishop of Cashel, died this year.† He was nominated to that

* Ware, ibid. cap. 14.
† Ware, de Arch. Cassill.

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see in 1504, by Pope Julian II. He convened a synod at Limerick, the statutes of which were inserted in the registry of Thomas Purcel, formerly bishop of Lismore and Waterford. His successor was Edmond Butler. In this year also Gerald Cavanagh died. He was chief of his tribe, and descended from the kings of Leinster; and was much esteemed among the Irish. His heir, Maurice Cavanagh, succeeded him in his estates; who having died with his two sons, Dermod and Donogh, Charles Cavanagh succeeded to their inheritance.

The court of London did not forget the accusations that were made, the preceding year, by the deputy against the earl of Kildare, A. D. 1524.* It is said that, at the solicitation of the marquis of Dorset, Kildare's father-in-law, the king appointed commissioners, with full power to examine into the affair. The commissioners were, Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, and James Denton, dean of Lichfield; who arrived in Dublin in the month of June, and having heard the case of both earls, Ormond was superseded, and Kildare appointed to succeed him. The earl having taken the oath usual on these occasions, the sword of state was carried before him by his relative, Conn O'Neill. They then repaired to the abbey of St. Thomas, after which the commissioners, with many noblemen, were sumptuously entertained by Kildare.

After this the commissioners returned to England, bringing James Fitzgerald, whom we have already mentioned, a prisoner with them. This nobleman was given up to Cardinal Wolsey, the implacable enemy of the Fitzgeralds. In order to load him with still greater ignominy, he was brought to prison through the streets of London, with a rope around his neck. Fitzgerald, however, after a short time, obtained, through the interference of Denton, dean of Lichfield, the king's pardon, and was set at liberty, in opposition to the cardinal.

The Emperor Charles V., and Henry VIII., king of England, having entered into a league against Francis I., resolved to attack him on all sides. To defend himself, Francis made all the alliances he could against them. The duke of Albania was sent to Scotland to create a diversion in that quarter;† and being aware too, that the Irish had long and reluctantly borne the dominion of the English, and that they supported a vigorous and just warfare against them, Francis proposed a treaty of alliance with some of their chiefs.* James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, was then a powerful lord in Munster. From the situation of his estates in the south of the island, he was more contiguous to France than the others, and although a natural subject of the king of England, either through an ambition of reigning, or a spirit of revenge for the death of his ancestor, who had been unjustly beheaded at Drogheda, he was the first to express his dissatisfaction towards the English government. He entered into the views of the French monarch, who concluded a confederacy with him on the 20th of June, 1523; the original act is in the "Chambre des Comptes" in Paris, wherein he is styled James, earl of Munster, and prince of Ireland. Terdelach O'Brien, hereditary prince of Thuomond, was included in this treaty, by which Francis bound himself, among other things, to make no peace or truce with Henry VIII., without including the earl of Desmond and Lord Theodore, or Terdelach O'Brien and his family. This treaty, however, was not observed afterwards. Many princes and noblemen in Ireland would willingly have joined in it, but there was not time. Francis I. was taken prisoner at Pavia, and a peace concluded the year following between France and England, in which the earl of Desmond was not included, since Henry VIII. had orders dispatched to the earl of Kildare, who was deputy, to have him arrested for high treason.

The earl of Desmond had no legitimate son; and but one daughter called Jane, who was married to the earl of Ormond, and was mother to Earl Thomas Butler, a knight of the order of the garter, and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth.† The earl of Desmond was suspected, according to the author of the account of the Geraldines, of keeping up a secret correspondence with the Emperor Charles V., king of Spain. He flattered himself that this emperor would give him his daughter in marriage, which would enable him to have Ireland invaded by foreign troops. There appears to be an error in this account, and that the author has substituted Charles V. for Francis I., who had concluded a treaty with the earl, in 1523. Through the intrigues of Cardinal Wolsey, the avowed enemy of the nobility, and particularly opposed to the Fitzgeralds, Desmond was summoned to appear, and give an account of his conduct. The cardinal's power caused diffidence in the earl, and being afraid

* Ware, de Annal. cap. 16.
† Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 271

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. cap. 16.
† Relat. Giraldis. traduc. Francoise de l'Abbé Joubert, p. 16, et. seq.

to submit to the order, he objected to the trial. The king therefore sent his commands to the earl of Kildare, viceroy of Ireland, to have Desmond arrested, and immediately sent to England. The non-execution of the royal mandate was, as we shall presently see, the cause of Kildare's disgrace.

In obedience to the king's commands, the deputy marched at the head of his troops towards Munster, without meeting Desmond, which circumstance gave rise to a suspicion of his being partial to the earl, who was his kinsman. It is even asserted that Kildare had enlisted the O'Byrnes of Wicklow in Desmond's interest, and that he wrote to the latter, proposing an interview with him in the district of Ossory, which letter was intercepted by the intrigues of Wolsey.

The earl of Kildare and Conn O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, with their united forces, entered the country of Tirconnel, determined on making war against Manus O'Donnel, prince of that district; but receiving intelligence that Hugh O'Neill, Conn's rival, was levying troops in Tyrone during their absence, they made a truce with O'Donnel, marched against Hugh O'Neill, and gave him battle, which he lost, together with his life. John Barnwell, baron of Trimlestown, was at this time appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland.

The continual rains in the autumn of 1525 caused a great scarcity of provisions that year in Ireland, and the drought of the summer was followed by a plague which carried off numbers, particularly in the neighborhood of Dublin.

At this time Cardinal Wolsey set the first example of suppressing monasteries in England.* This ambitious prelate, wishing to immortalize his name by some public monument, obtained permission from the king to establish two colleges, one at Oxford and the other at Ipswich, and likewise to suppress forty monasteries, the wealth and revenues of which were afterwards applied to the building and support of these colleges; a pernicious example, says Baker, though a Protestant, which the king imitated, by suppressing all religious houses in the kingdom.

Discord still prevailed between Conn O'Neill of Tyrone, and Manus O'Donnel of Tirconnel, A. D. 1526. Those two princes wishing to make the earl of Kildare the arbitrator of their differences, repaired to him. Each, however, being resolved on establishing his own claim, they separated without coming to any arrangement.

* Baker, Chron. of England, page 273.

The earl of Kildare was summoned this year to appear before the council in England, to render an account of his administration, and answer to the several charges of which he stood accused;* the principal were, 1st, having neglected the orders which the king had given him to arrest the earl of Desmond; 2d, having made an alliance with the hostile Irish; 3d, having caused many good and faithful subjects to be hanged, whose only crime was having been favored by the family of the Butlers; 4th, holding a secret correspondence with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other enemies, and of having excited them to make incursions on the lands of the earl of Ormond, when he was deputy.

Before his departure for England, Kildare nominated his brother, Thomas Fitzgerald of Leixlip, deputy in his place. Kildare's chief adversaries were Cardinal Wolsey and the earl of Ormond, who possessed sufficient authority to send him a prisoner to the tower, from whence he was afterwards brought before the council to be heard. The cardinal performed the part of a lawyer, and pleaded against him; but the earl was a man of great discernment, and was beloved by several of the lords who composed the council, so that the cardinal, finding it impossible to have him condemned, adjourned the matter to another day, and in the mean time the earl was sent back to the tower. The cardinal, who only sought the opportunity of destroying him, having received fresh informations respecting the secret understanding of the earl with O'Neill and O'Connor, sent orders to the lieutenant of the tower to have him executed. This officer, who was greatly attached to the earl, did not fail to communicate to him the order he had just received from the cardinal: on which the earl prevailed on him to go immediately and learn the king's will in the affair. The monarch was both surprised and indignant at such conduct; he forbid all further proceedings against the earl; and as a proof of it he gave his ring to the lieutenant of the tower, with orders to show it to the cardinal. The earl was then set at liberty on bail of several of the nobles, and was reinstated in the king's favor, who soon afterwards restored him to his former dignities.

Thomas Fitzgerald, of Leixlip, who had exercised the functions of deputy during the earl's absence, was replaced by Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, A. D. 1527. The earls of Kildare and Ormond, whose private quarrels were frequently fatal to Ireland, being

* Ware, ibid. cap. 18.

still in England, it might be imagined that their absence would produce tranquillity to the former country; but matters were in too disordered a state, and private interests too much at variance, to admit of it.

This year was remarkable for the taking of the capital of Hungary, and the greater part of that kingdom by the Turks, to the disgrace of the Christian princes by whose disunion it was caused.

Peter Butler, who had till this time borne the title of earl of Ormond, was solemnly created at Windsor, earl of Ossory.* In order to please the king, he resigned the earldom of Ormond, in favor of Sir Thomas Bollen, viscount of Rochfort, who was afterwards created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

We have already seen, in the reign of Henry VI., that the English who had been settled in Ireland, were obliged, in order to preserve peace, to pay a tribute to some of the Irish chieftains.† Either on account of this tribute being paid, or on some other ground, O'Connor attacked the frontiers of the English province, from whence he carried off considerable booty, A. D. 1528. The deputy not being sufficiently strong to take revenge for this insult, gave orders to discontinue the tribute which had been paid to that nobleman. O'Connor, who was but little pleased with this order, having met the deputy at the castle of Sir William Darcy, near Ruthen, surprised him in an ambuscade, made him his prisoner, with several of his followers, and put the rest to the sword.

The baron of Delvin being a prisoner, the council of the king appointed Peter Butler, earl of Ossory, to succeed him. On the arrival of the new deputy in Dublin, he was joined by O'Morra, O'Carrol, and one of the O'Connors; and having taken the usual oath, in the abbey of the Blessed Virgin, he sent Walter Wellesley, prior of Conally, and Sir Walter de la Hide, to O'Connor, to solicit the liberty of Delvin. Their mission, however, was unsuccessful; whereupon the deputy and council issued a proclamation, dated the 25th of February following, for the continuance of O'Connor's pension. This deed was signed by the earl of Ossory, who was lord-deputy, the barons of Howth, Killeen, Trimleston, and Dunsany, the judges of the courts, and the lord chief baron. The clergy by whom it was signed were, John Allen, the intended archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, Edmond, abbot of Baltinglass, and James Cotterell, abbot of St. Thomas's, near Dublin. It is not known whether Delvin obtained his liberty; but a law was afterwards enacted, to abolish these contributions which the English colonists had to pay to the Irish.

A contagious disorder, called *Sudor Anglicus*, broke out this year in Ireland, and proved fatal to many; Hugh Inge, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, having among others fallen a victim to it.* This prelate was celebrated for his probity and morals; he was succeeded by John Allen, chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and one of those who had abetted him in the suppression of the forty monasteries. The cardinal had him raised to this dignity, in order to make an instrument of him, to destroy the earl of Kildare.

The vindictive and turbulent disposition of the earl was the ultimate cause of his ruin. He could not bring himself to forgive the earl of Ossory, between whom and himself the old enmities still existed. Kildare sent his daughter Alicia, wife of the baron of Slane, who was then at Newington, to Ireland, to influence his brothers and his friends the O'Neills, O'Connors, and others, secretly to oppose the deputy. She unfortunately succeeded in her mission; the possessions of the deputy and his adherents were laid waste and pillaged without mercy; conduct which principally produced the dreadful disasters which afterwards befell her father and his family.

Terdelach O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, died this year, greatly regretted by his countrymen. He was succeeded by Concovar, or Cornelius, his son, from whom Donat, or Donough O'Brien, who was created earl of Thuomond, was descended.

Henry VIII., (who was at one time the friend of the emperor, and at another of the king of France,) having at this time made peace with Francis I., quarrelled with Charles V. The political grounds assigned for this rupture were, the cruelties practised by the imperial army in Rome, against the pope and his cardinals; the severe conditions which were imposed on Francis by Charles, as a ransom for his freedom; and lastly, the repugnance which the emperor began to evince for the marriage he was to have contracted with the princess Mary, Henry's daughter.† Other secret reasons, however, are also assigned for it, viz.—the rising greatness of the emperor, and his haughtiness after his conquests in Italy, conduct which generally gives umbrage to neighboring

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honor, respecting the earls of Arran.

† War. ibid. c. 20.

* War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

† Baker, Chron. of Engl. p. 275.

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princes. The hatred also of Cardinal Wolsey for the emperor, who had refused him the archbishopric of Toledo, might have had a share in it. However this might have been, the emperor sent Gonzaga Fernandez to Ireland, to the earl of Desmond, to stir up a rebellion against Henry.* The instructions of this ambassador, dated Toledo, the 24th February, were to treat on certain conditions, with these words—"*illustrissimo el conde de Desmond*;" but this negotiation ended without any result, in consequence of the death of the earl, which took place at Dingle on the 18th of June following.

Two religious houses were founded about this time in Ireland, which are perhaps the last that were established in this country, as the suppression of monasteries, not only in England, but also in Ireland. took place soon after.

According to Herrera and Father Lubin, there was a convent founded in Waterford in 1629, dedicated to St. Catherine, for hermits of St. Augustin.† Both are, however, in error in this statement. There was no mention in 1629 of building convents in Ireland, but rather of destroying them, as this was the commencement of Charles I.'s reign, who succeeded three or four kings or queens under whom all the convents were destroyed. The schismatic Henry VIII. was the first to put them down, but his son Edward, who was a Protestant, continued the destruction; his sister Mary's reign was too short to restore them: Elizabeth and James I. expelled both monks and friars from every house in which they were established throughout the three kingdoms. The like persecution continued under Charles I., which makes it probable that the date of the above foundation should have been 1529 instead of 1629.

Ware mentions a house for Franciscans to have been founded in 1530 at Lisgavail, on the banks of lake Earne, in the county of Fermanagh, but does not say who was its founder.‡

Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, the king's natural son, was appointed viceroy of Ireland, A. D. 1529. He sent Sir W. Skeffington thither as his deputy, who arrived in Dublin in the month of August, with a large sum of money and two hundred horsemen, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, who was freed from his embarrassments. The new deputy was received with every demonstration of joy by the citizens of Dublin. He had received instructions to maintain peace between the earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossory, in order that they might support the common cause against the Irish; to act always on the defensive, and undertake nothing without the advice of the council; to assist the earl of Kildare in his enterprises against the natives; to diminish the exactions for the army; to tax the church lands in order to defray part of the public expenses; and lastly, to convene a parliament, and procure subsidies for the king.

Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, convened about this time, a provincial synod in Limerick, at which Nicholas Comine, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, John Coin, bishop of Limerick, and James O'Corrin, bishop of Killaloe, were present. By this synod the magistracy of Limerick were invested with power to arrest ecclesiastics for debt, without incurring excommunication. The inferior clergy, who looked upon this decree as injurious to them, and contrary to ecclesiastical privileges, protested strongly against it

The lord-deputy began his expedition in the district of Leix, against O'Morra; laid the country waste, and carried away considerable booty.* He then turned his arms against Ulster, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, notwithstanding that jealousies had already begun to arise between them. He destroyed the castle of Kinard, laid the neighboring districts waste, and burned several villages, after which he returned loaded with booty. The pretended reformation of the morals of the Irish, was a specious pretext made use of by these new comers to satisfy their rapacity after wealth. The succors which they received from England from time to time in men and money, enabled them to extend their possessions at the expense of the Irish, and the private interest of their chiefs was always held in more consideration than the public good.

Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, alarmed at the devastations which the English were committing around him, and finding himself incapacitated by sickness from taking the command of his troops, to defend his frontiers, sent Conn O'Fraghill, abbot of Derry, and Richard O'Grayhan of Drogheda, to the deputy, to sue for peace, on condition of their making a form of submission in his name, A. D. 1531.†

An English vessel having taken about this time, a Spanish ship that was fishing near the Dursy islands, on the coasts of Beare and

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 221.
† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.
‡ Ware, de Antiq. Hibern.

* Ware, de Annal. c. 21.
† Ware, ibid. cap. 22, 23.

Bantry, in Munster, Dermod O'Sullivan, who was lord of that country, considering it an act of hostility against the rights of nations, put to sea with some vessels in order to assist the Spaniard.* Having taken both ships he had the Englishman hanged, and set the Spaniard at liberty. Cox, as usual, attacks the conduct of O'Sullivan. "We may," he says, "discover herein how those men have been disposed towards the English, and how loyal to their king, when they murder his subjects and assist his enemies." But what could the English calculate upon from a people whom they never ceased to pursue with fire and sword? Could they venture to rely upon a promise of allegiance which was tyrannically extorted from them? The ancestors of this nobleman, robbed of their possessions by the English, found themselves under the harsh necessity of committing a dreadful massacre to regain their properties; and can it surprise us that hatred for the name of an Englishman should have been retained during many generations in the family of the O'Sullivans?

Discord still continued to prevail between Sir William Skeffington and Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare; they were continually forwarding complaints against each other to court. The deputy accused Kildare of enormous crimes; while the latter reproached the deputy with mal-administration, and succeeded in having himself nominated to that office by the king, instead of his opponent. Fortune, which seemed to favor Kildare at this juncture, soon afterwards forsook him, as the reader will discover in the sequel.

About this time some writers appeared in Ireland.† Theobald Anguilbert, a medical doctor of the university of Paris, is said to have written a book entitled "Mensa Philosophica," or the philosophical table. It is a treatise on table-talk, filled with jests and humorous wit. This book was printed in Paris in 1530, by John de Haisy, and the author avows himself an Irishman in his dedicatory epistle. The work has been falsely ascribed to Michael Scott, a physician, and was printed with his name at Leipsic, in 1603, with the tales of Othomar Luscinius.

Magnus, or Manus, son of Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, wrote the life of St. Columb-Kill, in three books in the Irish language, about the year 1520.‡ The first gives a history of the actions and miracles of this saint previous to his voyage into Britain; the second treats of his mission in Britain, and return to Ireland to the assembly of Drumkeat; the third contains an account of the remaining part of his life. This work, which was composed by the author from the ancient monuments of the country, was abridged and translated into Latin by John Colgan.

Patrick O'Cullen, of the order of St. Augustin, and afterwards bishop of Clogher, assisted by Roderick Cassidy, archdeacon of his church, wrote a registry of its antiquities, A. D. 1525, with a catalogue of his predecessors. He also composed a hymn in honor of St. M'Cartin, first bishop of Clogher, which was generally sung upon his festival; the beginning of it is subjoined.*

Cassidy, the archdeacon, was a theologian, canonist, and philosopher, and was well versed in the antiquities of his country; he corrected and made considerable additions to the annals of Ulster. He died at an advanced age in 1541.

Patrick Finglas, an able legislator, was nominated chief-baron of the exchequer by Henry VIII., and chief-justice of the king's bench in 1534. He wrote a treatise on the causes of the miseries of Ireland, and the manner in which they might be remedied.

Sir William Darcy, a native of Plattin, in the county of Louth, and vice-treasurer of Ireland, was a wise and learned man. He had been particularly instrumental in forwarding the English interest in Ireland. He wrote a book entitled "the fall of Ireland, and the causes that produced it;" and died at an advanced age, in the year 1540.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

We have now come to the beginning of the schism of Henry VIII. with the church of Rome, which was attended with the subversion of religion in England. This prince, who in the opening of his reign held out such flattering hopes for the happiness of his people, turned to a bad purpose those admirable qualities with which God had endowed him. His irregularities, and the manner in which he was blinded by his unhappy amours; the blood which he caused to be shed, and the dreadful consequences of his marriages, which proved fatal to almost all his wives, are subjects well known to the world The motive is likewise well understood

* Cox, Hib. Anglic. page 223.
† Ware, de Script. Hib.
‡ Colg. Trias. Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb

* "Hear us, O Trinity, celebrating this worthy festival, and venerating and praising this holy man Maccartinus."

which induced him to become the author of a new sect, equally detested by Catholics, Lutherans, and Sacramentarians. His divorce, after a lapse of twenty years, from Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, and the marriage which he contracted with Anne Bollen, or Bullen, being condemned by the holy see, he not only declared against that authority which condemned him, but by a procedure hitherto unheard of among Christians, proclaimed himself both spiritual and temporal head of the church of England. It was thus that the English reformation commenced, of which Burnet has written so ingenious a history, and one at the same time so replete with calumnies against the Catholic church.

As events generally follow from a chain of circumstances and secondary causes, which have a mutual influence one upon the other, the source of the changes which took place in England will be discovered in the situation of affairs in Europe at that period, and the opposite interests of its princes. About the end of the preceding century, the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon were united, and the Moors driven out of Spain. Mary the only daughter and heiress of Charles, duke of Burgundy, brought her extensive possessions to the house of Austria. Louis XI., king of France, having instituted proceedings for felony against the memory of the duke of Burgundy, confiscated the duchy and the county of Artois, belonging to his heiress. Charles d'Anjou, count du Maine, (to whom his uncle, René d'Anjou, had given Provence,) bequeathed that country, and his right over Naples and Sicily, to Louis XI. and his son, Charles VIII., (at the instance, it is said, of John de Cossé, seneschal of Provence, and Palamede de Forbin, whom this king appointed constable of it.) And lastly, Charles VIII., by marrying the heiress of Brittany, united that province to his crown, from which it had been separated for so many centuries.

France, which had thus acquired, without any loss of blood, so many provinces, which had frequently before borne arms against her, became formidable to her neighbors. A league was formed between her, England, and Austria, in confirmation of which, Ferdinand of Aragon gave Jane, his second daughter, in marriage to Philip of Austria, son of Maximilian, and another of his daughters, called Catherine, to Arthur, son of Henry VII., king of England. These alliances proved unfortunate. The love of Jane for her husband was so excessive that she lost her reason. Catherine was scarcely married when she became a widow. Her husband, Arthur, had been prematurely born, and the physicians were of opinion that, in consequence, he could not be long-lived His appearance was always delicate and infirm, notwithstanding what Protestant writers assert; among others, Chancellor Bacon, who says that it was never known with certainty whether the young prince had consummated his marriage, and that on this matter various opinions were put forward, according to the prejudices of the different reigns.

The same motives which influenced Ferdinand and Henry to make this alliance still existed, and gave rise to the idea of forming a second, by giving Arthur's widow to his brother Henry, who was then the only son of Henry VII. Rome was applied to for a dispensation, which was granted by Julius II. But Henry, who was an avaricious prince, demanded an increase of dowry with Catherine, on this, her second marriage, while Ferdinand insisted that it was already sufficiently great, and as he was resolved to give no more money, he demanded back his daughter, and required that her dowry, which had been paid, should be restored to him. In the mean time, Henry, who could discover no more suitable match for his son, resolved on making the most of the new alliance; and in order to draw Ferdinand into his views, he obliged his son to protest against the intended marriage, without, however, intending to push matters further; as he, in fact, never communicated this protest to either Ferdinand or Catherine.

Such was the state in which matters stood on the demise of Henry VII. The council of the new king took into their consideration whether the marriage would be advantageous for England; whether it was contrary to the law of God; and also, whether the pope could grant a dispensation, and whether any regard should be paid to the protest of the intended husband. All things having been duly considered, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was celebrated in the month of June, with all possible pomp and magnificence.*

The new queen possessed in an eminent degree all those private virtues which are the solid and chief ornaments of her sex.† In her piety and attention to her husband she was exemplary: a love of seclusion and employment were manifest in her whole de-

* Polyd. Virgil. Aug. Hist. lib. 27. Sander. de Schis. Anglic. edit. Ingoldstad, p. 2, et seq. Baker's Chron. on the reign of Henry VIII.

† Hist. of the Divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, by Joachim le Grand, tom. 1.

portment, and she was looked upon as a model of wisdom by all. Her virtue, however, had nothing of harshness in it, and she possessed a greatness of soul, and an elevation of mind, which, even more than her birth, gained for her universal respect. Henry himself, even in withdrawing his affections, still preserved a high esteem for her.

This princess had three children of her marriage with Henry; two sons, who died very young, and a daughter called Mary, who was afterwards queen. She had also some miscarriages, which caused her much infirm health, and which probably produced displeasure to a husband so abandoned to his passions.

The debaucheries of Henry were generally well known. Having already seduced some of the maids of honor belonging to the queen, he fell in love with Anne Bullen, daughter to Thomas Bullen, and a sister of the duke of Norfolk, who had gone with Queen Mary, wife of Louis XII., to France, where she was educated. She afterwards became maid of honor to the Queen Claude, and after the death of this princess was taken into the household of the Duchess d'Alencon, sister of Francis I., where, it is said, she first imbibed the principles of Luther's heresy.

We do not here vouch for the truth of the scandalous narrative which is given by Sanders, concerning the birth and conduct of Anne Bullen, before Henry became enamored of her,* namely, that she was the offspring of Henry's own intercourse with the wife of Thomas Bullen, during the absence of that nobleman; that she had a sister who was seduced by that monarch; that she became a prostitute almost from her infancy, to the master of the household, and the almoner of Thomas Bullen, who was supposed to be her father; and that having gone to the court of France, she was so dishonored by Francis I., and his courtiers, that the most infamous names were publicly attached to her, and she was called, "*La hacquenee Anglaise.*"

There is no reason, however, for denying all credence to this historian. He was an Englishman by birth, and a cotemporary witness of some of the facts which he relates. He was also a man of erudition, having made his studies at Oxford, where he became a bachelor of arts, and was afterwards deemed worthy to fill the chair of professor of law in that university. At the time of the persecution of Catholics by Elizabeth, he was forced to quit his occupation and country. He went to Rome, where he received the order of priesthood, and the degree of doctor. He attached himself to Cardinal Hosius, whom he accompanied to Trent, Prussia, Poland, and Lithuania. On his return he taught theology at Louvain. Several of his works have been published; among others, one which has for its title, "*De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ,*" that is, "the Visible Monarchy of the Church." He attached himself afterwards to Cardinal Commendon, and to Sega, bishop of Placentia, who was afterwards a cardinal. The latter brought him to Augsburg, and from that to Spain, where he left him in the quality of nuncio. Sanders labored during these voyages, and it was while nuncio in Spain, that he wrote his history of the schism in England. After this he went, by orders of Pope Gregory III., to Ireland, to console the persecuted Catholics of that country, where he died. In fine, Sanders lived in England during the troubles that were caused by the divorce; where, besides his own knowledge of facts, he had the opportunity of conversing with many who were equally well informed as himself on what had been passing. We may therefore suppose that he wrote what he had seen and heard from people worthy of belief, and it is highly improbable that a man of his character and talents would have ventured to impose upon the world by unfounded calumnies, and have published falsehoods, at a time that many who were living and interested might have refuted him.

Protestant writers all exclaim against every thing alleged by Sanders disgraceful to the supposed reformation. Some wrote refutations of his history of the schism, among whom were Doctor Burnet, who appeared one hundred years after him, but who was, however, confuted altogether by Joachim le Grand, a learned Frenchman, who undertook the defence of Sanders against him, and by the celebrated bishop of Meaux, in his "Variations." Burnet's partiality, and the inaccuracy of his works on the revolution, says Higgins, an English Protestant author, have made him discredited, even by the honorable men of his own party.*

However this be, on Anne's return to England she appeared at court, with all the advantages arising from her youth, and her being niece of one of the prime ministers.† It does not appear that she was one of those regular beauties without defect, but she was very young, and of an agreeable figure; lively in her manners; sung and played on many instruments, and danced still better

* De Schismat. Anglic. lib. 1, p. 14–16.

* Short View, pages 186, 187.

† Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, on the reign of Elizabeth, page 257, et seq.

so that she easily procured the same rank with Catherine, as she had enjoyed with Queen Claude in France. She was not long at court when she attracted general admiration. Several noblemen fell in love with her. The monarch himself became enamored, and had a marriage broken off that was about to take place between her and Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland.

The divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Aragon, after a marriage of twenty years, began now to be spoken of.* Cardinal Wolsey gave the first hints of it. The ambition of this prelate, or rather his desire of revenge against a powerful prince by whom he had been disappointed in his hopes, was the cause of ruin to himself, danger to his master, and the fall of religion in his country.† He had been filled with the idea of becoming pope. Charles V. flattered him with this hope, in order to interest him in his cause, and thereby conciliate the friendship of England towards him; and in spite of Wolsey's intelligence, he became a dupe to that prince, who was equally clever as himself.‡ Two popes died without any mention having been made of the English cardinal in the conclave, in which Charles possessed sufficient influence to have his preceptor appointed to the papal chair. Thenceforward Wolsey turned his thoughts upon revenge. He first gave his master to understand that policy required he should unite with Francis I., for his own safety against a prince who had become haughty from his conquests in Italy, and aspired to universal dominion, to which he was advancing with rapid strides. Henry was influenced to listen to the advice of his minister the more willingly, since having written to Charles V., after the battle of Pavia, to know how he should act, that prince, dazzled by his own good fortune, replied that, "he might remain tranquil, as the stag being secured in his toils, he had to hope only for a share of the skin." By this answer, Henry perceived that the emperor began already to disregard his alliance, and he therefore declared himself in favor of the holy league which had been made between Pope Clement VII., Francis I., and all the princes of Italy, the object of which was to prevent the emperor from getting possession of the duchy of Milan, and to check his progress in Italy.

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, p. 7, et seq.

† Joach. le Grand, ibid. tom. 1, p. 15, et seq. Abridg. of the Hist. of England, by an anonymous author at the Hague, in 1695. Higgins' Short View.

‡ Hist. of the Revolutions of England, reign of Henry VIII. Hist. of the Variations, book 7.

Wolsey was still dissatisfied. Not content with having gained his point respecting the interest of the crowned heads, he undertook a measure which he thought likely to give more personal uneasiness to the emperor. This was the celebrated divorce between Henry and his queen, (who was the maternal aunt of Charles,) under the pretext that this princess should not have been married to the two brothers; that the marriage was an incestuous one, and the dispensation which had been obtained was null and of no effect. He first brought over to his views Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, whom he found ready to believe all he wished upon that subject. He was indeed precisely the kind of character whom the cardinal should desire for forwarding his designs; being simple, scrupulous, and possessed of far more piety than penetration. He accompanied Wolsey to the king, and said to him, "that his marriage with Catherine gave universal scandal; that he considered himself, as his confessor, bound in conscience to apprize him of it, and to beg that he would have the subject investigated by the learned; that it was a duty he owed to himself, and to that love of justice which he had always testified.' This discourse produced some impression on the king's mind. Wolsey, delighted that Longland had broached the matter, proposed to Henry to break off his alliance with Catherine, and marry the duchess dowager d'Alencon, sister to Francis I. It was thus the cardinal, unintentionally, laid the foundation of the greatness of a girl who was to be one day the cause of his downfall. Anne Bullen was not ignorant of the king's passion for her. She counterfeited a virtuous character, and gave him no hope, but that of marrying her, should he succeed in the divorce proposed to him by the cardinal.

Henry was unable to resist the solicitations of his minister, the remonstrances of his confessor, and the pretended remorse of his own conscience, which reproached him with a marriage contrary to the laws of God. He commissioned some of his counsellors to examine its validity, and also a passage in Leviticus, wherein it is forbidden to marry the wife of a brother. These counsellors answered that Leviticus should be expounded by Deuteronomy. He then had recourse to some of the learned theologians in his own kingdom, and afterwards to those of other universities of Europe, some of whom were favorable to him. Lastly, he sent to Rome, begging very humbly that the pope would send him a judge competent to bring this important matter to an end.

Clement VII., who at the time filled the papal chair, had just escaped from the hands of Charles V., by whom he had been detained a prisoner. The holy see was already indebted to the zeal of the king of England, against the heresies that were springing up, and the pope in particular, to whom this monarch had rendered services during his captivity, was desirous of obliging him. Besides, the king of France supported Henry, by strong solicitations to the holy see. The pope had promised, that as soon as he should be free with the emperor, he would give to his benefactor all the satisfaction in his power; and he accordingly sent over Cardinal Campegio to investigate the matter with Cardinal Wolsey.

Before the plan of Henry's divorce was generally known, Francis I. sent Gabriel de Gramond, bishop of Tarbres, the Viscount de Turenne, and Le Viste, first president of Paris and Brittany, as ambassadors to England.* They had orders to conclude a lasting peace between the two crowns, and to ask the Princess Mary, only daughter and heiress of Henry VIII., in marriage, either for the King Francis I., or the duke of Orleans, his second son. The basis of a peace and an alliance with the Princess Mary were agreed upon The treaty was signed in the month of April; and on Sunday the 5th of May the ambassadors had a farewell audience at Hampton court, where they were magnificently entertained. It is affirmed that on that day the bishop of Tarbes, urged on, no doubt, by the importunate Wolsey, said to the king, that learned men condemned his marriage with Catherine, and that his conscience and salvation required that it should be examined into; but it may be supposed that Protestant writers had their own views in speaking thus of that prelate.

Cardinal Campegio, whom the pope had nominated, in conjunction with Cardinal Wolsey, to investigate the project of the divorce, having received his instructions from his holiness, arrived in England in the beginning of October.

The king appointed, by letters patent, Richard Sampson, the dean of his chapel, and John Bell, a doctor of law, as his advocates and pleaders; to whom are also added Peter and Trigonel. The queen had already chosen William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and some doctors of law, besides John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, and doctor in theology, and others, according to the permission which had been previously granted to her. On the 18th of the same month, Sampson and Bell presented the commission which the king had given them to act in his name; but the queen herself appearing, declared that she could not acknowledge the legates to be her judges, and demanded the act of her protest. Campegio then adjourned their sitting to the 21st, on which day the king and queen both appeared. When they were called, the king answered; but the queen, not wishing to reply, threw herself at the king's feet, and said in the presence of the people by whom he was surrounded, "that she besought him to have mercy on her; that she only asked for justice; that she was a poor stranger, far from her relatives and friends; that she dared not follow either her own judgment or the advice of her lawyers; that she took God to be her witness, whether she were not his real wife; that she had been always faithful to him; that during more than twenty years of marriage she had been as attached to him as woman could be to her husband; that she knew not how she could have merited his displeasure; that he knew well, if he would but speak according to his conscience, that he had found her a virgin at her marriage; that she consented to be expelled with infamy, if what she advanced were not true; that their parents, who were wise princes, had not concluded on their marriage without proper investigation; that among all the able characters by whom they were surrounded, none had noticed the protests which were now sought after; that as to herself, she could not discover how her marriage could be called into doubt; that indeed she had been permitted to have counsel, but she could repose no confidence in them; that her lawyers and judges were the king's subjects; that she could not acknowledge the authority of the legates; that, in fine, every thing was to her an object of suspicion: she therefore besought the king that he would postpone the proceedings till she would hear from Spain; and that if he refused her that favor, he might act as he thought proper." She then arose, and respectfully retired. She was again called, but would not return. The whole assembly was moved by her discourse. The king himself appeared affected, and when she had withdrawn, said, "that he had no complaints to advance against her; that he was satisfied with her conduct; and that her virtue could not be sufficiently admired. He declared, likewise, that he would continue willingly to live with her, if his conscience would permit him."

* Le Grand, ibid. page 47.

The divorce question was frequently debated without any thing being concluded on. The king, therefore, sent for the two cardinals, in order that they may induce the queen to leave the matter to his own decision. They immediately repaired to her, and found her working with her female attendants. When she heard Wolsey addressing her, and continuing to speak, "I see clearly," said she, "that you have come here to debate on matters which surpass my capacity." Then showing a skein of silk which hung upon her neck, "Behold," she continued, "what I am capable of, and what is my sole occupation." Wolsey entreated her, through kindness for the king, not to await the result of a lawsuit, the issue of which could not be favorable to her. "I do not know (replied the queen) who has advised the king to act as he is now doing. I confess, cardinal, that it is you whom I blame for it. Our parents, who were wise princes, had our marriage previously investigated, and obtained from the pope a dispensation for it, of which I hold the original. The king and I have lived for almost eighteen years together, during which no censure has been cast upon us. Your pride, however, I cannot approve of; your debaucheries, your tyranny, and insolence, I have spoken of. Through the influence of my nephew, the emperor, you have failed in being appointed pope, which is the source of all my misfortunes; since in order to be revenged, you have not been content with kindling a war throughout all Europe, but have been likewise the secret spring and cause of all my misfortunes. Every thing that I suffer, cardinal, from this disgrace, is known to God, who will be your judge and mine." Wolsey wished to reply, but she would not hear him. Campegio she treated with politeness, but protested that she never would acknowledge either one or the other as her judges, and would continue in the line of conduct she had adopted. After the sitting of the 21st of June, she refused to appear before the legates. A judgment by default was obtained against her on the 25th, and the examination of the witnesses was commenced.

During the taking of the informations, the sittings were not discontinued, but were, however, frequently adjourned. The ministers of Charles V. and of Ferdinand demanded that the matter should be brought to a higher tribunal. The pope, who still feared to irritate Henry, postponed the subject as long as it was possible; but being at length unable to refuse any longer a request that was so just, he informed that prince, in a letter dated the 9th of July, of his intentions, and without waiting for an answer signed the evocation, of which he informed him and Cardinal Wolsey on the 19th.

As soon as intelligence was received from Rome that the cause had been transferred to another tribunal, the king went to Grafton with Anne Bullen, where Campegio had an audience previous to his departure.

Wolsey began already to feel the effects of his impending disgrace. There were different cabals in the court, all of which tended to his downfall. Those who were attached to the queen, considered him as the author of her ruin. The relatives and partisans of Anne Bullen were convinced that his presence at court was inauspicious to their advancement. The courtiers themselves, who had neither God nor any other object in view than the will of their prince, appeared to be the cardinal's most determined opposers; and even his own creatures for the most part abandoned him, and admitted his guilt, when they found that his downfall had commenced. Anne Bullen was minutely informed of every crime he had committed during the fifteen years that he ruled the state with absolute power; all which she communicated to the king, who listened to her with pleasure. Orders were dispatched on the 22d of October to Wolsey, to quit York palace, at present called Whitehall, and the usual residence of the kings of England. He was sent eight leagues from London, to a place called Asher. All his furniture and papers were also seized, by which conduct his enemies deprived him of the means of defending himself. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were at that time heads of the council, went to him to demand the great seal; but this he refused to surrender without an express order from the king. As there was no difficulty in obtaining this, the cardinal only deferred his resignation of it for a day or two. Sir Thomas More, who was, both in principle and integrity of life, the first man then in England, was raised to the dignity of lord chancellor.

The parliament met in London, on the third of November, and was immediately adjourned to Westminster. It seemed as if it were convened only for the destruction of Wolsey, so determined were his enemies against him. They presented a petition to the king, containing many points of accusation, and threatened to condemn him as guilty of high treason; but his cause was ably defended by his servant, Thomas Cromwell, a member of the parliament. They

then dismissed the accusations of high treason against him, but he was arraigned under the law of *præmunire*, and declared to be out of the king's protection. His property was confiscated, and his arrest was even spoken of.

Several members of parliament were attached to the new doctrine, and laws were enacted against the clergy, under pretext of their exactions, which were considerably exaggerated, in order to make them appear contemptible in the eyes of the people, whose minds were thus prepared by degrees for the supposed reformation that had been already projected.

The cardinal experienced very severe treatment in the place to which he had retired; being left without clothes, linen, plate, or money, and so destitute of every thing, that were it not for the bishop of Carlisle, he must have perished from hunger and distress. Having fallen sick at Asher, the king, who had still some consideration for him, permitted him to go to Richmond for change of air; but his enemies, who were jealous of his being so near the court, importuned Henry so strongly, that he gave orders to have him removed to his archbishopric of York. Fresh complaints being made to the king, who was accustomed to yield to his flatterers, he ordered Sir Walter Walsh, his private chaplain, and the earl of Northumberland, to arrest him. This last stroke was too heavy for Wolsey to bear. The shock and surprise were so powerful, that a dysentery ensued, by which his constitution was soon shattered. He however set out, but his disease increasing, he was forced to stop at Leicester abbey, where he died, and was interred the week after his arrival, A. D. 1531.

The cardinal's death was the commencement of a violent persecution against the clergy. The parliament, which had been so frequently prorogued, met in the month of January. The clergy were accused of having incurred the penalty of the law of *præmunire*, and immediate submission to the king, together with the payment of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, were made the sole conditions on which he granted them his pardon.

When Campegio arrived in England with the pope's sanction for having the subject of the divorce investigated, no means were left untried to obtain the decision of the several universities, or the learned men in France and England, in its favor.* It is well known what bribes, threats, and sums of money were lavished by Fox, Henry's almoner, and Gardiner, secretary of state, in both the English universities, namely, Cambridge and Oxford, to gain their approval of the divorce. The English began now to murmur loudly, and it was publicly declared, that in spite of whatever might be decided upon, he who married the princess Mary should be king of England. Similar sentiments were entertained by the nobles, who, though they did not express themselves so freely, did not think the less on that account. The theologians and legislators were as unfavorable to Henry as his other subjects. No one could be found to write in favor of the divorce.

John du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, and afterwards of Paris, and subsequently a cardinal, was sent to England to negotiate affairs with Henry VIII. As he was partial to the divorce, he could not fail of being well received by the prince. He was therefore commissioned to conciliate the French theologians in favor of Henry, and for that purpose returned to France. He first brought the university of Orleans to publish a declaration against the marriage of Catherine of Aragon, which example was followed, in a few months, by the university of Toulouse.

The same facility was not to be met with in every place.* The question produced a great noise among the theologians in Paris. Recourse was first had to some doctors who were easily bribed, and who promised to do every thing that could be desired. Among these was master Gervais, a man devoted to those who sought for the divorce, and anxious also to advance himself at court, and thereby to make his fortune. Doctor Noel Beda, a steady man, and possessing great merit, throughout opposed the king of England, for which he was at length driven into exile. No question was ever debated so strongly in the university of Paris, as this. The king of England honored the theologians so far as to write to them with his own hand on the subject; while his ambassadors expended large sums of money, seeking and even begging for suffrages from door to door. A meeting was at length convened; one party yielded to Henry in every thing that he wished, while another declared that they could not deliberate upon the subject, till they would first write to the pope, who had already forbidden any one to interfere in a matter of such moment. A third party was then formed, which was desirous of writing to both the king and the pope, and in the meanwhile the deliberations were continued

* Joachim le Grand, p. 17, et seq.

* Le Grand, ibid page 175

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When the votes, however, were being collected, one doctor, more violent than the others, rose up, and having torn the minutes from the hands of the recorder, destroyed them, and declared that the greater part would not continue any longer in their discussions upon the subject. The assembly was hereby thrown into confusion, and consequently broken up. Other meetings were afterwards held. The faculty prohibited the doctors from coming to any conclusion respecting the divorce. The division that prevailed being caused by these men, who, on account of the favors which they hoped to receive from the king, always avowed themselves favorable to Henry, so that nothing could be decided upon.

Among the doctors of the university of Angers, the ferment was equally great as in Paris. The faculties of theology and law differed so widely, that both came to opposite conclusions on the same day. The faculty of law supported the pretensions of Henry VIII., and care was taken to make the decision public. But as the theologians were opposed to him in opinion, their decree was carefully suppressed, though it was subsequently published by Joachim le Grand. The same want of union seems to have prevailed in the university of Bourges. It has never been ascertained what decisions the universities of Pavia and Bologna came to upon the subject of Henry's divorce. It is, however, generally said, that he owed to his authority, to his money, and to the intrigues of Du Bellay, all the boasted sanctions of the universities.

Henry VIII., having forced from the English and French academies decisions favorable to his cause, sent some noblemen to the queen about the end of May, to inform her of these results, and to induce her to withdraw her appeal, and submit her interests to the arbitration of four bishops and four noblemen, in order that the matter might be set at rest, and tranquillity restored to the king's mind.* The queen replied as before, that she was the king's wife; that she would persist in her appeal, and would consent to nothing without the advice of her nephew the emperor, and also that of the pope, who was the best judge of her rights.

The queen's resolution irritated Henry; however, he dissembled for some time, and went with her to Windsor, where he remained till the 14th of July; when he left her, and proceeded to Woodstock. After some time, she repaired to Easthamstead, which was the commencement of their separation. The king again sent several noblemen to exhort her to conform to the law of God, by withdrawing her pretensions, and to inform her, in his name, that if she still persisted in her determination, she might choose between Oking, Easthamstead, and the monastery of Bisham, where she should thenceforward reside, and not annoy him more by her proceedings.

God at length permitted that Henry should meet no further opposition to his will. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, one of the greatest men that England ever produced, died at this time. All the flatterers about the court, who were interested in the success of Henry's wicked intentions, were rejoiced at the death of so wise a prelate. He was succeeded by Cranmer; and as the latter had a greater share than any other in the pretended reformation of the church of England, it is necessary to make his character known.

Parker, Fox, and Burnet think that Cranmer was a man of noble rank, though others, by whom he ought to be better known, do not agree with them. However, if he were not, he ought to have been, as those who are raised by fortune seldom want the means of becoming ennobled. All that is known with certainty of him is, that he was professor in the university of Cambridge; that he was expelled for having married; and that he was one of the first who wrote in favor of the divorce. From the year 1529, Cranmer placed himself at the head of the party who wished for Catherine's separation, and the marriage upon which the king was determined with Anne Bullen. In 1530 he wrote a book against the validity of Catherine's marriage, and it may be readily inferred what pleasure this must have afforded to a prince, whose predominant passions were thereby defended. He was from this time looked on as a favorite at court, and considered likely to succeed Cardinal Wolsey in influence. Cranmer had already adopted the principles of Luther, and was, according to Burnet, the most esteemed of all those who had embraced them. Heretics generally admire those who adopt their own opinions, and bestow upon them the character of good men, how depraved soever they may be in their morals. Anne Bullen, continues Burnet, had also imbibed a tincture of the same doctrine. He makes it appear, too, that she was quite attached to the opinions of those who were called reformers. Every one, continues he, of the same party, had declared in favor of the divorce. Herein is discovered the secret connection between Cran

* Heylin, ibid. page 176. Baker's Chron. of Engl. p. 281.

mer, his adherents, and Henry's mistress, and the foundation of the influence of this new confidant, as also the commencement of the English reformation. The unhappy prince, who knew nothing of their machinations, or the objects they had in view, united himself by degrees to the enemies of the faith which he had before so ably defended, and entering unconsciously into their secret plots, forwarded thereby their projects for destroying it.

Cranmer was sent to Rome to support the divorce question, and while there, concealed his errors so ably, that the pope made him his penitentiary, which proves that he was a priest; and although a Lutheran, he accepted that office from his holiness. From Rome he went to Germany, in order to secure the friendship of his trusty friends, the Protestants. It was there that he married the sister of Osiander, after having first seduced her. While there it also was that the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant by the death of Warham, as we have already mentioned. The king of England, from whom Cranmer's marriage had been concealed, appointed him to that see, which he accepted, and the pope, who imagined that his only fault lay in supporting the invalidity of Henry's marriage, a question which was then undecided, gave him his bulls. Cranmer received them, and did not hesitate to stain his reputation by receiving, as his party expressed themselves, "*the mark of the beast.*"

Had the pretended reformation of religion been confined to England alone, this long digression might appear foreign to the history of Ireland; but as its unhappy effects have been but too sensibly felt in this country, it has been thought necessary to reveal its source, and make the principal actors in it known to the world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The earl of Kildare having been appointed deputy for the English province in Ireland, in the place of Skeffington, repaired to Dublin in August, 1552, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants;* and after taking the usual oath, received the sword of office from his predecessor. John Alan, or Allen, one of Cardinal Wolsey's favorites, was, at the time, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland: but the deputy, who belonged to the opposite faction, had George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in his place, which increased the hatred that already prevailed between him and Alan. In order to counterbalance Kildare's authority, the court nominated James Butler, son of the earl of Ossory, treasurer. This nobleman, through the deputy's nephew, was nevertheless his enemy, having always espoused the quarrels of his father, the earl of Ossory, against him.

The earl of Kildare finding himself at the head of the government in Ireland, began to look upon his enemies with contempt. To strengthen his party, he formed an alliance with two of the most powerful of the Irish nobility, who were implacable enemies to the dominion of the English; namely, O'Connor Faly and Fear-Gan-Ainim O'Carroll, to whom he gave his two daughters in marriage. Supported by these new alliances, he declared war against the earl of Ossory, devastated his estates, and those of his friends, and carried off considerable spoil. Conn O'Neill, and his brother John Fitzgerald, after this made incursions into the county of Louth, burned the possessions of the English, and carried off their cattle without any opposition. The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin in 1533, in which regulations were made relative to the government. The dispute for pre-eminence, so frequently renewed between the primate of Armagh and the archbishop of Dublin, was decided by this parliament in favor of the former.

The parliament having been prorogued, Kildare marched at the head of his forces to support the pretensions of Fear-Gan-Ainim, or Nehemias O'Carrol, his son-in-law.* The latter had taken possession of the lordship of Eile, on the death of his brother, in virtue of the law called Tanistry;† but the son of the deceased, a young nobleman capable of governing and commanding, considered it his duty to support his birthright against his uncle. For this purpose he collected all his vassals, and took possession of Birr, the principal town in the district. He was there besieged by the deputy; but that general, having been wounded in the head by a musket-ball, the effects of which he felt throughout life, soon abandoned the enterprise. It is said that a soldier, who was beside him, hearing him complain, said, "Why do you groan, my lord? I have received three gun-

* War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 24.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 25.

† This law will be hereafter explained.

shot wounds in my body, and I am now perfectly well." "Would to God," replied the earl, "that you had received the fourth instead of me."

Henry VIII. was continually sending his agents to Rome to endeavor to procure the divorce, without giving them credentials for that purpose.* The pope, who was aware of the manner in which the king of England was acting, commanded him by letter to send away his mistress and take back his wife; and in case that he disobeyed, ordered him to appear at Rome with Anne Bullen, to answer for the scandal they had caused, by living together as man and wife, in contempt of the censures of the church. The pope concluded by observing, that it was a matter of deep regret to him to find himself obliged to have recourse to such measures; that if it were only his own private interest that was concerned, he would gladly submit it to his own decision; but that, as the glory of God, his own conscience, and the honor of a virtuous princess loaded with ignominy, after twenty years marriage, were now at stake, he was compelled, in spite of himself, to have recourse to these measures. This letter produced no better effect than the others. The evil increased every day, and it was soon discovered that Henry wished to break with the court of Rome, and separate himself from its communion.

The parliament having assembled in the beginning of the year, fresh attacks were projected against the clergy and the pope. The commons, who were accustomed to complain of the ecclesiastics, accused them in their writings to Henry, but he did not think prudent to listen to them. They complained of the immense sums drawn by the popes from England, as first-fruits, provisions for benefices, bulls, and various other things of the same character, as being all contrary to English freedom.

Henry, in the mean time, gave himself up to his passions. The longer the pope deferred the divorce question, the more his passion for Anne Bullen increased. In order to prove his affection for her, he created her marchioness of Pembroke, by letters patent dated the 15th of September, 1532, and assigned her one thousand pounds sterling a year, which was a considerable sum at that time, to support her dignity.†

Henry, who could not bear the absence of the new marchioness, brought her to Calais in the month of October, to be present at an interview which he had at Boulogne with Francis I., and on his return to England, married her secretly on the 14th of Nov., though the sentence of the divorce between him and Catherine was not yet pronounced. Roland Lee, who was afterwards bishop of Lichfield, performed the marriage ceremony; the king having assured him that the pope permitted him to leave Catherine, and take another wife, provided he would marry in private, and without witnesses, in order to avoid giving scandal.

After a few months, the marchioness being in a state of pregnancy, the marriage could not be concealed longer.* Cranmer labored to have the king's divorce from Catherine sanctioned by the parliament. Every law that had been previously enacted against the popes, was re-enacted by this assembly. It was prohibited to appeal to Rome on any subject concerning England, as that kingdom should not submit to the regulations of any foreign power, in either spiritual or temporal affairs; and that, therefore, all ecclesiastical matters, on which appeals had been till then made to the court of Rome, should be finally determined in England, through an appeal from the commissioner to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and from him to the king: that whatever excommunications might arrive from Rome, the divine service should be nevertheless celebrated, and the sacraments administered;† and if difficulties were interposed by any of the clergy, they should be condemned to one year's imprisonment, and a fine to be paid, according to the king's pleasure; and that those who violated these acts should incur the penalties of the law of *præmunire*. Lastly, it was concluded that matters respecting the king's interest should be adjusted by a sovereign convocation of the clergy.

This was the prelude to the ecclesiastical authority which Henry afterwards assumed to himself, and in which he was confirmed by an act passed in the same parliament, entitled "an act to extinguish the authority of the bishop of Rome."

In the mean time, Cranmer, whom the king had purposely raised to the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury, undertook what

* Sanders, de Schis. Anglic. p. 62. Le Grand, History of the Divorce, pp. 219, 235.

† Heylin, Hist. of the Revolution, p. 176. Baker, Chron. Reign of Henry VIII. p. 281.

* Protestant writers call her Queen Anne while Catherine was still alive, and before the sentence of divorce had been pronounced. None but a lawful wife could assume that title.

† Heretics always make it a practice to prepare the minds of the faithful to despise excommunication, which is the only weapon used by the church to repress their audacity.

the pope had not dared to do. Being invested with authority by Henry VIII., who was now declared to be supreme head of the English church, he removed to Dunstable in the beginning of May, accompanied by the bishops of London, Winchester, Wells, and Lincoln, and attended by some officers of justice, where they established a sort of tribunal, to which Catherine of Aragon was summoned, to be heard on the subject of her marriage with the king. The queen, however, who still adhered to her first resolution, which was, to acknowledge no tribunal but that of Rome, or no judge but the pope, having refused to appear, was condemned for contumacy. The sentence of divorce was then pronounced, and her marriage with the king declared to be null. This decision was confirmed by the parliament, which deprived this princess of the rank of queen, and decreed that she should thenceforward be called princess dowager, as being only he widow of Prince Arthur. It was enacted by the same parliament, that it was lawful for the king to marry a second time.

Every thing being thus arranged, the marchioness of Pembroke was solemnly crowned at Whitehall, with the usual ceremonies, and with the title of queen. In a few months after this, the celebrated Elizabeth was born, the unhappy offspring of lust and discord; and was subsequently queen of England.

The parliament continued their endeavors, by order of the king, to annihilate the pope's authority in England. Every day some bishop mounted the pulpit in St. Paul's, and preached to the people that the bishop of Rome had no more power in the kingdom, than any other bishop out of his own diocese. The English had been prepared for this change for some years before, so that the king found but little opposition to his wishes in the two houses of parliament. It was therefore decreed that nothing more should be referred after this to the court of Rome; but that all cases wherein an appeal had been made to the pope, should be hereafter finally settled by the king and his council. The king's second marriage was confirmed, and the former having been declared null, it was enacted that the children born of that alliance could not inherit from their father, and should be therefore considered illegitimate; that the male children whom the king might have by Anne Bullen, should succeed to the crown, and that, in the event of having no male issue, the daughters should succeed; so that the Princess Mary was disinherited, and Elizabeth declared heiress to the crown. But this law was continued only as long as the king's passion lasted for Anne Bullen, and the offspring of Henry's connection with her was afterwards dealt with as severely as the Princess Mary; the parliament following no other rule in making or rescinding laws, than the caprices of the prince.

A conspiracy was formed about the year 1533, against the earl of Kildare, deputy of Ireland, which proved fatal to this nobleman and his whole family.* This earl had many enemies. He had supplanted Skeffington in the government of Ireland, and deprived Alan, or Allen, archbishop of Dublin, of the office of chancellor, to confer it on another The earl of Ossory was his brother-in-law, but not his friend, and the spirit of jealousy which had long existed between the houses of Butler and Fitzgerald, was not forgotten by the present chiefs of them. These three noblemen conspired against Kildare, and soon drew others into their party.

John Allen, a creature of the ex-chancellor, who was secretary to the council, and afterwards master of the rolls, was sent to England by the council, to inform the king of the state of the English province, and the abuses which required reformation. He was commissioned to represent to his majesty that every thing in the province was in a state of decline; that the order which had been established, as well as the language and mode of dress which had been ordained, were neglected; and lastly, that the English laws were not in force for more than about a circuit of twenty miles. He was also ordered to make known to the king and his council, that these abuses proceeded from the great power of some nobles to whom the government was intrusted, the frequent change of deputies, and the making over of the crown lands, by which the revenues intended to support the state were considerably diminished. Allen acquitted himself so well of his commission, that the king sent an order to the deputy to repair to England, to account for his conduct, and to answer for the crimes of which he stood accused.

Kildare dreading the consequences, sought means to delay his voyage. He sent his countess to England, to prevail upon her relatives and friends to solicit the king to countermand the order, under pretext that her husband's absence might produce dangerous results in the present state of affairs in Ireland. But the enemies of the earl having informed the king and council of England of his attempts, the appeal was rejected. He determined then to risk all,

* Ware, ibid. cap. 25.

and to proceed. Previous, however, to his departure, he caused his castles of Maynooth and Ley, and other places which belonged to him, to be provided with arms and ammunition of all sorts from the king's stores.

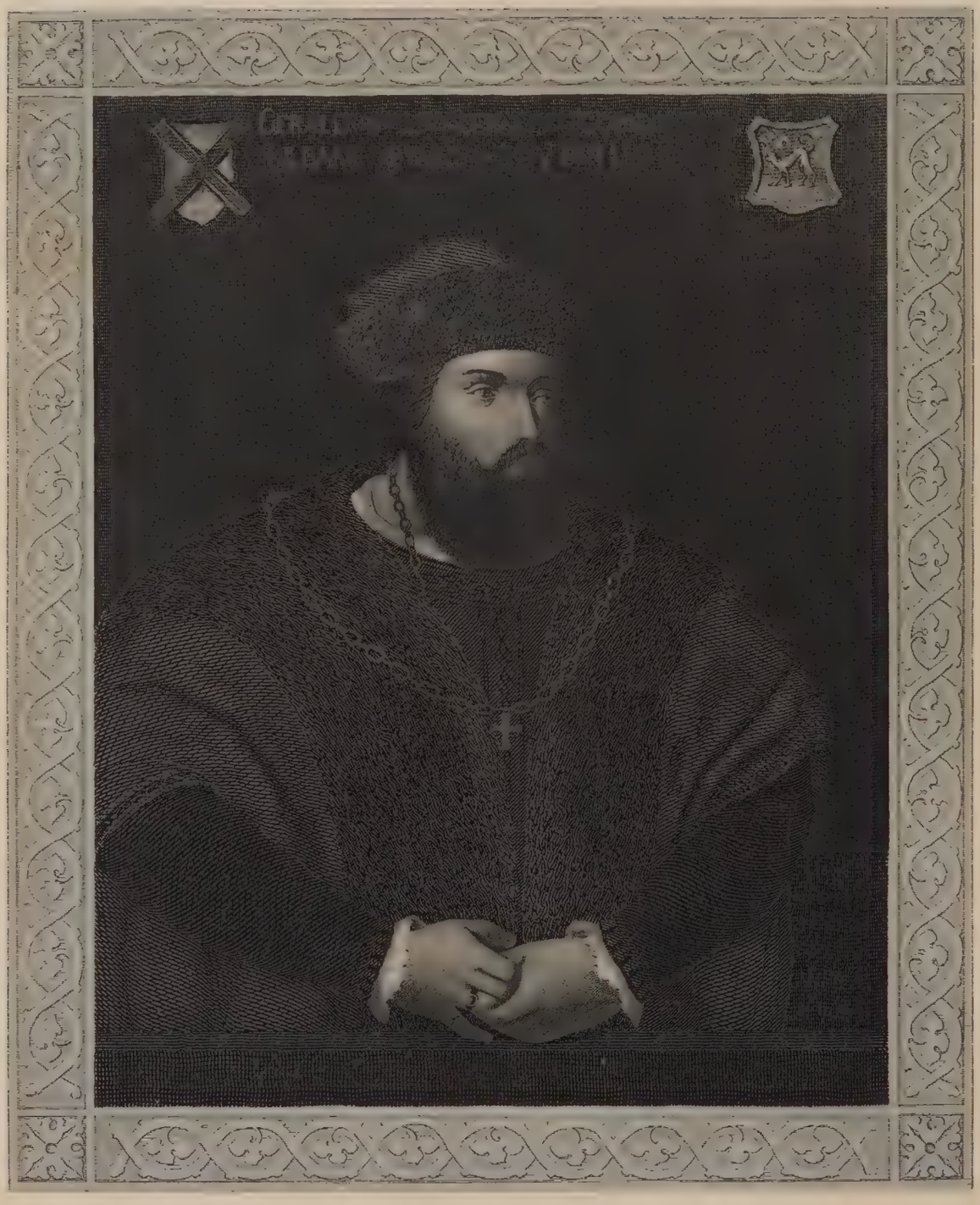
The deputy prepared for his voyage to England in the spring of 1534; having, before he set out, nominated his son, Thomas Fitzgerald, deputy in his stead, according to the orders he had received from the king, to give the administration of affairs during his absence to one for whom he should be responsible.* The vice-deputy was a young man about twenty-one, impetuous, and without the experience requisite for so important a trust. The father, when giving him the sword of justice, made a very impressive discourse to him, in presence of the council, at Drogheda. It is quoted by Hollingshed, and is in substance as follows:

"You know, my son, that my sovereign lord, the king, has commanded me to repair to England. I am ignorant of what may arise to me; God alone knows; but whatever may occur, you are as well aware as I am, that my years are far advanced, and that, being a mortal, death may at any time befall me; and that it will necessarily come soon, from my advanced age. As my winter therefore is drawing to a close, and you are only in the spring of life, it is my wish that you conduct yourself in youth with such prudence that you may enjoy the pleasures of your summer to the satisfaction of your friends; gather the fruits of your autumn, and attain with honor the winter of your career, to which you see I am fast approaching. Since it is his majesty's will that I should appoint a substitute, for whom I shall be responsible, I may be, perhaps, blamed for having placed a naked sword in the hands of so young a man, whose opinions are not yet matured, nor his judgment formed: however, I flatter myself, that, as being your father, I shall have sufficient authority to command you in the government of affairs, and to reprehend you as my son, should this become necessary. . . . . Remember, likewise, my son, that it is easier to pull down than to build up: be guided therefore in every thing by the wisdom of your council. Though you have the authority of governing others, you must act under their advice." He concluded by presenting his son with the sword, whereupon he took leave, with tears in his eyes, of the whole assembly, and sailed immediately for England, where, on his arrival, he was sent to the tower by orders of the king.

* Cox, History of Ireland, page 226.

The enemies of the Fitzgeralds were not sufficiently revenged by the earl's disgrace; they wished to drag his son and all his family into the same ruin. For this purpose, a report was spread that the earl of Kildare had been beheaded in the tower, and that his son, the deputy, with his uncles and brothers, should soon undergo a similar fate. There were even letters published confirming the report. One of these letters having accidentally fallen into the hands of James de la Hide, the head of the deputy's council, this favorite made him form an alliance with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other Irish noblemen, in order to strengthen his party, and enable him to await the event.

It may be readily imagined that a young nobleman in the flower of youth, could easily be led on the one side by a passion, which inspired revenge for the death of a father by whom he was beloved; and on the other, by apprehension for his own safety, and that of his whole family, who were to be sacrificed to the envy of their enemies. Filled with these ideas, the deputy put himself at the head of one hundred and forty horsemen, well armed, and mounted. With these he crossed the city of Dublin, and stopping at the abbey of Our Lady, where the council was assembled, he posted his troops around the convent, which he entered, and took his seat among the council. He was followed by some of his horsemen, who entered the hall in a tumultuous manner, making a great noise; but silence being ordered, the deputy addressed the meeting, and surrendered the sword of justice, and other attributes of his office; declaimed strongly against the injuries which he and his family sustained, notwithstanding the important services they had rendered to the state; declared that the sword no longer belonged to him; that he was no longer the king's deputy, but his open enemy; and that he had resolved to make him feel for his tyranny and cruelties. He then presented the sword to Cromer, the chancellor. The latter, with tears in his eyes, used every possible argument to dissuade the vice-deputy from an enterprise, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him and his family; and represented to him that the name of a king is sacred, while that of a rebel was odious. Fitzgerald told the chancellor in reply, that he did not go there to ask his advice on what he should do, but to inform him of his intentions; and then withdrew from the assembly, and placed himself at the head of his forces. Thomas Fitzgerald having thus raised the standard of revolt, proceeded to strengthen his party. He was first joined by the other



branches of his family, who were numerous and powerful; and he was also seconded by some Irish lords. The rebellion was now becoming general, particularly in the neighborhood of Dublin. The O'Tools and other Irish seized the opportunity of plundering the territory of Fingal, which was considered the granary of the city; in which they were encouraged by John Burnel, an English gentleman, who was favorable to the rebellion. Being loaded with booty, they were attacked in their retreat near Kilmainham, by a considerable body of the inhabitants of Dublin, who, however, were soon put to flight, leaving eighty men dead upon the spot; the rest were fortunate to effect their escape into the city.

During these troubles several of the king's subjects returned to England. Others sought an asylum in the castle of Dublin; among whom were Allen, archbishop of the city, and Finglasse, chief baron of the exchequer.* Fitzgerald wishing to profit by the consternation which prevailed everywhere, threatened to besiege the citizens. He sent orders to them to remain neuter if they wished to be spared, informing them that he only intended to lay siege to the castle. Francis Herbert, one of the sheriffs, was immediately dispatched to England to inform the king of the rebellion that had broken out; while the other sheriff, John Fitzsimons, undertook to provide the castle with provisions, and all kinds of ammunition necessary to maintain a defence. The unfortunate archbishop, alarmed by these preparations, and dreading the consequences of a siege commanded by his enemy, resolved to escape during the night through one of the city gates, being determined to cross over to England; but the vessel having stranded at Clontarf, on leaving the harbor, he was obliged to retire to a village called Tartain, where he was surprised early in the morning by Fitzgerald, his two uncles, John and Oliver, Sir James de la Hide, and others of their partisans. The prelate was dragged from his bed without clothes, shoes, or hat, by John Teling and Nicholas Wafer. Fitzgerald, moved with compassion, said to them in the Irish language, "*Berwoem a boddagh*,"—that is, "Take the boor out of my presence,"—intimating, apparently, to have him sent to prison. But these iniquitous servants, misinterpreting their master's orders, dashed the archbishop's brains out in his presence. Such was the tragical end of this prelate, who had been the principal tool made use of by Cardinal Wolsey, some time before, in the destruction of forty monasteries in England. This conduct was looked upon, according to Godwin, bishop of Hereford, in his life of Henry VIII., as the Tolosan, or fatal gold,* that brought misfortune on those who possessed it.† The see of Dublin was occupied by George Brown after the death of Allen.

Thomas Fitzgerald did not lose sight of the siege he had projected. He first made prisoners of the baron of Howth, and Luttrel, chief-justice of the court of common pleas, whom he suspected; and then, on the faith of the neutrality which the inhabitants agreed to observe, sent Captains James Field of Lusk, Teling, Wafer, Broad, Rouks, and Purcel, each at the head of a hundred men, to invest the castle. This little army having planted some pieces of cannon, encamped before the place.

Thomas having given his orders for the siege, turned his views to another quarter. Being desirous of gaining over young Butler, his cousin, eldest son of the earl of Ossory, he endeavored by his correspondence to inspire him with the same rebellious opinions which actuated himself; but this young nobleman having refused to enter into any conspiracy against the king, Fitzgerald, accompanied by O'Neill, Sir Richard Walsh, Burnel of Bally-Griffin, and other allies, made an incursion into the county of Kilkenny, where he burned and laid waste the country as far as Thomas-town, on the river Nore. The earl of Ossory was at Jeripont with his forces; and while they were consulting upon what plans they should adopt, they were attacked by the enemy, and put to flight. Young Butler was wounded in this engagement; and had only time to retreat to Dunmore, where he was cured of his wounds. The conqueror then made the inhabitants of the English province take an oath of fidelity to him, and confined all those who refused to do so, in his castle of Maynooth.

Fitzgerald, desirous of procuring foreign alliances, had recourse to Charles V., and the pope, who could not continue friends to Henry, in consequence of the divorce and schism.‡ He sent Charles Reynolds, arch-

* Ware, de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

* This manner of expression is derived from the ancient Tectosages, who, being enriched with the spoils of the temples of the gods, and some eastern nations, returned to Toulouse, which was their country. They were afterwards destroyed by a dreadful plague, which lasted till they had thrown all their unjustly-acquired treasures into a lake.

† "Which matter, (as some think,) altnough Tolosan gold, brought destruction and very great calamities upon all who had touched it."

‡ Cox, ibid.

deacon of Kells, and Dominick Poer, as ambassadors ; the former to Paul III., and the latter to the emperor, to solicit their assistance. Poer was intrusted with a present for the emperor, which consisted of twelve falcons, and fourteen horses, called hobbies. This embassy, however, was of no avail.

In the mean time, Herbert, who had been dispatched to England by the citizens of Dublin, to inform the king of the rebellion in Ireland, and receive his commands on that subject, returned. The king commissioned him to exhort the inhabitants to make a vigorous defence, and that he would send them immediate assistance. The citizens hereupon held a meeting to deliberate on what should be done ; and it was determined by the greater number of votes, that there was no obligation to keep faith with a traitor, and that the treaty made with Fitzgerald was of no effect. They gave orders, therefore, to have the gates of the city closed, and the besiegers of the castle arrested. Captain Field, who commanded the siege, being informed of their design, thought only of saving his army ; part of which swam across the river, but the rest were made prisoners.

Fitzgerald, who was still in the county of Kilkenny, on receiving an account of what had occurred in Dublin, summoned the inhabitants of the English province to join him with all their forces near Dublin. Having arrived within a short distance of the city, he deputed Doctor Traverse, Peter Linch, lord of Knock, in the county of Meath, and Oliver Grace, to complain to the inhabitants of the infraction of the treaty which had been concluded with them, and to demand the renewal of it, or at least that they would set the prisoners at liberty. This general having received an answer that did not please him, began the attack upon the castle, on the side of Sheep-street ; but being unable to bear the incessant fire from within, which burned the houses around him, he was forced to change his position. He caused the course of the river which supplied the city with water, to be turned. He then posted himself at Thomas-court, where he pulled down the street, and constructed a gallery to shelter his troops. He also burned the new street, and planted a cannon opposite to Newgate, which did considerable damage. Richard Staunton, jailer of Newgate, killed several of the besiegers from the loop-holes in that building. But as the besiegers, wishing to shorten the labor, were bringing fagots to set fire to the gate, and by that means to effect an entrance into the city, the besieged reported in the enemy's camp that a large body of English had just landed, and were going to make a general sally. This the citizens performed with such vigor that the besiegers, thinking their numbers to have been increased, dispersed immediately, leaving several of their men dead upon the spot, and abandoned their works. The general was obliged to conceal himself in the Franciscan convent, in Francis-street, till the next day, when he went to collect the remains of his army.

The earl of Kildare, Thomas Fitzgerald's father, who was confined in the tower of London, heard of the excesses which his son had been guilty of in Ireland, notwithstanding the wise counsels he had given him at his departure, and fell into such a state of melancholy, that he died in the month of September of this year. In the mean time, his son, having collected his forces, which had been scattered by the sally of the besieged, still pressed the city of Dublin ; but his artillery and ammunition failing him, he sent James de la Hide, and a few others, to propose terms of capitulation to the citizens. The conditions and hostages having been named and accepted on both sides, he raised the siege ; and after sending his artillery to Howth, he proceeded to Maynooth, to see if its castle were in a state of defence.

The king of England having been informed of the troubles caused by the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, appointed Sir William Skeffington deputy of Ireland for the second time. All those who had filled the high offices of trust, were replaced by men incapable of encouraging the rebels. John Barnewall, baron of Tremlestown, was nominated chancellor instead of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh ; Patrick Finglasse, lord-chief-justice of the king's bench ; Thomas Lutterel, chief-justice of the common pleas ; Gerald Aylmer, chief baron of the exchequer ; and William Brabazon, vice-treasurer. The above changes having been effected in the government, English troops were sent over. The first division, consisting of one hundred and eighty men, under the command of Musgrave and the two Mamertons, having landed at Howth, were attacked on the road to Dublin, near Clontarf, by Thomas Fitzgerald, at the head of two hundred horse ; he killed several of them, and sent the rest prisoners to the castle of Maynooth. He himself was, however, wounded in the conflict. Captain Rouks, his pirate, seized on their transport vessels at Howth, one of which was filled with fine English saddle horses, which he sent to his master. The Eglebees and Dacres landed shortly afterwards at Skerries, in the territory

of Fingal, with a body of cavalry. Sir William Brereton, accompanied by his son John, also arrived in Dublin with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and was followed by Captain Salisbury with two hundred archers.

The deputy, Skeffington, attended by Leonard Lord Grey, who was nominated marshal of Ireland, landed in Dublin in October, provided with every thing necessary to carry on the war. He was received with demonstrations of joy by the mayor and inhabitants. He presented them with letters from the king, thanking them for their loyalty, and then received the sword of justice from the chancellor, Baron Tremlestown. He immediately turned all his thoughts towards preparing for an expedition against Thomas Fitzgerald, who, by the death of his father, had become earl of Kildare. He caused this nobleman to be declared a traitor to the king and government; but was forced, from indisposition, and the approach of winter, to put off his enterprise against him till spring; and was also obliged to wait for further assistance in men and money from England, as Kildare had just renewed his alliance with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other lords of the country, and was still master of six fortified places, well provided with all kinds of warlike stores; namely, Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Catherlagh, Ley, and Athy, from which they made incursions, during the winter, on the inhabitants of the province.

The pope was well aware of the progress the schism was making in England, and the attempt (of a nature hitherto unheard of among Christians) of Henry VIII., who had declared himself head of the English church, both spiritual and temporal.* Francis I. was Henry's friend, and was interested for him, without, however, being a party to his madness. He solicited the pope, at the interview he had with him at Marseilles, to look favorably upon him,† to which his holiness seemed inclined; but when the ambassadors of Henry were called on to adjust the difficulties that existed, it appeared that they were invested with no specific authority. The surprise of Clement and Francis I. was great. The latter, however, who felt extreme compassion for the weaknesses of Henry, begged of the pope to wait the return of a courier whom they had dispatched to England to procure the power necessary for acting. The courier, however, brought no orders to the English ambassadors except that they should inform Clement, that neither the king their master, nor the archbishop of Canterbury, would acknowledge him to be their judge, and that they would appeal to a future council for what had been already done. This order was highly displeasing to Francis I., who complained of it to the English ambassadors; and told them, that notwithstanding the entreaties of their master to him to undertake to arrange the matter amicably, he clearly saw that he was opposed to any arrangement. The French monarch, however, did not yet abandon hope; he still endeavored to renew the negotiation between the pope and Henry, for which purpose he sent Du Bellay, bishop of Paris, to England, in December, invested with full powers Upon his being admitted to an audience in London, it was strongly debated whether the proposal for renewing the negotiation with Clement should be accepted, or all intercourse with the holy see broken off. The prelate, however, having proposed to go to Rome to negotiate the matter himself, the former plan was adopted. On his arrival there, he settled every thing to Henry's advantage; but this prince, who was incapable of acting honorably, only renewed his complaints against Francis, because he would not, like himself, break with the pope. Shortly afterwards, the bishop of Paris sent a list of the cardinals whom he thought he had gained over to Henry's favor; and the agents of the emperor and queen Catharine, as well as those of France and England, peremptorily demanding the trial of this celebrated suit, the pope could no longer defer it.

On Monday, the 23d of March, his holiness held a consistory, at which twenty-two cardinals were present.* The divorce question having been proposed, it was under discussion for a very short time only; every member, with the exception of Trivolce, Rodolphi, and Pesani, being of opinion, that the king of England should be obliged to take back Catherine, and to keep her as his lawful wife. The different opinions being then collected, the sentence was pronounced, by which the pope decided that having heard the report of James Simoneta, bishop of Pisaro, auditor of the sacred palace, and deputy of Paul Capisucchi, who was then absent, he, with the advice of the cardinals, condemned the proceedings of Henry as null and unjust, and commanded him to take back his wife Catherine, to live with her, declaring his marriage to be good and valid, and the children of such marriage to be legitimate. The pope forbid him also to con-

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, pp. 76, 77. Baker, Chron. page 280.

† Le Grand, Hist du Divorce, page 266, et seq.

* Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce, page 237.

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tinue the separation longer, and condemned him to pay all the costs of the suit.

It much afflicted the pope to have been forced to pronounce so absolute a sentence as the above. He expressed a desire to do every thing in his power to satisfy the king of England; and it was his wish not to grant the decision before Easter, though he had been required to do so without delay, by many of the cardinals. Clement found himself in the greatest dilemma; he could not deny justice to Catherine, without giving scandal to the whole of Christendom; and by condemning Henry, England must be lost to the church. He deferred, therefore, as long as he was able, coming to any decision upon this celebrated suit. When the sentence was pronounced, he spent the night in company with several divines, deliberating on what was best to be done in the unhappy conjuncture; but Henry's wicked disposition, which would not admit of any control, was stronger than the good-will of the pope. It is true, says Le Grand, that two days subsequent to the decision, a courier arrived, who declared that the king would submit to every thing; but it is difficult, he continues, to ascertain what were the powers with which he had been intrusted, or on what conditions Henry would resume his obedience to the church. It is even probable, adds our author, that he only made these advances in consequence of letters of the bishop of Paris, who might have written to him as he did to Francis I., that he had gained over many of the cardinals, and that most of those in the consistory would be favorable to his views, which proved to be erroneous. He therefore would have thought that he incurred no risk by submitting to every thing, when he expected that all would be in his favor. We discover here the injustice of the opinion generally entertained of Clement VII., who is accused of having been too hasty in pronouncing the sentence which separated Henry from the church; while, in fact, the moderation of the pope on the occasion is well known. The suit had been continued during five years; and the decision was deferred as long as possible, the pope hoping that time would moderate the king's passion. He even proposed to queen Catherine to enter upon a religious life, in order to terminate the difference amicably.

The English parliament passed two acts at this time; one to confirm the divorce, and declare the princess Mary illegitimate, and to establish the succession to the throne in the person of Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Bullen; the other to confirm the king in the title of supreme head of the English church, and to abolish the pope's authority in England.*

While the parliament labored to secure to the posterity of Anne Bullen the right of succeeding to the throne, proceedings were going on in Rome against the king of England. The strength of the faction in favor of Spain, the justice of Catherine's cause, the wicked conduct of Henry, and the continued remonstrances of the cardinals, at length forced the pope to issue a bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne Bullen, unless they made their appearance in the end of September, and put an end to the scandal they had given; but the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and his conscience calmed by the laws which his parliament had enacted in his favor.

It was at this time that the world deplored the fate of the two men in England most illustrious for their learning and piety, Thomas More, lord-chancellor, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Burnet himself bewails their death, and considers their tragical end as a stain upon the life of Henry. They were the two most distinguished victims of the new ecclesiastical supremacy. When More was urged to acknowledge it, he made the following noble reply: "That were he alone against the whole parliament, he would have a diffidence in himself; but now, though the grand council of England were opposed to him, the whole church, that great council of Christians, was in his favor." Fisher's end was no less edifying, or less Christian-like. This was the commencement of the persecution, carried on alike against Catholic and Protestant, and Henry became the most cruel of princes, from the time he assumed the supremacy of the church. It does not appear, says Burnet, that he was naturally prone to cruelty.† He reigned, according to this writer, for twenty-five years, without condemning any one for capital crimes, except two men for whose punishment he cannot be reproached; while in the latter end of his reign he set no bounds to his cruelty. So that Henry, who had previously been exempt from such disorders, did not give himself up to them, according to Burnet, till the last ten years of his life, that is, immediately after his divorce, his open rupture with the church, and his unprecedented usurpation of ecclesiastical supremacy.

* Sander. de Schis. Ang. lib. 1, c. 88. Baker's Chron. p. 281. Heylin's History of the Revolution, page 179.

† Book 3, page 183.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE earl of Kildare having put his fortifications into a state of defence, particularly the castle of Maynooth, marched with his army towards Connaught to collect the troops which he was to have been provided with by O'Connor and his other allies, A. D. 1535.* Skeffington the deputy, taking advantage of the earl's absence, surrounded the castle of Maynooth on the 15th of March. Sir William Brereton summoned the garrison to surrender on advantageous terms; but as these were not accepted, he endeavored to effect a breach. His cannon, however, did but little execution during fifteen days, and the castle would probably have held out till the arrival of Kildare, had it not been for the treachery of the governor. Kildare had confided the command of the garrison during his absence, to his foster-brother Christopher Parese. This traitor, actuated by avarice, and the desire of establishing his fortune on his master's downfall, wrote secretly to the deputy, and proposed to give up the castle for a stipulated sum of money. The deputy joyfully acceded to the proposal. They only waited for a favorable opportunity to carry it into effect, which soon presented itself; the garrison having gained some advantages in a sally against the besiegers, Parese ordered that rejoicings should take place, and while the sentinels lay intoxicated and asleep, the commander gave the signal to the English, who scaled the walls, and, almost without resistance, made themselves masters of the castle, in which they found an immense booty.

The deputy entered the place triumphantly. Parese appeared before him, thinking that he would soon be well rewarded for his perfidy.† The deputy applauded highly the signal benefit the traitor had rendered to the state. He added, that if the king were informed of it he would not fail to acknowledge so important a service, and in order to enable the monarch to reward him as he ought, for the sacrifice he had made of the earl of Kildare's protection, he required to know in what the favors of that nobleman consisted. Parese, who thought his fortune was already made, informed him minutely of the earl's generous liberality to him. "How then, Parese," replied the deputy, "could you have betrayed so good a master?" Then turning to his officers, he ordered them to pay the sum agreed upon; but as there was no mention made of life in the compact between them, he ordered him to be beheaded. "Had I known that, my lord," said Parese, "you would not have had the castle on such cheap terms." One Boyse, who was present, replied in Irish, "*Anantra*," that is, "too late;" which gave rise to the proverb among the natives, "It is too late, says Boyse."

Skeffington having placed a garrison in the castle of Maynooth, returned to Dublin. At this time Kildare was on his march with seven thousand men, intending to raise the siege, but having received intelligence on the way, that the castle had surrendered, he was abandoned by part of his army. He, however, continued his march with the rest towards Clane, in the county of Kildare. The deputy having received intelligence of his march, gave the command of Dublin to Brereton, and set out for Naas. Both armies were separated by a bog, and the cavalry being unable to act, the deputy, who was strong in artillery, easily dispersed the earl's army, which was but poorly provided with it. He then forced Rathangan and other places to surrender. After these losses, the earl of Kildare no longer found himself at the head of a strong force. He was, in fact, reduced to the rank of a ring-leader, and obliged, in order to support himself, to keep up a petty warfare. He sent a herd of cattle one morning within sight of Rathangan, where there was an English garrison: the English seeing a favorable opportunity of obtaining booty, went out in crowds, without perceiving that the earl and his forces were lying in ambush; they fell into the snare; the earl cut off their retreat, and killed several of their men. He repeated this stratagem at Trim, in the county Meath, by which means he drew out the garrison there also, and put them to the sword.

On the 11th of May, in this year, Lord James Butler was created Viscount Thurles, and grand-admiral of Ireland;* and a few days afterwards, his father, the earl of Ossory, and he, were nominated governors of the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, and the districts of Ossory and Ormond, on condition of their endeavoring to retake the castle of Dungarvan, and vigorously resisting the usurpations of the bishop of Rome. According to Cox,† this was the first instance of an engagement of this kind to be met with in the history of Ireland. Leonard Lord Grey was also created at this

* War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 27.
† Cox, ibid. pages 239, 240

* Cox, Hist. of Irel. page 240.
† Ibid. page 240.

time Viscount Grane. In the month of September following, Thomas Eustace was made baron of Kilcullen, and Sir Richard Power, or le Poer, baron of Croghmore. The former was subsequently created Viscount Baltinglass

Lord Grey, who had been sent to England for assistance, returned at this time to Ireland with a reinforcement of cavalry and archers, under the command of Sir William Senlo, Sir Rice Mansel, and Sir Edward Griffith. It appears by a letter written at the time to Lord Cromwell, by Aylmer, chief-justice, and Allen, master of the rolls, that they found the state of affairs in Ireland to be very unpromising; that six of the eight baronies in the county of Kildare had been laid waste and burned, with a part of the county of Meath; that Powerscourt, the building of which had cost five thousand marks, had been destroyed by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools; that Fitzgerald had retaken Rathangan, through the treachery of the sentinels: though having been obliged to abandon the place on the approach of the army, he would have been surprised if the deputy had used the necessary precautions; that O'Morra, who had joined the English, had posted his troops and those of the king so advantageously, that the rebels were surrounded, and Fitzgerald never could have escaped, had not an English cohort given way; that the plague was depopulating Dublin; that Charles O'Connor had been provided with troops in the king's pay against his brother; that the deputy was sick and unable to defend the castle of Maynooth; that no confidence could be placed in O'Neill, as he had given no hostages, this remark referring to a treaty concluded some time afterwards at Drogheda, between Conn O'Neill and the deputy. This letter concludes with warm praises of William Brabazon, and Lord Grey, whom they demanded as their deputy, with orders to convene a parliament.

In the mean time the deputy having learned that Kildare had withdrawn into Munster, sent Lord Grey, Sir William Brereton, and others, in pursuit of him, and after some unavailing skirmishes, Brereton's advice, and the necessity of the affairs of Kildare produced a conference, in which that nobleman surrendered to Lord Grey, on condition of being pardoned. It is said that he promised him a general pardon. However this be, Fitzgerald was brought to Dublin, and sent to England, where, notwithstanding the letters of recommendation with which he was provided to the king, he was arrested and confined in the tower, where he remained till the time of his execution

Stephen Ap Henry, Lord Grey's favorite, wrote about this time to Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, informing him that Lord Leonard Grey had gone to England with Fitzgerald; that Lord James Butler had marched towards Clonmel, where he had been joined by his brother-in-law, Garrett M'Shane, who could not speak English; that they had advanced together to Dungarvan, which surrendered on their approach, from whence they set out for Youghal, and from that place to Cork, where they received the complaints of Barry against Cormac-Ogue of Muskerry, and M'Carty Riagh. The complaints alluded to set forth, that these noblemen having regained by force of arms part of the estates which had been usurped by the Barrys from their ancestors in the twelfth century, M'Carty Muskerry, a peaceful man, wished to submit to the decision of government, while M'Carty Riagh answered, that with the sword he would preserve what he had gained by the sword. The letter concludes with observing, that Butler and his brother-in-law had continued their march through Mallow and Kilmallock, as far as Limerick, where the son of O'Brien, brother-in-law to Butler, applied to him for assistance against his father and uncle, in the siege of Carrigogonell; but Butler being unprovided with artillery, could undertake nothing for him, and returned to Clonmel, through Cashel.

Skeffington, the deputy, having requested permission from the court to return to England, on account of his great age and infirmities, the king's answer was sent to him, in which thanks were given him for the taking of the earl of Kildare. The king told him also to continue in the government of Ireland, and gave orders to convene a parliament; but the deputy died in the end of December, at Kilmainham, and was interred in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, in Dublin. Lord Grey was immediately appointed by the council to succeed him, which nomination was confirmed by the king, with the title of deputy, under Henry, duke of Richmond, lieutenant of Ireland.

Every thing was now in confusion in England. The martyrdom of Fisher and More, and many other sanguinary executions, filled every mind with horror. The people all took the oath acknowledging Henry's supremacy, no one daring to oppose it. His power over the church of England was established by several parliamentary statutes;* and his first act was to confer on Cromwell the title of his spiritual vicar-general. Crom-

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, page 124.

well was the son of a blacksmith. Having taken a dislike to the trade of shearer, which he had learned, he ran away from his master, enlisted as a soldier, and was present at the sacking of Rome. He afterwards returned to England, and entered the service of Cardinal Wolsey, who preferred him to his other servants, and reposed confidence in him. When Cromwell became a member of parliament, he testified his gratitude by supporting his master's interests, and defending him in his misfortunes, by which firmness he acquired the esteem of the king. Having thus advanced himself at court, he made Henry's inclinations his whole study, in order to flatter him in every thing. Discovering that this prince was very ambitious, and that his revenues were not sufficient for his expenses, he advised him to take possession of the revenues of the religious houses. This advice was highly gratifying to the cupidity of Henry, who thought that he who had given it would be the fittest person to carry it into execution. For this purpose he created Cromwell inspector-general of all the convents and religious houses in England; in which quality, notwithstanding that he was an ignorant layman, he was to preside at all the assemblies of the clergy, and to be made acquainted with all matters of an ecclesiastical kind. Cromwell was a Zuinglian, or at least a Lutheran: Cranmer belonged to the same party; he was the intimate friend of Cromwell, and both acted in perfect accordance. The marchioness of Pembroke supported them with all her influence; and in order to increase the party, she procured the bishoprics of Salisbury and Winchester for Schaxton and Latimer, her almoners, who were secretly Protestants.

Cranmer paid his archiepiscopal visit to his province, with the royal permission. They now began to use the king's authority in all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in order to establish his spiritual supremacy. The archbishop of Canterbury's first act was to place the church under his yoke, and submit to an earthly king that power which she had received from God.

Cromwell also paid a visit to his own diocese.* These visitations were followed by the suppression of three hundred and seventy-six monasteries, the lands and revenues of which were granted to the king by an act of parliament. All good men exclaimed against this sacrilegious depredation of the property dedicated to God. This was one of the first effects of Henry's supremacy, who made himself head of the church to plunder it with impunity.

In the beginning of the year 1536, the five uncles of the young earl of Kildare, who was then a prisoner in the tower,—namely, James, Oliver, Richard, John, and Walter, who were still under arms, surrendered to Lord Grey, the deputy, by whom they were sent prisoners to London.* After having sailed, they asked the captain the name of the vessel in which they were; and learning that it was called *The Cow*, they lost their courage, on account of an ancient prophecy, which foretold that the five sons of an earl should be carried to England in the belly of a cow, and that they would never return. This prophecy proved true; inasmuch as the earl of Kildare and his uncles were tried, convicted of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. In the mean time, James de la Hide, one of the first counsellors of Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, sought safety in Scotland, where he died.

The race of Kildare was not yet extinct. One of its members still remained, who restored this illustrious house. Gerald, brother to Thomas, aged thirteen years, was sick of the small-pox at Donoare, in the county of Kildare, at the time his uncles had surrendered. This young nobleman was under the guardianship of Thomas Leverous, afterwards bishop of Kildare; who had him removed to Offaly, from which he brought him to Thuomond, and thence to Kilbritton, in the county of Cork, to his aunt, Eleanor Fitzgerald, widow of M'Carty Riagh. She loved her young nephew tenderly, and had him sent privately to France, having given him one hundred and forty pieces of gold to defray his expenses. On arriving at St. Malo, he was taken to Paris, where, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The English ambassador demanded that he should be given up, in virtue of the peace which had been just concluded between France and England; but the king, having delayed giving his answer for some time, afforded Fitzgerald an opportunity to withdraw to Flanders, whither the ambassador dispatched James Sherlock in pursuit of him. The latter being arrested at Valenciennes by the governor, Fitzgerald had again time to reach Brussels; where, however, he was not more secure. From Brussels he went to Liege. He was recommended to the bishop of that city by the emperor, who assigned him one hundred crowns a month for his support. Six months after this, he was

* Baker's Chron. page 283.

* Ware de Annal. Hib. cap 28.

brought to Rome by Cardinal Pole; and after spending a few years with the bishop of Verona, and the Cardinals De Mantua and Pole, and other Italian noblemen, he undertook his pilgrimages in the order of Malta, and became commander of the grand duke of Tuscany's cavalry. He remained in his service till the reign of Edward VI., who restored him to the possessions of his ancestors; and he was reinstated, two years after this, in his titles of honor by Queen Mary.

Great anarchy prevailed in the family of the Fitzgeralds of Munster, respecting the succession to the title and estates of the house of Desmond.* On the death of James Fitzmaurice, Thomas Moel, or the Bald, his grand-uncle, third son of him who was beheaded at Drogheda, was declared earl of Desmond. He married the daughter of M'Carty of Muskry, by whom he had a son called Maurice Fitzthomas, who died before his father, leaving a son called James Fitzmaurice. Thomas having died at the age of eighty years, James Fitzmaurice, who was at that time page to Henry VIII., asked permission from the king to return to Ireland, which he readily obtained. The king, who was much attached to this young nobleman, sent a certain number of soldiers with him, as a guard of honor, and also to support him against those who might dispute his right. He landed in Cork, and passing through the territory of Fermoy, on his way to Limerick, he was surprised in an ambuscade which had been laid for him by his relative Maurice Fitzgerald, and was unfortunately killed. This cruel act was the first step towards the downfall of this illustrious house. Maurice, who had been the cause of the death of his relative, was second son of John of Desmond, who was brother to Thomas the Bald, and fourth son of the earl that was beheaded at Drogheda. Maurice having made some incursions upon the lands of Muskry, was pursued by Dermod, son of Teig M'Carty, lord of Muskry, his father-in-law, who took him prisoner. He was afterwards killed by four horsemen, who had been left to guard him while M'Carty went in pursuit of the fugitives. John of Desmond, father to Maurice, was acknowledged earl of Desmond, but did not long enjoy the title: he left several children, who all fell, as well as their sons, in the last war of Earl Garret, except Maurice Fitzjohn, who died in Spain.

Thomas Brown, a friar of the order of St. Augustin, and provincial of that order in England, having been appointed in 1535 to the archbishopric of Dublin, was consecrated by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury.* His doctrine was suspected previous to his promotion. On his arrival in Dublin, he had the images and relics of the saints removed from the two cathedrals of the city, and other churches in the diocese. He was the first who embraced the Protestant religion among the clergy of Ireland. It appears by his letter to Cromwell, that he was one of the commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. to supersede the pope's authority in that kingdom, and to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king. The letter of this prelate to the vicar-general, quoted by Cox, is as follows:†

"My Lord—Having, as one of the commissioners of his highness, received your commands, I have endeavored, even at the hazard of my life, to reduce the nobility in this country to obedience, by acknowledging his highness as supreme both in spiritual and temporal affairs; but I experience many difficulties, particularly from my brother of Armagh, who has gained over the suffragans and clergy under his jurisdiction. He has preached to them, and has cursed those who shall acknowledge the supremacy of his highness; affirming that Ireland being, according to the chronicles of the country, a holy island, it belongs only to the church of Rome, the former pontiffs of which granted it to the ancestors of the king." He adds, that the archbishop and clergy of Armagh had already sent two messengers to the pope; that it was essential to inform his highness of the necessity of convening a parliament in the country, to have the act of supremacy passed, as little regard was paid to the commission sent in the name of his highness; and concludes by observing, that he feared O'Neill had received orders from the bishop of Rome to oppose the authority of his highness, as very many among the inhabitants of the country were attached to his party.

It appears that this letter made some impression on the court of London, as the king gave orders to convene a parliament in the month of May, which was adjourned to Kilkenny, thence to Cashel, afterwards to Limerick, and lastly to Dublin.

The following were the principal statutes enacted in this parliament. The deceased earl of Kildare was declared a traitor. Sir John and Sir Oliver Fitzgerald, uncles to the earl, Sir Walter de la Hide or Mayclare, in

* Relat. Geraldinorum.

* War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

† Cox, Hib. Anglic. p 246.

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the district of Carbry, county of Kildare; John Burnell, Richard Walsh, rector of Loughseudy; Charles Reynolds, and other accomplices of Kildare, were convicted of high treason, and all their estates confiscated to the king's use.

The marriage of Henry with Catherine was declared null by this parliament: the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, as well as the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, was declared to be valid; the succession to the throne was secured to the heirs male, who should be born of this or any other marriage, and in case of there being no male heirs, to the females, beginning with Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Bullen: and those who might, by writing or otherwise, oppose this marriage, or these regulations for the succession to the crown, should, it was enacted, be convicted of high treason. A total silence on these subjects was enjoined upon all, under pain of being deprived of the benefit of the sanctuary, and an oath to this effect, ordered to be taken by all the king's subjects in Ireland.

A law was also passed against absentees, that is, against the English who possessed estates in Ireland, and did not reside there, such conduct having produced many inconveniences. It was therefore enacted, that the title to the estates of the duke of Norfolk, Lord Berkely, the earls of Waterford and Shrewsbury, the heirs of the earl of Ormond, the abbots of Furnes, and St. Augustin of Bristol, the priors of Christ's church at Canterbury, of Lanthony and Cartinel, and the abbots of Kentesham, Osny, Bath, and the abbot of St. Thomas of Dacres, should be vested in the king. It was subsequently decided, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that in virtue of this law, the earl of Shrewsbury had forfeited the title of earl of Waterford and viscount Dungarvan; he was, however, compensated in England for the losses he had sustained in Ireland.

Cox mentions a circumstance, which, he alleges, gave rise to this law. The king, he says, being determined to give to Ailmer, who was then chief-justice of the common pleas, the office of lord-justice of the king's bench, the earl of Shrewsbury, at the solicitation of his farmers and vassals in Waterford, opposed his nomination, by representing to the king that Ailmer was weak-minded, and incapable of discharging the duties of such an office; whereupon the king reprimanded Lord Cromwell, who had recommended a man so undeserving. In order to justify his choice, Cromwell requested his majesty to converse a while with Ailmer, and he would soon discover that he had been imposed upon; to which the king assented When Ailmer was presented to him, he was asked what could be the real cause of the decline of the royal interest in Ireland? "It arises," replied Ailmer, "from the circumstance of most of the proprietors of lands, who formerly resided in Ireland to defend their estates, and restrain their vassals, now living in England, and leaving Ireland a prey to the natives of the country; but if your majesty would oblige such proprietors to reside in Ireland, or otherwise confiscate their estates to your own use, you would soon discover a change and an improvement." The king, pleased with this expedient, thanked Ailmer, saying, that the attention of the next parliament should be directed to it.

The parliament of Dublin having regulated the affairs of state, turned their thoughts to those of religion, of their knowledge and judgment regarding which they felt quite assured. In imitation of the English parliament, they confirmed Henry VIII. and his successors on the throne, in the title of supreme head of the church in Ireland, with the power of reforming and correcting heresies and errors in religion. They prohibited all further appeals being made to Rome, under pains and penalties; and ordained tha the clergy should pay the annats, or first-fruits of their livings, to the king. They likewise enacted a law to abolish and suppress the pope's usurpation and authority; penalties were declared against those who should dare to support them; all persons, both lay and ecclesiastic, who held offices or livings, were ordered to take the oath to maintain the king's supremacy, and their refusal was to be considered high treason. This act met with many opponents among the clergy; but the following discourse of Brown, archbishop of Dublin, which was approved of by justice Brabazon, disconcerted them to such a degree, that many among them submitted to take it.

"My Lords,—In obeying your king, you imitate your Saviour Jesus Christ. The high priest of our souls paid tribute to Cæsar, who was not a Christian; consequently, you owe more honor to his highness, your prince, who is both a king and a Christian. In the time of our ancestors, Rome and its bishops acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be sovereigns in their respective states, and even vicars of Jesus Christ. But to the shame of the bishop of Rome, he now denies, what his predecessors have acknowledged. Thus his highness claims only what the bishop Fleutherius had granted to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons; so that I make no scruple of acknowledging his

highness, King Henry VIII., to be supreme head, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, in England and in Ireland, and that he who refuses to submit as I do to this law, is not a faithful subject to his majesty." The discriminating reader will judge of this prelate's reasoning.

This parliament granted to the king and to his successors, for ever, a twentieth part of the revenues and annual rents of the secular livings, abbeys, friaries, and religious houses in the kingdom of Ireland. Henry was so well pleased with this grant, that he wrote a letter of thanks to the clergy. An act was passed prohibiting any but those who spoke English, and followed the English taste in every thing, to be appointed to livings. In addition, this parliament decreed the suppression of the abbeys of Bectif, St. Peter of Trim, Dousk, Duleek, Holm-Patrick, Baltinglass, Grany, Teagh-Moling, Dunbroody, Tintern, Ballybogan, Hoggis, and Ferns, and confiscated their property to the king's use. At the same time, the priory of St. Wolstan's, in the county of Kildare, was suppressed, by another act. It was at this time, that what has been already observed of the bull, by which Adrian IV. had conferred Ireland on Henry II., began to be verified, namely, "that it was the cause of the fall of religion in this Island."*

The parliament which had fabricated the above-named laws, and by which the schism of Henry VIII. was introduced into Ireland, was the parliament of the English province, and not that of all Ireland; like the preceding ones, it was composed solely of Englishmen by birth or origin; the ancient Irish had no seat in it; they were excluded from all offices in the militia and magistracy, which is the cause of their being scarcely ever mentioned by English writers. They were strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, and it is probable that they would all have continued so, had they remained a free people.

A law was likewise enacted in this parliament for the suppression of the tributes which the English colonists had paid to some Irish nobles, by whom they were protected. Marriages with the Irish were prohibited, particularly with the children of those who had not taken the oath of allegiance in a court of justice, subsequently to the law being passed for so doing.† This act, however, was repealed under James I.

The first who was sacrificed for his attachment to the cause of the pope, was John Traverse, a native of Ireland, a secular priest, and doctor in theology. About this time he published a book entitled the Defence of the Pope's Supremacy, notwithstanding the twenty-eighth statute of Henry VIII., who had assumed to himself that prerogative. This author was summoned to appear before the judges; and having confessed the deed, he was condemned to have his fingers cut off and thrown into the fire.*

While the parliament was assembled in Dublin, O'Connor and his vassals made some incursions into the territory of Carbry, in the county of Kildare, where they committed dreadful havoc. In order to revenge this insult, Baron Tremlestown, chancellor of Ireland, and Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, marched with some troops into Offaly, where they likewise committed frightful devastations, and forced O'Connor to return and defend his own country.

The English having violated some articles of the peace, concluded the preceding year between Conn O'Neill and Skeffington, who was deputy, O'Neill took up arms in defence of his right. The English government being alarmed by O'Neill's determination, the deputy dispatched Brereton towards the frontiers of Ulster, to settle the dispute; he entered into a negotiation with the prince, and renewed the treaty which had been previously concluded with Skeffington. About this time, Henry VIII. sent to the city of Waterford a gilt sword and hat in token of his protection, for their loyalty and attachment to the crown.

John Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, after the death of the lawful heir, who had been murdered through the malice and envy of Maurice, as has been already observed, died

* Vol. I. part 2, page 240.

† In consequence of this law, which was often re-enacted by the English parliament, some of the writers in that country have maliciously set forth, that the meanest English settler would not give his daughter in marriage to the noblest Irishman; it was, however, much less from contempt, than in conformity with this law, which was the result of English policy; it would not allow the people to bind themselves by those ties which might unite their common interests. Besides, the contempt was mutual: the Irish were so far from seeking alliances with those strangers, that they considered them as a corrupt blood, or rather an impure deposite which the sea had cast upon their shores. "And so much dissevered are the Anglo-Irish from the natives, that the meanest settler would not give his daughter to the noblest Irishman. But the Irish hold them in such contempt, that they consider their blood impure, and themselves the excrement of the sea."—*Rutgerus Hermanridas*, p. 519.

* Hist. Cathol. p. 71. Surius ad an. 1539 Cambr. Evers. page 205.

this year at Tralee, in the county of Kerry;* he left three sons, James, the eldest, who succeeded him; Maurice, already known for his cruelty, and John Oge, which signifies young.

James, earl of Desmond, a young man of bravery and enterprise, excited some disturbances in Munster. In order to check the disorder, government sent James Butler, viscount of Thurles, at the head of an army, into the county of Limerick, where he laid waste the estates of the earl, repaired the castle of Loughguir, and placed a garrison in it. The deputy repaired to Loughguir in the month of July, from whence he set out for Carrigogonel, which he took on the 2d of August. It is said that he immediately restored this castle to the owner for a small sum. On the 6th he advanced as far as Brien's bridge, took possession of the castle, (the garrison being unable to resist his artillery,) and destroyed the bridge. His conquests ended here, in consequence of a mutiny among the soldiers, who were in want of provisions.

Thomas O'Mullally, or Lally, archbishop of Tuam, died about the end of April, 1539, and was interred in the convent of the minor brothers of Galway, in the same tomb as his predecessor, Maurice O'Fihely.† Thomas was a minor brother; he convened a synod in Galway, at which he presided, the statutes of which have been lost. He was succeeded by Christopher Bodekin.

The same year, Henry, duke of Richmond and Somerset, died; he was natural son of Henry VIII., by Elizabeth Blount, and was commonly called Henry Fitzroy. It is said that he possessed great qualities, both of mind and body. He was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but the administration had been confided successively to Skeffington, Kildare, and Grey, his deputies. He died without issue, at St. James, near Westminster, in the month of July, and was greatly regretted by the king.

Queen Catherine of Aragon resided in the castle of Kimbolton, county of Huntingdon, in a very unhealthy situation. The cruelties which were practised in her regard, caused her excessive grief; but she bore the unworthy treatment which she received as a true Christian. The title of queen was not only wrested from her by an act of parliament, but her servants were constrained by oath to address her by no other title than that of princess-dowager.* She beheld with grief an old man, named John Forest, of the order of St. Francis, her confessor, and in whose society she found some consolation, suffer martyrdom in her cause, after two years' imprisonment, together with thirty-five others of the same order. She was aware, too, of the tragical end of Fisher, More, and several others who were sacrificed on her account; so that being of too delicate a constitution to bear up against such an overwhelming series of afflictions, she fell into a decline, which terminated her existence in the month of January. Finding her end approaching, she wrote the following letter, which she sent to the king by one of her maids.

"*My very dear Lord, King, and Husband,*

"As the hour of my death is now approaching, my love for you influences me to forewarn you to prefer your salvation to all the perishable things of this world, without even excepting your anxiety for your own person, which has produced to me the heavy calamities that have been inflicted, and caused such troubles to yourself; but I heartily forgive you all, and pray that the Lord may also forgive you. I recommend our daughter Mary to your particular care, and beseech you, as I have already done, to act with all the tenderness of a father towards her. I beseech you, likewise, to give my three maids a marriage portion, and to my other servants a year's wages, besides what is already due to them, to secure them against want. Lastly, I declare it to be my desire to see you in preference to any thing this world affords. Farewell."

On reading the above letter, Henry could not refrain from tears, notwithstanding the obduracy of his heart; and having been informed of her death, a few days afterwards, he ordered his household to put on mourning. The marchioness, as a mark of her joy, had herself and her female attendants all dressed in yellow; but her joy was soon changed into sorrow, for in a short time after this she was delivered of a monstrous abortion. Four or five months after the death of Queen Catherine, Anne was sent to the tower, where she was accused and found guilty of adultery with several persons, and of incest with her brother George; she was then condemned to be beheaded. Thomas Bullen, her sup-

* Relat. Gerald.
† Ware, de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, page 118. Polidor. Virgil. Hist. lib. 27, p. 1741. Heylin's Hist. of the Reform. page 179. Baker's Chron page 282.

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posed father, was one of her judges, and the first to pronounce her guilty; she was executed in the month of May. Three days afterwards, George Bullen, the brother of Anne, Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston, and Mark Smeton, a musician, suffered the same fate as Anne, the first for incest with her, the others for adultery. The day after her execution, Henry married Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour and sister to Lord Edward Seymour, earl of Hartfort and duke of Somerset; by this marriage he had Edward VI. Anne enjoyed but for three years the elevation to which she had been raised by so many troubles. The same passion which had been the source of her greatness, became the cause of her ruin; and Henry, who had sacrificed Catherine of Aragon for her sake, soon sacrificed herself to the youth and charms of Jane Seymour. In losing the king's affections, however, Catherine preserved his esteem to the last moment, while he sent Anne, like the most infamous criminal, to die on a scaffold, and caused his marriage to be annulled in favor of Jane Seymour, as he had previously broken his marriage with Catherine for the sake of Anne. Lastly, he caused Elizabeth, daughter of Anne, to be declared illegitimate, as Mary, the daughter of Catherine, had before been. Polidore Virgil, and Sanders, place the death of Queen Catherine in 1535; and the latter, that of Anne Bullen, four months afterwards. According to Baker, the death of Anne took place in 1537. We shall not, however, undertake here to reconcile their difference.

Lord Grey, deputy of Ireland, undertook in April, 1537, an expedition into Offaly, against Charles O'Connor; but the continual rains and bad weather defeated his plan of operations, and obliged him to conclude a dishonorable treaty with that nobleman.* He then turned his arms against the Cavanaghs, O'Carrols, and others, and contented himself with their submission, and some hostages. He marched in the month of June towards Fearcall, the country of the O'Molloys, where he surprised alternately the castles of Eglis, Bir, and Modrimye. He afterwards received the submission of O'Kennedy of Ormond, M'Brian Arra, O'Mulrian of Owny, Ulick Burke of Clanriccard, and Tybod Bourk M'William; and then marched towards Limerick, where the bishop, mayor, and aldermen, took the oath of supremacy, and renounced the authority of the pope. The clergy and people were commanded to follow their example, and deposite their certificates in the court of chancery. In the month of July the army arrived at O'Brien's bridge, where, after some skirmishing with the rebels,* the castles and the bridge were destroyed. The deputy then marched through Thuomond towards Connaught, where he took the castles of Clare, Ballycolame, and Ballyclare. The latter place he gave up to Ulick Burke, and set out with his troops for Galway; here he and his army were entertained, at the expense of the corporation, for seven days; the mayor and aldermen, like those of Limerick, took the oath of supremacy, and renounced the pope's authority also; at the same time, O'Flaherty, O'Maddin, and M'Yoris, (Bermingham,) submitted to the deputy; he then passed through Mainech, the country of the O'Kellys, where O'Connor M'Henry performed the same ceremony; lastly, he took a castle in the territory of the M'Coghlans, and from thence he repaired to Maynooth. The principal object of the deputy's tour was in all appearance to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII. in Ireland.

The tyranny of the English drove several of the Irish, at this time, from their country, to seek peace, under a milder government, in foreign climes. Of this number was John, son of Edmond O'Dwyer, and brother of Cornelius, titular archbishop of Tuam. He belonged to the ancient and noble family of the O'Dwyers of Coillenemanagh, in the county of Tipperary, who were descended from Heremon, by Ugane More, and Concovar, surnamed Abhuarua, both monarchs of Ireland; the former three centuries before the Christian era, and the second in the first age of Christianity. This John O'Dwyer settled in Burgundy in the reign of Francis I., according to an ancient manuscript preserved in the family. As foreign names are subject to changes in countries in which they are unknown, on account of the difference of pronunciation, the name of John O'Dwyer was at first changed to O'Doyer, and afterwards to Handoire. The governor of the castle of Peronne, who was married to Mademoiselle de Collincourt, daughter to the Marquis de Collincourt, and Mademoiselle Bethune, aunt to the present Duke de Sully, is descended, in a direct line, from the John O'Doyer in question.

The earl of Desmond was still under arms; but the superior army of the deputy preventing him from undertaking any thing important, he was forced to write to the

* War. de Annal. Hib. c. 29. Cox, History of Ireland, p. 232, et seq.

* They are so called only by an Englishman

general, offering to surrender on certain conditions. The capitulation being of a tedious character, the deputy was obliged to withdraw his forces for want of provisions, and to appoint commissioners to conclude the treaty with Desmond. The commissioners appointed Clonmel, then a walled city, as the place of their conference ; but Desmond refused to go thither, in assertion of an ancient family privilege. Having then brought them to his camp, he took the oath of allegiance, and sent Thomas Ruadh, or the Red, his natural son, as a hostage to England,* whither he himself shortly afterwards set out, attended by a splendid retinue. On his arrival, he submitted to Henry, and acknowledged that all his estates had devolved on the crown, on account of the lawful heir having been murdered. The king, who was busily occupied with other affairs, and desirous that tranquillity should be restored to Ireland, received the earl with much kindness, reinstated him in his ancient patrimony, and dismissed him honorably, to return to his estates.

The jealousies which had prevailed for some time between the deputy and the earl of Ossory, increased, at this period, to direct hostilities. The deputy was so transported with rage against the earl, that he sent part of his army to lay waste the lands of the Butlers. He also quarrelled with Archbishop Brown, and Allen, the master of the rolls ; and though commissioners were sent by the king, expressly to investigate their differences and to reconcile them, the matter was only temporarily arranged ; for the deputy at length fell a sacrifice to their hatred.

O'Neill collected his forces in Ulster, and gave the command of them to his son. His design was, to make himself master of the castle of Ardglass, in the district of Lecale. The deputy having received intelligence of his movement, gave orders for the marching of the troops ; but previous to undertaking any thing, it was determined by the council to send the chancellor, Baron Tremlestown, Stapely, bishop of Meath, and Ailmer, chief-justice, to the frontiers of Ulster, to enter into a treaty of peace with O'Neill. After some difficulties on both sides, the treaty was concluded, and the two armies disbanded. Hugh, or Aod O'Donnel, surnamed *Dubh*, (that is, the black,) hereditary prince of Tirconnel, died in July. He was succeeded by his son Magnus, or Manus, who was confirmed in the succession by a popular election, according to custom, near the church of Kilmacrenan.

* Relat. Gerald.

In the month of September, the king of England sent four commissioners to Ireland,* namely, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir George Pawlett, Sir Thomas Moyle, and Sir William Barnes, with orders to investigate every thing connected with the late rebellion, and those who had been accomplices in it. These commissioners conducted themselves with much prudence and moderation, and having ended their inquiries, granted a pardon and general amnesty to the guilty. They had orders, conjointly with the deputy and council, to regulate the king's revenues ; to let the crown lands in farms ; and to make an estimate of the estates of the earl of Kildare, which amounted to eight hundred and ninety-three pounds, eleven shillings, and eight pence sterling, which was thought a large sum at that time. They reconciled the deputy, Grey, and the earl of Ossory, who resumed the title of Ormond, the house of Bullen having become extinct.

In October, Queen Jane died in childbed, at Hampton court, having undergone the Cæsarean operation, by which the life of her child was saved. This child was called Edward at his baptism.† His sponsors were Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, and his sister, the Princess Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon. On the 18th of the same month, he was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and reigned after his father under the name of Edward VI. John Barnwell, baron of Trimlestown, and chancellor of Ireland, died in July, 1538. John Allen was first nominated keeper of the seals by the deputy and council, and afterwards chancellor of Ireland by orders of the king.

In the month of May, the deputy marched against O'Reilly, but was stopped by the submission of that nobleman. He afterwards entered Lecale and the Ardes, in the county of Down, against a nobleman of English extraction, called Savage, to whom Cox and others give the appellation of "a degenerate Englishman."‡ He took the castle of Dundrum, belonging to Magennis, with several other fortified places, and laid all that country waste. He next laid his sacrilegious hands on the cathedral church of Down, which he burned ; destroyed the monuments

* War. de Annal. Hib. Reign of Henry VIII. c. 29.

† Baker, Chron. page 285.

‡ The same religion began already to unite several noble English families with the ancient Irish, against the English who had forsaken their religion—a union which acquired additional strength under Elizabeth and the succeeding reigns.

of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columb-Kill, and committed several other sacrilegious acts. He then made war against images, which were destroyed everywhere at this time, particularly those that were most revered by the faithful. The celebrated statue of the blessed Virgin, at Trim, was burned, as also the crucifix of the abbey of Ballybogan, and St. Patrick's crosier,* which had been removed, by order of William Fitzadelm, in the twelfth century, from Armagh to Dublin, to be deposited in the cathedral church of the blessed Trinity. In many other parts of the kingdom, the example of the English was in this instance followed; and it must be admitted that all the wars in Ireland, from that period to the present, have been wars on account of religion.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

While the deputy was employed in Ulster, O'Connor on one side, and O'Toole on the other, made incursions on the English province, in order to be revenged for the tyranny which was exercised against the inhabitants of their province.† In consequence of this, the deputy was obliged to leave the north and march toward Offaly, to create a diversion, by forcing O'Connor to return to the relief of his own country. It does not appear, however, that the two armies came to an engagement. The deputy took the castles of Braghlan and Dingen, (at present Philipstown.) In his letter, written in August, to the king, he boasts that he had forced O'Carrol and O'Meagher to give him hostages, and that the former had purchased the liberty of his son for three hundred marks. In the same letter he mentions, also, that O'Carrol was desirous of holding his lands by letters patent from the king; but that it would be imprudent to grant them to him, as he was a man that could not be relied upon; that the English were already sufficiently acquainted with the Irish and their country, to turn it to good account for his majesty, if he would but furnish them with the means necessary for that purpose. It was thus that those iniquitous ministers deprived the Irish of the protection of the kings of England, that they might plunder them with impunity. It was contrary to their interest, that they should hold their lands under legal titles, as they would thereby acquire the rank of subjects, and the protection of the laws. In another letter, written in March, he informed him that he had forced Brien and Cahir O'Connor to submit to him.

The schism and supremacy of the king of England made but slow progress in Ireland.* They were, however, warmly supported by Archbishop Brown: in his letters to Cromwell, he complains bitterly of the opposition that he had experienced from Cromer, the primate, and the clergy in general, which he ascribed to the ignorance and zeal of the nation—the usual mode of reasoning with heretics. The conduct of this archbishop in his diocese, and his close intimacy with Cromwell, who was at least a Lutheran, are strong proofs that he did not confine himself exclusively to the affair of the supremacy; but that he intended to introduce the reformation into Ireland by degrees, and carry matters further than even he whom he wished to make head of the church.

In another letter, in May, the archbishop informed Cromwell that the primate and clergy of Ireland had received a brief from the pope, to excommunicate all those who should acknowledge the king's supremacy. He also added, that the viceroy possessed but little authority over the ancient inhabitants of the country; that the nation (that is, the English province) was poor and unable to subdue them; that since Ireland had been in possession of the king's ancestors, the ancient Irish had never ceased to solicit the aid of foreign powers; and that at present, the English by descent and the ancient Irish were beginning to forget their national animosities, by opposing the king's ordinances, which might induce some foreign power to invade Ireland. By this we discover that the English province, comprising about a third of the kingdom, and emphatically called a nation by the English, was distinguished from the rest of the island; that Ireland had, since the twelfth century, been inhabited by two distinct people, who had no intercourse but that of war; and lastly, that those two people became united under Henry VIII. in opposing the innovations,

* Providence has preserved a crosier to posterity, which St. Patrick had used at the baptism of Aongus, king of Cashel; the holy apostle having left it with O'Kearny of Cashel, to be used by the bishops of that church on days of ceremony, whose descendants have preserved it with veneration to the present time. This venerable monument of Christian antiquity is still in possession of Brien O'Kearny, of Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, the chief of the ancient family of that name.

† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 255.

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p 256.

and changes which that prince was desirous of introducing into religion.

About this time, a friar named Thady O'Birne, belonging to the order of St. Francis, was arrested on suspicion, and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. Among his papers was a letter addressed to O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, and signed by the bishop of Mets, of which the following is a copy :—

"*My son O'Neill,*

"You, as well as your ancestors, have ever been faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, our present pope, and the council of the holy fathers, have lately discovered a prophecy of St. Laserian, an Irish bishop of Cashel, in which it is foretold that the church of Rome shall fall when the Catholic faith will have been destroyed in Ireland. Put down, therefore, all heresy, and the enemies of his holiness, for the glory of the mother church, the honor of St. Peter, and your own safety; for when the Catholic faith will perish in Ireland, the church of Rome shall also fall. The council of cardinals have, on this account, deemed it prudent to encourage your country, Ireland, that sacred island, being certain that the mother church, having a worthy son, like you and others, who will come to your assistance, will never fall, but always retain, in spite of fate, more or less influence in Britain. Having thus obeyed the orders of the sacred council, we recommend your royal person to the holy Trinity, to the blessed Virgin, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to the whole court of heaven. Amen."

This letter, which is quoted by Cox, in his history of Ireland, is taken from the life of Brown, archbishop of Dublin. We do not pretend in this place to decide whether it be true, or invented by the heretics. We do not discover St. Laserian, who is mentioned in it, in the catalogue of the prelates of Cashel, nor is it certain that O'Neill received such a letter; but it is very probable that the Irish were applied to in their then circumstances by many foreign princes.

In the beginning of May, 1539, the deputy Grey undertook an expedition into Ulster against Conn O'Neill, where he laid waste and depopulated the environs of Armagh, and carried away immense booty.* In order to be revenged for this insult, O'Neill assembled the lords of his province, O'Donnel, Maguire, Magennis, O'Cahane, O'Hanlon, and other allies, with their vassals, in the month of August. Placing himself at the head of this confederate army, he laid waste the possessions of the English, from Atherdee, in the county of Louth, to Navan, in Meath, and burned these two towns. In the meanwhile, the deputy received from England a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men, at the head of whom, together with the troops of the province, and the inhabitants of Dublin and Drogheda, he marched to meet O'Neill, whom he surprised in his camp at Bellahoa. He was assisted in this enterprise by the baron of Slane, Robert Betagh, of Moynalta, his equerry, Mabe, of Mabestown, and other noblemen. The battle, which was bloody, lasted until night. The Irish lost nearly four thousand men killed, and Magennis, one of their chiefs: the English lost about the same number, and some of their leaders, among whom was General Mabe. After this action, the deputy conferred the honor of knighthood on chief-justice Ailmer, Talbot, of Malahide, Fitzsimons, mayor of Dublin, and Courcy, mayor of Drogheda; James Fleming, baron of Slane, was also highly extolled for his bravery. During the absence of the deputy, O'Connor Faly and O'Tool ravaged the English province. It may be easily imagined, that from the state of misery to which Ireland was reduced by the frequent wars which devastated her provinces, the sorrowful consequences were famine and distempers, from which numbers, both of men and cattle, died.

Although the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII. met with considerable opposition in Ireland, the suppression of religious houses made a rapid progress in that country. Threats and caresses were the means resorted to for this purpose. It was impossible that a superior force could be resisted; the heads, therefore, of religious houses looked upon themselves as very happy in receiving pensions for life, for surrendering their abbeys, priories, and other religious establishments, to the king. The number of houses suppressed in Ireland is too great to admit of being particularized; we shall therefore confine ourselves to the principal ones, the heads of which were ecclesiastical lords, who had the right of seats in parliament. The most celebrated abbeys were those of Mellifont, St. Thomas, and of our Lady, near Dublin, Baltinglass, Jeripont, Tintern, in the county of Wexford, Douske, and Tracton, in the county of Cork, Dunbrody, Magie, or Nenai and Owny, in the county of Limerick, Rosglasser, Monasterevan, in Offaly, Bectif, in Meath, and Rathto, in the county of Kerry.

The chief priories were those of St. John

* War. de Annal. cap. 31.

of Jerusalem, Christ's church, in Dublin, St. Peter, near Trim, Conal, Kenlis, in Ossory, St. Patrick, in Down, All Saints, near Dublin, Athadsel, Killagh, and the priory of the blessed Virgin, in the town of Louth.

A Waterford ship, laden with wine, was returning this year from Portugal, and being overtaken by a storm, was driven upon the coast of Baltimore, but had the good fortune to escape, and anchored adjoining the estates of O'Driscol, who seized it as a matter of right.

The English merchants of Waterford, viewing this act of O'Driscol as one of perfidy and treason, fitted out two ships and a galley, with four hundred men on board, the command of which was given to two captains called Woodlock and Dobbin, to take revenge for the insult they had received. They sailed towards Baltimore, and not content with recovering the vessel, with the crew, and part of her cargo, they pillaged without opposition the islands of Inishircan and Inchepite, and having razed the castle of O'Driscol to the ground, returned to Waterford laden with spoil.

The reformation had not been openly avowed under Henry VIII.; this revolution being reserved for a future reign. That king was a schismatic only; he published, about this time, a declaration in favor of the six celebrated articles; first, that of transubstantiation; second, the communion in one kind; third, the celibacy of priests, with pain of death against those who should violate it; fourth, the obligation of keeping vows; fifth, private masses; and sixth, the necessity of auricular confession. These articles were published by authority of the king and parliament, with penalty of death against those who would oppose them obstinately, and against others imprisonment according to the king's pleasure.*

Leonard Grey, lord-justice of Ireland, having been recalled in the beginning of spring, A. D. 1540, returned to England, leaving Sir William Brereton in Ireland, as lord-justice. Grey was at first well received by the king, who had already created him Viscount Grany, for his services in Ireland; he had even the honor of wearing his sword, according to custom, in presence of the king, on the day of Pentecost. These favors were, however, soon changed into disgrace, and at last cost him his life.

The principal Irish chieftains, witnessing the deadly blows that were aimed against their religion and liberty, determined to make an effort in favor of both.* For this purpose, O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Donnel, and O'Connor, formed a league together, and agreed to meet, in the month of July, at Fowre, in Westmeath; intending to deliberate on what measures they should adopt for the defence of their religion and country. But Brereton having marched to attack them with eight thousand troops and artillery, and they being unprepared to meet him, they thought prudent to wait for a more favorable opportunity, and withdrew for the time.

After this expedition, Brereton was replaced by Anthony St. Leger, a knight of the order of the garter, and gentleman of the bedchamber; the king having sent him to Ireland in the month of July, as deputy. On his arrival, he took the usual oath in Christ's church. St. Leger brought with him three experienced commissioners, Thomas Walsh, John Myn, and William Cavendish, who were of great assistance to him in regulating the rolls of the crown lands. The court commissioned Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and Robert Cowley, master of the rolls, to take an inventory of the personal goods which Lord Grey had left in Ireland, with orders to give up every thing to St. Leger, to be disposed of according to the king's will. Allen, the chancellor, Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, and Cowley, received another commission to regulate the pensions which were granted to the monks of the abbeys that had been suppressed.

Brereton having been appointed lord-marshal of Ireland, was sent by the deputy to Munster, to receive the submission of James Fitzjohn, earl of Desmond; but the lord-marshal fell sick on his way, and died at Kilkenny, where he was interred in the church of St. Canice. This accident did not prevent the earl from repairing, in the month of January following, to Cahir, on the river Suire, where he submitted, in presence of the deputy and council, and renounced the ancient privileges of his family, by which he had the right of being absent from parliament during pleasure, and of refusing to enter or sojourn in walled cities.

Money was coined at this time in Ireland, by orders of the king; namely, four-penny, two-penny, and penny pieces, stamped with the harp. This was afterwards prohibited, under pain of confiscation and fine.

Sir William Darcy, a native of Meath, died this year, at an advanced age, having been for some time vice-treasurer of Ireland. He was a wise and learned man, and very

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. cap. 32.

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. cap. 32.

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zealous for the interests of his country. He wrote, in English, a work on the causes of the ruin of Ireland.

Henry, who had been a widower for two years, began now to think of marrying again.* Among the many matches that were proposed, the princess Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, was one. She was a Protestant, and therefore approved of by Cromwell, who was the king's favorite at this time. This minister used all his influence with Henry in favor of the marriage, which was shortly afterwards determined upon, and celebrated by Cranmer. Cromwell was then created earl of Essex, to the prejudice of the Devreux family, who should have inherited, not only the estate, but the title, after Henry Bourchier, the last earl, who died without issue. The king having conceived a dislike for Anne of Cleves, a few months after his marriage with her, caused Cromwell to be arrested on the 9th of July, and brought to the tower.† He was then tried, and condemned by the parliament, as a heretic and traitor to the state, without being heard, in accordance with that abominable law, of which, it is said, he was himself the author. About the end of the ame month, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. He suffered this punishment for having been the chief adviser of his master's marriage, and met his destruction where he thought to have found support. In the life of this man, who was in every other respect wicked, we discover one trait that does honor to his memory, which is, his having introduced into the churches of England the custom of registering the baptisms, marriages, and burials, whereby the births and alliances of families are more solidly attested than by proof of witnesses, which had been previously resorted to. It is probable that this custom was introduced into all other churches about the same time.‡

After the execution of Cromwell, the king had still, for his own satisfaction, to get rid of a wife, to whom he had taken an unconquerable dislike. He resolved, therefore, to break his marriage with Anne of Cleves; and the parliament, always willing to do every thing to please him, declared it was null and void; that either party was at liberty to marry another: and that the queen should henceforward be called the Princess Anne of Cleves.

Executions were, about this time, general throughout England; the blood of the first nobility was spilled through the inconsistency and cruelty of an inhuman prince.* What idea can be formed of an age, or rather of a nation, whose parliaments are so corrupt, and judges so wicked, as to arraign and condemn the innocent, for the gratification of a brutal tyrant, whose fury was levelled alike against every sex and condition. The fate of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, alone, is enough to fill us with horror. She was nearly allied to the king, and the last of the house of Plantagenet, being daughter of the duke of Clarence, and sister to the celebrated earl of Warwick, who had been so unjustly put to death in the preceding reign.† She was condemned, at the age of eighty years, to die, for no other crime than that of having written an affectionate letter to her son, Reginald Pole. Struggling with the executioner on the scaffold, this barbarian seized the unfortunate lady by the hair, grown gray with age, and dragged her by force to the block!

The king conferred titles of honor on some Irish lords in 1541. On the 11th of July, Plunket was raised to the peerage, under the title of lord-baron of Dunsany, in the county of Meath, and in the following month, Oliver Plunket was honored with the title of lord-baron of Louth.‡

Edmond Butler, lord of Dunboyne, near Dublin, was created a peer of the realm, under the title of lord-baron Dunboyne. He was descended from Theobald, fourth grand-butler of Ireland, and Jane, daughter of John Fitzgeoffry, earl of Essex, sister and coheiress of John and Richard Fitzjohn, earls of Essex, who died without issue.§

The king also granted the title of baron of Carbry, in the county of Kildare, to William Bermingham; and that of viscount of Clontarf to John Rawson, prior of Kilmainham. Thomas Eustace was likewise made a peer of the realm, under the title of viscount Baltinglass.

St. Leger, the deputy, on his return from Limerick, where he had a conference with O'Brien respecting his submission, convened a parliament, which was prorogued several times. The first act of this parliament was to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and give to Henry VIII. the title of king, instead of that of lord of Ireland, which had been till

* Baker's Chron. page 287.
† Sander. de Schis. Ang. lib. 1, page 154, et seq.
‡ Baker's Chron. page 295.

* Baker's Chron. p. 287. Higgins' Short View, page 195.
† Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, page 133. Salmon, Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 241.
‡ Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.
§ Nichol's Rudiments of Honor on the article respecting Patrick, baron of Gowran.

then borne by him and his predecessors. "Though under the preceding title," says the statute, "the kings have enjoyed all the jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, and lawful authority, which belong to the majesty of a king, since his present majesty and his royal ancestors were justly and lawfully kings of Ireland, being reputed, acknowledged, and styled as such," &c.*

This statute was solemnly published on the following Sunday in St. Patrick's church, Dublin, and in London, in the month of January. St. Leger, the deputy, James, earl of Ormond, James, earl of Desmond, the other peers in their parliamentary robes, with several distinguished laymen and ecclesiastics, attended at this publication. Some prisoners were restored to liberty, and the ceremony terminated with feasting and fireworks.

In this parliament, all the abbeys in Ireland, mentioned in the statute, were placed at the king's disposal, but they did not tend much to increase his wealth, as he divided the lands which belonged to them among the nobles, courtiers, and other flatterers, reserving but an annual income from them for himself. It was decreed that none but those who possessed forty shillings a year in landed property, could have a vote in the election of members for the house of commons. It was also enacted, that in case of the death, absence, or resignation of the chief governor, the chancellor should perform the office of sending circular letters to privy counsellors, in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick;† that these counsellors being assembled, should choose an Englishman by birth, to fill the office of chief governor during the king's pleasure, and in case of none thus qualified being found, that two persons of English extraction should be chosen by the council, to whom the chancellor should give letters patent, after making them take the oath usual on these occasions.

* The English flatter themselves considerably. in their own opinion, every thing is due to them. They here take a part for the whole; a third of Ireland for the entire island. Their jurisdiction, however, did not extend beyond the boundaries of the English province, as appears by a law of this same parliament, respecting the election of a governor, which we shall presently quote. It has been already observed in the course of this history, that the right of the kings of England to Ireland, is entirely founded upon usurpation.

† These were the eleven counties which composed the English province. Ireland comprises in the whole thirty-two counties

Other laws were enacted in this parliament, which are too numerous to be inserted in this place. The county of Meath being too extensive to be governed by one sheriff, it was divided into East and Westmeath.

Lord Grey, whom we left in England, was sent to the tower. He was accused by the earl of Ormond, Allen, the chancellor, Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, and Sir John Travers.* They followed him to England, and produced several heads of accusation against him, during his administration in Ireland, which, having been verified by commissioners, who were sent purposely to Ireland to examine witnesses, he was publicly beheaded on Tower Hill. This nobleman was son to the marquis of Dorset, and brother-in-law to the last earl of Kildare, who had been beheaded. He suffered death with admirable fortitude.

The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves having been declared null, he married in eight days afterwards, Catherine Howard, daughter of Lord Edward Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk. The new queen was as zealous in the cause of the reformation as Anne Bullen had been; but the fate of both these reformers was of a singular kind.† Henry having been informed of the shameful and dissolute life of Catherine, caused her to be arrested, eighteen months after his marriage. She was accused and convicted of unchastity both before and after her marriage, and condemned to be beheaded with Durham and Colpeper, the accomplices of her guilt. On the scaffold, Catherine declared herself innocent since her marriage, but admitted that previously to it she had been guilty.‡ This gave rise to a ridiculous and absurd act of parliament, prohibiting, under pain of high treason, any woman who was not a virgin, from marrying the king, without first declaring the fact.

In Ireland, Conn O'Neill, whose great power gave umbrage to the king, having lost his old ally and relative, the earl of Kildare, repaired to Maynooth, where St. Leger, the deputy resided, and made peace with him. Several of the ancient Irish chieftains followed his example; among others, O'Carroll, O'Morra, O'Molloy, O'Connor, O'Dunn, M'Mahon, Magennis, O'Donnel, O'Rourke, O'Reilly, O'Flaherty, O'Melaghlin, M'Carty, O'Sullivan, &c. This example was soon afterwards followed by some nobles of Eng-

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. ibid. Cox, Hist. of Irel. page 264.

† Sander. de Schis. Ang. lib. , p. 161. Baker's Chron. of England, on the year 1540.

‡ Higgins' Short View, page 194.

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lish extraction; namely, Barry, Roche, Bermingham, and M'Guillan. The latter declared himself to be of English descent. The acts of these treaties are given, it is said, in the red book of the Irish privy council.

The deputy and council made some regulations relative to the government of Munster, which had not been before subject to the dominion of English law.* These regulations having been published, arbitrators were appointed in the provinces, instead of the ancient judges, called Brehons, to have them put into execution.

Henry VIII., at length resolved to exterminate the monks altogether, changed the priory and convent of the cathedral church of the blessed Trinity, in Dublin, into a secular chapter. He appointed Robert Castle, or Painswick, dean, who had been before prior, and confirmed this church in its possessions and privileges.

The Jesuits were introduced by permission of Pope Paul III. into Ireland, A. D. 1541, through the exertions of Robert Waucop, a Scotchman, titular archbishop of Armagh.† John Codur was the first of the society that was received into this country. He was followed by Alphonso Salmeron, Pachase Broet, and Francis Zapata, all of the same order. Though Waucop was born blind, he applied himself so closely to study that he became a doctor of theology in the faculty of Paris. He assisted at the council of Trent, from the first to the eleventh session, after which the pope sent him to Germany as legate *à Latere*, which gave rise to the saying among the Germans: "A blind legate to the clear-sighted Germans." He died in Paris, in 1551, in the convent of the Jesuits.

James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, went to England in August, 1542, where he renewed his submission in presence of the king,‡ from whom he received some presents, and was admitted by his order into the council of Ireland.§ The deputy made regulations at this time to settle the differences which had arisen between the several families of the Magennises, and similar arrangements for the O'Carrolls. The O'Byrnes made a public submission; surrendered the town and castle of Wicklow to the king, and obtained the privilege that their country should be erected into a county, under the name of Wicklow.

The death of George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, took place this year.* He was a prelate of great celebrity; grave, learned, and of a mild disposition. Through the influence of the earl of Kildare, he was appointed to the chancellorship of Ireland, which office he held for two years with integrity. He was strongly opposed to archbishop Brown, respecting the ecclesiastical supremacy, which had been usurped by Henry VIII. His successor in the see of Armagh was George Dowdal.

Henry VIII., finding some difficulty in reducing the Irish people by force, and bringing them to the condition of subjects, endeavored to win them by a display of kindness, in offering to confer titles of honor upon their chiefs.

According to the ancient history of Ireland, the inhabitants were divided into tribes; each tribe possessing a territory, that is, a certain extent of land, which was divided between the different branches of the tribe. These branches had each its vassals, these vassals having neither origin nor name in common with their masters. They were the descendants of the soldiers and artisans who had followed the Milesians from Spain, and of the remnant of the Firbolgs, the ancient inhabitants of the country, who cultivated the lands belonging to their masters. They did not take the names of their chiefs, as has been asserted by persons little acquainted with Irish history. Each tribe acknowledged one sovereign chief, a rank which usually devolved upon the elder branch; but was sometimes elective, according to circumstances. The chief and the branches were of the same origin, and bore the same name, preceded by the articles *O* and *Mac*, with this difference, that these articles, without any other addition, belonged to the chiefs; for instance, by Mac-Carty, O'Donnel, were meant the heads of these illustrious tribes. The branches were distinguished by their Christian names, or some epithet added to the surname; as Cormac Mac-Carty, Mac-Carty-Riagh, Niall Garve O'Donnel, &c., and so with the other tribes. Each tribe formed a small republic, the members of which, with their vassals, united under the chief for the general safety, and followed him to war. They were all more or less closely allied: and when the principal branch became extinct, it was replaced by some of the collateral ones, who

* "Respecting the reformation of the inhabitants of this kingdom in parts of Munster, who will not understand the laws and privileges, so as that they can immediately live, and be ruled according to them."—*Sander.* 1540.

† War. de Archi. Ardmach. Cox, ibid. p. 272.

‡ War de Annal. cap. 34.

§ Cox, ibid. page 275.

* War. de Archiepisc. Ardmachan

assumed the title of chief; so that unless the whole tribe became extinct, they could never want a chief.

This digression was necessary in order to become acquainted with the political views of Henry VIII. That monarch intended to subdue the Irish chieftains by the pompous title of lords, hoping that they would bring the tribes which they governed under the dominion of the crown of England; but in this he was doubly disappointed. He wrote on the subject to several of those chieftains, some of whose families have carefully preserved his letters; but the proffered favors were generally despised and rejected. The Irish nobles were possessed of too deep a sense of nobility, to submit for empty titles of honor, unknown till then among them; titles which were to be the price of their liberty, and which they considered as the seal of degrading subjection to a foreign power. It is certain that by receiving titles from a prince to whom we deny the rank of sovereign, we assume the position of subjects; and an individual who accepts of favors under such circumstances, is justly considered to have renounced the cause of his country. This was the opinion formed by the Irish nobility respecting these first lords,* and is the cause why there are so few among the ancient Irish who bear the title of lord, which would be only a distinguishing mark of their apostacy.

Notwithstanding the distaste which the Irish had evinced for titles of honor, Henry VIII. found some who were willing to accept of them. The principal of these were O'Neill of Tyrone, and O'Brien of Thuomond; but their example was so far from being imitated, that they were despised and avoided by their best friends.

According to Ware, Conn O'Neill, hereditary prince of Tyrone, went over this year to England, accompanied by Hugh O'Kervalan, bishop of Clogher, and some noblemen of his province. He had an interview with the king at Greenwich, where he surrendered the principality of Tyrone to the disposal of the monarch. The king restored it to him by letters patent, sealed with the great seal of England, and created him a peer of Ireland, under the title of earl of Tyrone. At the same time Matthew O'Neill, (the Irish call him Fardorach,) son of Tyrone, was created baron of Dungannon: Denis and Arthur Magennis, who had accompanied him, received the honor of knighthood; and the bishop of Clogher was confirmed in his bishopric by letters patent. The above is the account given by Ware and Cox, of the prince of Tyrone. However, if this be true, it is strange that Baker, who mentions the titles conferred upon O'Brien of Thuomond, and Fitzpatrick of Ossory, says nothing of Tyrone.* Conn O'Neill was head of that illustrious house, which had given several monarchs to Ireland, from the beginning of the fifth century, and the reign of Niall, surnamed Noygiollach, from whom they were descended, by his son Eogan. This prince had the weakness to assume the station of a subject, and renounce the ancient title of hereditary prince of Tyrone, which was founded on a possession of more than a thousand years, to assume a new one, based on usurpation and tyranny. He had the cowardice to sign his own degradation, and abandon the name of O'Neill, which was much more honorable, in the opinion of his countrymen, than that of earl, which drew upon him the contempt of all true Irishmen. What a subject of humiliation to O'Neill! what liberality on the part of Henry VIII., who granted to this prince, by letters patent, what already belonged to him, as if such a title could be more lawful than that which was founded upon a possession of many centuries! This pusillanimity of O'Neill, who seemingly looked upon the event as a mere matter of ceremony, was, however, amply compensated by his descendants. Shane, or John, his eldest son, immediately on the death of his father, renounced the title of earl of Tyrone to resume the name of O'Neill, as appears by an act of the parliament of Dublin in the eleventh year of the reign of Elizabeth; and his other descendants were, in the succeeding reigns, the most zealous defenders of their country.

In the year 1543, Henry VIII. conferred the title of earl of Thuomond on Morrough O'Brien for life; (the English sometimes call him Maur, sometimes Maurice.) The reversion of the title and estates on his death, was to fall to Donach, son of Connor O'Brien, his elder brother.† Cox, the historian, wishes to cast a doubt on the legitimacy of young Donough, which falls on his descend-

* These observations relate but to the ancient Irish. As to the modern Irish, they were an English colony that had settled in Ireland, after the twelfth century, and had continued the subjects of the king of England. These, therefore, had a right to expect favors from him. The ancient Irish who received titles after the submission of the whole nation to James I., are also exempt from censure—they were subjects. They were not, however, numerous.

* Chron. of England, page 291.

† Ware, de Annal. cap. 35. Nichol's Rudiments of Honor

ants, the earls of Thuomond.* This author observes, that, "whether this Donough were nephew or natural son of the earl is not well known." As Cox does not quote any author, can we suppose him incapable of advancing this from mere conjecture? Could he have calumniated, without authority, a nobleman who held the first rank in the province, of which he himself was a native? This is a matter that we do not undertake to explain. However it be, Donough was, before the death of his uncle, created baron of Ibrican, with a pension of twenty pounds English per annum. The king settled on him, moreover, all the lands of the priory of Inisnagananagh, *Insula Canonicorum*, situate in the river Shannon, for regular canons, with half the abbey of Clare, called Kilmoney, or *De Forgis*.

Murrough O'Brien availed himself of the right which the custom, called *tanistry*, had given him. This ancient Irish custom, like an old right, called *bail* or *garde* among the Franks, authorized the brother, uncle, or nearest relative of the same name, capable of governing, to succeed during his life, to the title and estates of the chief of a tribe, who died before his children came of age, notwithstanding the title which devolves to a minor in a direct line. The advantage thus gained suited the policy of Murrough, and enabled him to make his court to the king of England, and apply to him for favors. He obtained for his son and his descendants the title of baron of Inis-Hy-Quin, (Inchiquin,) in the county of Clare, with the revenues of the abbeys, and the patronage of all the livings that were at the disposal of his majesty in that country.†

The house of Thuomond comprises the several branches of the tribe we are about to speak of. It derives its origin from Heber, eldest son of Milesius, through Oilioll Olum, king of the province of Munster, in the second century of the Christian era. Oilioll Olum had many sons, among whom were Eogan More, and Cormac-Cas. From Eogan, the eldest, are descended the M'Cartys, and their collateral branches. Cormac-Cas was the ancestor of the tribe called after him Dal-Caiss, which was composed of different branches of his family. After the genealogical separation of the descendants of Eogan and Cormac-Cas, in the second century, of which Oilioll Olum was the common head, these two tribes gave, each of them, an absolute monarch to Ireland. The first was Crionthan II. of the race of Eogan, monarch of the island in the fourth century; the second was the celebrated Brien Boiroimhe, son of Kennede, and grandson of Lorcan, of the race of Cormac-Cas, who reigned over Ireland in the eleventh century.* After the death of Malachi II., successor to Brien,† the government of Ireland fell into anarchy.‡ The descent of Murrough O'Brien, first earl of Thuomond, is traced from the monarch, Brien Boiroimhe, by his son Thadeus, who was father to Terdelach, father of Mortough and Diarmuid. Mortough, or Moriertach, elder brother of Diarmuid, was the last king of this race who reigned in Leagh-Mogha, that is, the greater part of Ireland. He was also ancestor of the different branches of the M'Mahons of Thuomond, whose first appanage was Corcobaskin, an extensive territory on both banks of the river Shannon, from Luachra, in Westmeath, as far as Limerick; and from that city to Loim-na-Con, in the county of Clare.§ This latter division comprised the barony of Moyarta and Clonderala. The family became numerous, and were distinguished for their great deeds: the principal branches of it were Clonderala, Carrigaholt, Cobraghan, Clenagh, and Tuogh. The lands of Carrigaholt, Cobraghan, and others, were confiscated in the reign of Elizabeth, for the benefit of Donough, earl of Thuomond, his brother Sir Daniel O'Brien, Bartly, and others. From the branch of the M'Mahons of Clonderala, is descended Bernard, or Bryan M'Mahon Ferrery, lord of several towns, districts, and castles, in the counties of Clare and Limerick, of which he was dispossessed in the reign of Elizabeth. These estates were restored to him in the succeeding reign; but his son Mortough lost them for his loyalty to Charles II., king of England, during his exile. In the town of Autun, in Burgundy, there is a M'Mahon, surnamed d'Equilly, descended in a direct line from this ancient family.

From Diarmuid, brother of Mortough, are descended the O'Briens, first princes, and afterwards earls of Thuomond.‖ Con-

* History of Ireland, page 276.
† Cox, ibid.

* Cambrens. Evers. c. 9, p. 80.
† Keat. Hist. of Irel. lib. 2, end of Malachi's reign.
‡ "Moreover, the power of the successors of Malachi was confined within narrower limits than that of his predecessors, for these kings, who were called *Gafrasabhrach*, (as implied by the word,) had been advanced to royalty in opposition to, and with the hostility of some of the people."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 9, p. 80.
§ Hugh M'Curtin, Antiq. of Ireland, pp. 269, 271, 272.
‖ Nichol's Rudim. of Hon. article on Thuomond

nor O'Brien, eldest brother of Morrough, first earl of Thuomond, was, according to Nichols, the last of the twelve princes of this family, who had reigned successively in Thuomond, with the titles of kings of Limerick or Thuomond. Domnald More O'Brien, who submitted to Henry II. in the twelfth century, and who was the first of the twelve princes mentioned by Nichols, was, however, the last king of Cashel and Limerick, according to the account given by Keating in his Genealogy of the house of Thuomond. These princes, however, gave out many collateral branches, namely, those of Inchiquin, Cumrach, Carrigogoiniol, Arra, Cuonach, Aharlach, and others, each of which traces its origin to one of these princes, ancestors of the first earl of Thuomond; and each bears the name of O'Brien, being, like him, descended from Brien Boiroimhe.

The king this year created Ulick de Burgh, or Burke, a peer of Ireland, under the title of baron of Dunkellin, and earl of Clanriccard, in the county of Galway.* This earl also profited by the suppression of monasteries; he received the revenues of the abbeys and other religious houses in his district, among others the abbey called *De-viu-nova* of Clonfert.

Brien, or Bernard M'Giolla Phadruig, (Fitzpatrick,) being a favorite with Henry VIII., was made baron of Upper Ossory, by which he received no great additional honor, his ancestors having been hereditary princes of that country for many ages.† According to Heylin, this title was conferred on Fitzpatrick by Edward VI., of whom he was a particular favorite,‡ but it was Barnaby, son of Bernard, according to Nichols, who was in the highest favor with Edward. The king gave to the lord of Ossory the convent of the Dominicans of Aghavo, and the priory of the regular canons of Aghnacart.

Henry, in conferring titles of honor on these noblemen, restored to them, by letters patent, the estates which they had placed at his disposal, and in order to attach them still more to him, he became sacrilegiously liberal. Without deducting from his own wealth, he added largely to their revenues, by bestowing upon them the lands of the churches, and the patronage of the livings within their several districts.§ These newly-created lords subsequently testified their gratitude for the king's favors, by becoming the most zealous destroyers of the altars which had been raised by the piety of their forefathers.

In this manner did the houses of Thuomond, Ormond, Clanriccard, Inchiquin, and some others, increase their splendor by the spoils of the churches and lands which were confiscated on the pretence of religion, or the alleged rebellion of their neighbors, and even of their near relations—the court willingly granting to them the confiscated estates as a reward for their services.*

By such unworthy means, have these families supported themselves in splendor and in elevated rank, to the present day; while other lords of the country, who were their equals in birth, and their superiors in virtue, have fallen into a species of annihilation, having been sacrificed for their attachment to the glory of religion, and the liberty of their country. The reason is obvious why English writers extol the merit of the former, while they speak so contemptuously of the latter. Those writers know how to change the names and signification of actions; they style those who had betrayed their country, faithful subjects, while those who disdained slavery and chains, and fought valiantly to preserve their freedom, are spoken of by them as rebels.

The old jealousies between Henry VIII. and the emperor, on one side, and Francis I. on the other, were renewed at this time, and ended in open war.† It was at this time that the king of France sent Theobald de Bois, a French nobleman, to Ireland, as ambassador to O'Donnel. He proposed to furnish this prince with men and money, if, to create a division, he would declare war against the English; but O'Donnel finding himself unable to comply with the request of the French king, the negotiation was productive of no result.

The deputy, St. Leger, was recalled in February, 1544, after which he went to England, and William Brabazon was appointed lord-justice in his stead. New seals were sent to this deputy, and the old ones discontinued, on account of the change which had taken place in the title of Henry VIII., who, from being lord of Ireland, had assumed the title of king.

Henry had already married four wives, besides Anne Bullen. He now married Catherine Parr, widow of John Nevill, lord

* War. de Annal. cap. 33.

† Nich. Rudim. of Hon. on Fitzpatrick, baron Gowran.

‡ History of the Reformation.

§ Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 276.

* The services which acquired rewards for these noblemen, were those which they had rendered to the English, against their own country.

† Ware, ibid. c. 35.

Latimer. She had the good fortune to survive him, and thus escaped the unhappy fate of those who had gone before her.

War being declared against France, Henry demanded assistance from the lord-justice of Ireland, who sent him seven hundred men, commanded by three chiefs, Poer, Finglass, and Scurlock.* Holingshead and Cox boast of the valor, skill, and services which the Irish rendered to the king of England against the French during the siege of Boulogne.† They tell us that from their suppleness and activity, they extended their excursions to about thirty miles round, burning and pillaging everywhere, and carried back great booty to the camp. On some occasions they tied a bull to a stake, and placing combustible matter around the animal, they set it on fire ; the bellowing of the beast on feeling the flames, drew together herds of the same kind from the surrounding neighborhood. These Irish, continues Cox, never gave quarter to the French ; and when any of the Irish fell into their power, they caused them, by way of reprisal, to be mutilated and tortured in various ways. He adds, that after the taking of Boulogne, a Frenchman on the opposite side of the harbor having sent a challenge to the English camp, one Nicholas Walsh swam across the river, fought the Frenchman, and after cutting off his head, swam back to his countrymen, holding the head with his teeth, for which he was well rewarded. The acts recorded on both sides were strange and inhuman ; but we cannot vouch for the truth of the historian.

St. Leger having been created a knight of the garter, as a reward for his services, was sent back as deputy to Ireland. He arrived in Dublin in August, and was honorably received by the council and people : he received the sword, according to custom, and used the necessary measures for preserving the tranquillity which the state enjoyed on his accession.

Ulick Burke, first earl of Clanriccard, died at this time, in his house at Loughreagh. His death gave rise to serious differences between his sons, by different wives, respecting the title and succession. The earl had first married Grany O'Carroll, while O'Melaghlin, her first husband, as it is alleged, was living, without any legal divorce having taken place between them. By this first wife, the earl had his eldest son, Richard Burke. He afterwards discarded her, and married Honora Burke, from whom he separated, and, during the life of the first wife, married Maria Lynch, by whom he had a son, John Burke, who disputed the succession with Richard, his elder brother. The deputy and his council, who were desirous of terminating their differences, appointed the earl of Ormond, and some other commissioners, to examine into them ; which commissioners, discovering no positive proofs of the validity of the supposed marriage of Grany O'Carroll with O'Melaghlin, adjudged the title and inheritance of Clanriccard to his son Richard.

Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, having been obliged to leave Scotland in 1545, sought refuge in England, where he was honorably received by the king, who gave him in marriage, some time afterwards, his niece, Margaret, daughter of his eldest sister Margaret, and Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus.* The earl of Lenox had by this marriage, Henry, Lord Darnly, who was father to James VI. of Scotland.

After the marriage of the earl of Lenox, Henry sent him to Ireland, with orders to the deputy, St. Leger, to have troops raised with all possible dispatch, in order to assist him in the recovery of his inheritance in Scotland. This nobleman landed in Dublin on St. Michael's day, and went to Kilmainham to the deputy, to whom he presented the order of which he was the bearer. The deputy lost no time in obeying the king's mandate ; and before the middle of November he raised a new body of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Travers. These were soon joined by an equal number which had been raised by the earl of Ormond in his own district ; and the little army, commanded by the earl in person, set sail, in twenty-eight vessels, for Scotland. The earl of Lenox had his correspondents in the country, and thought that his friends would be prepared to assist him ; but either through fickleness on their part, or from their being prevented by the faction of the duke of Hamilton, who was opposed to him, when he was preparing to land near his castle at Dumbritton, he perceived the enemy had a superior army on the shore ready to oppose him. He therefore determined on returning to Ireland without making any attempt on Scotland.

Some dispute arose at this time between O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel,† from O'Neill having claimed the right of lord paramount over O'Donnel. The deputy's policy was to render them both dependent on the English government,

* Ware, ibid. cap. 36.
† Cox, p. 277.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 37.
† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 278.

by assuming to himself the arbitration of their difference, and supporting the weaker party against the stronger. By the deputy's decision, therefore, O'Donnel was exonerated from all dependence on O'Neill, except a yearly tribute of sixty oxen, which he had engaged to pay him for the peninsula of Inisowen. At the same time, two of the noble tribe of the Cavanaghs, of the county Carlow,—namely, Charles or Cahir Mac-Art, of Polmonty, and Gerald Mac-Cahir, of Garochil, disputed the right of lordship or chief of the tribe; but instead of having recourse to the interference of the deputy, they determined their quarrel by a bloody engagement, in which each lost about one hundred men killed upon the spot; whereon, either by agreement or some other means, Charles Mac-Art became master of the lordship. He was afterwards created baron of Balian, in the district of Idrone, by Queen Mary.

The northern Irish finding themselves on the eve of falling under the English yoke, O'Neill, O'Donnel, O'Dogherty, and other noblemen, made proposals to Francis I. whereby they promised that monarch to become his subjects, and oppose the tyranny of the English, provided he obtained the pope's concurrence, and would furnish them with two thousand archers, two hundred light horse, and four pieces of cannon. The French monarch, who considered this overture worthy of his attention, sent John de Montluc, bishop of Valentia, to Ireland, to investigate the matter, and to see what probability there would be of succeeding in such an enterprise. The ambassador landed at Loughfoyle, and had a conference, a few days afterwards, with the parties who were interested, the result of which is not known; but that nobleman set out immediately for Rome, probably to confer with the pope on the subject. It is likely that Cox confounds this embassy with one of a more solemn nature, of which we shall speak under the following reign.

The royal treasury in Ireland being exhausted, the deputy wished to impose a tax on the people, A. D. 1545;* but the earl of Ormond having opposed it, a quarrel arose between these noblemen, who accused each other of treason, and they were ordered by the king to repair to England, Brabazon being nominated deputy during the absence of St. Leger. At the same time, Allen, the chancellor, having been accused of prevarication in the discharge of his office, was put into confinement; Sir Thomas Cusack was appointed keeper of the seals in his stead and Sir Richard Read chancellor. St. Leger and Ormond were summoned to appear before the king and council; but their accusations against each other not amounting to high treason, they were discharged, St. Leger being sent back to Ireland as deputy. James Butler, earl of Ormond, grand treasurer of Ireland, died of poison at a repast at Holborn, near London; James White, the master of his household, and sixteen of his servants, having shared the same fate.

During the administration of Brabazon, the baron of Upper Ossory having had some cause of complaint against his son Thadeus, sent him prisoner to Dublin, where he was tried, condemned, and executed. In the month of July, Patrick O'Morra of Leix, and Bryan O'Connor Faly, with their united forces, made inroads on the English province, and burned the town of Athy, in the county of Kildare. Brabazon marched in pursuit of them, carrying fire and sword everywhere he went. The poor inhabitants were sacrificed to his resentment; he had the fort of Dingen, now Philipstown, in the King's county, repaired, and obliged O'Connor to seek an asylum in Connaught. The territories of Leix and Offaly, with the neighboring estates, namely, Slievmargy, Irris, and Clanmalire, were confiscated some years afterwards for the king's use.

The king sent a commission, about this time, to his principal ministers in Ireland, to oblige the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin to place at their disposal the estates belonging to that church; which was assented to with considerable reluctance by the incumbents. This church, however, was restored a few years afterwards to all its rights by Queen Mary.

Previous to his death, Henry VIII. became so large and unwieldy that it was necessary to invent a machine to change or move him from one place to another. He sank under the weight of his own body, which had become bloated from intemperance, the usual companion of lust. His body might, with propriety, be termed the sepulchre of himself, in which his pleasures and disappointments had entombed along with him, his religion, his conscience, his glory, and every sentiment of honor, justice, and humanity; all which gifts nature had bestowed on him. He made a will, whereby he regulated the order of succession to the throne between his children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Henry being attacked by a slow fever,

* Ware, ibid. cap. 38.

caused by dropsy, and by an ulcer in his leg, the hour of his death drew near, without his appearing to perceive its approach. His timid and dissolute courtiers dared not to inform him of it, lest they might incur his resentment and their own disgrace. Sir Anthony Denny, a member of the privy council, alone, had the courage to warn his majesty of his approaching end, and that it was time he should send for a clergyman to assist him in his last moments. The king, contrary to the expectation of those around him, received Denny's intimation with apparent tranquillity, and commanded that archbishop Cranmer should be sent for. It was, however, too late; he had already lost the use of his speech before Cranmer arrived. The prelate desired him to make some sign of his dying in the faith of Jesus Christ; on which the king squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, on the 28th of January, 1547, having lived fifty-six years, of which he reigned thirty-eight.

It is difficult to delineate with accuracy the character of this unhappy prince; his portrait varies according to the different dispositions of the historians who have written on the subject. The partisans of the reformation consider it a merit in him to have shaken off the pope's authority, and thereby established the new religion. His most zealous panegyrists, however, admit that he was addicted to many vices. In truth, the different opinions of writers, with respect to religion and the legitimate succession of kings, have cast so many doubts on historical facts, from the period of the pretended divorce of Henry and Catherine of Aragon to the present time, that it is almost impossible to discriminate between truth and falsehood.

Notwithstanding, however, the various opinions of writers on Henry's character, it may be affirmed that he was a bad king, a bad husband, and a bad Christian.* A tyrant is a bad king. Henry spent the first eighteen years of his reign at plays, masquerades, and nocturnal amusements. He soon squandered the eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, which, through the avarice of his father, Henry VII., he had found in the treasury on his accession to the throne; so that, though possessing more considerable revenues, he found himself more indigent than any of his predecessors. He, however, supplied the deficiency by tyranny: the immense wealth of the monasteries, colleges, and hospitals, which were suppressed; the silver ornaments and vessels of these houses; the spoils of Cardinal Wolsey and Cromwell, his vicar-general; the estates of several noblemen of the first distinction, which were confiscated for his use, and the large sums that were extorted from the clergy, under pretext of the *præmunire* law, increased the king's exchequer to a considerable extent, but were not sufficient to support his profligacy.* He levied exorbitant taxes upon his people; raised extensive loans on his privy seal; and then procured acts of parliament to annul his engagements, and defraud his creditors of their right. Finding the wealth of the kingdom entirely exhausted, he caused the money to be recoined, and made spurious, to such a degree, that, to the shame of the English nation, it was not current in foreign countries, by which means the merchant lost his credit abroad In Ireland, for want of gold and silver, the king ordered that copper money should be made use of, to the great detriment and displeasure of the public.

Of Henry's six wives, two were repudiated, two were beheaded, and one died in childbed; the last, in all likelihood, only escaped a cruel fate by the sudden death of the prince; which facts fully prove him to have been the worst of husbands.

In fine, Henry is represented as a cruel and profligate prince. Neither the most depraved of the Roman emperors, says Higgins, nor even Christiern of Denmark, Don Pedro of Castile, nor Vasilowich of Russia, surpassed him in cruelty and debauchery.† This writer, indeed, like Sir Walter Raleigh, affirms, that were the portrait of tyranny lost, the original might be found in the life of Henry VIII. He was a monster of humanity, that never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust; and from the consciousness of his crimes, he died in utter despair.

* Salmon, ibid. page 276.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EDWARD VI., only son of Henry VIII. and of Jane Seymour, ascended the throne at the age of nine years, in virtue of his birthright, and of his father's will. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and maternal uncle to the young king, was appointed governor of his person, and protector of the kingdom during his minority; being also created duke of Somerset. This prince, after receiving the

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, p. 168, et seq Ward, History of the Reformation, cant. 1. Salmon, ibid. page 285.

† Short View.

order of knighthood, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, on the 20th of February, by the archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1547.*

St. Leger was continued in the government of Ireland, first as lord-justice, and afterwards under the title of deputy or viceroy. He had Edward proclaimed king of Ireland on the 26th of February. James, earl of Desmond, was appointed treasurer about the end of March, and in April nine privy counsellors, besides the deputy, were nominated, viz., Read, chancellor of Ireland, G. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, Edward Staply, bishop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer, Sir Gerald Ailmer, chief-justice of the king's bench, Sir Thomas Luttrell, chief-justice of the common pleas, James Bath, chief-baron of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Cusack, master of the rolls, and Thomas Howth, one of the judges of the king's bench. The king dispatched orders, at this time, to the deputy, chancellor, and other magistrates in Ireland, to grant pensions to the canons and prebendaries of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, which had been suppressed, and to give the silver, jewels, and ornaments, belonging to that church, to the dean and chapter of the cathedral of the holy Trinity, to whom were added six priests and two choristers, in consideration of forty-five pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling, payable at the king's pleasure; this grant was afterwards confirmed to this church, in perpetuity, by Queen Mary.

The O'Byrnes, eager to take advantage of the change that occurred in the government, took the field, in the month of May, to recover their freedom. The viceroy marched with a powerful army to oppose them, and after killing their chief, forced them to retreat to their fastnesses, but was unable to subdue them. At the same time, he had two noblemen, of the house of Fitzgerald, arrested, who, being proscribed for having espoused the cause of the earl of Kildare, had joined the O'Tooles. They were sent with other prisoners to Dublin, where they were all put to death. The O'Morras and O'Connors were attacked in the county of Kildare, after they had taken considerable booty; about two hundred of them were killed, and the rest put to flight.

The English government now saw the difficulties they had to encounter in their attempts to reduce the Irish. They apprehended a general revolt throughout the island, on account of the religious opinions in which the king had been brought up, and the novelties which had been already introduced into religion. They found, too, that the ancient and modern Irish, of whom the nation was then composed, began to unite, and that this union was founded on similar principles of religion. They thought it prudent, therefore, to provide for the safety of the nation; for which end, orders were given that six hundred horse and four hundred infantry should be sent to Ireland, and be well paid. The command of this force was given to Edward Bellingham, on whom the title of captain-general was conferred.* This reinforcement landed at Waterford, in June, where they were joined by the deputy and the army under his command. The viceroy and Bellingham, with their united forces, marched for Leix and Offaly, where they proclaimed O'Morra and O'Connor, chiefs of these districts, traitors to the state, and dispersed their vassals. They then repaired the forts of Dingen, at present Philipstown, in Offaly, and Campaw, or Protector, now Maryborough, in the territory of Leix. O'Morra and O'Connor, finding they had no other resource, made peace with the viceroy. As a reward for his services, Bellingham received the honor of knighthood, and was appointed marshal of Ireland.

About the end of the same year, the privy council, by the advice of Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, gave orders that the fort of Athlone, which was situate in the centre of the island, should be repaired, fortified, and provided with a good garrison. By command of the council, this undertaking was executed by Brabazon, in which he was opposed by Dominick O'Kelly, and other lords of Connaught.

The schism which had been begun in England by Henry VIII., continued to spread itself under his son Edward VI. Edward Seymour, the young king's maternal uncle, who, during the minority, governed the kingdom as protector, added heresy to schism.† In his doctrine, this nobleman was a Zuinglian. Cranmer, who had been always one, found his wishes gratified, on seeing all ready to receive the poison of the error he was going to proclaim. The young king, although he was, by his father's desire, educated in the Catholic faith, favored Cranmer in his errors, which speedily gained ground, and truth was suppressed. In order to spread the heresy more widely, the protector took care to raise those who professed

* Baker's Chron. Reign of Edward VI. War. de Annal. reg. Edward, cap. 1.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 2.

† Sander. de Schis. Anglic. lib. 2, passim.

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it, to the first dignities, and most important offices of the state.

The reformation was at this time beginning to be preached in public. Besides Cranmer and his agents, Richard Cox and Hugh Latimer, (whom the Lutherans call the first apostle of England, from the numbers that he perverted,) and other English preachers, the country was infested with swarms of them from Germany. Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bernard Ochin, Fagius, and others, all preached their own doctrines. Some were favorable to Lutheranism, which was professed by Cranmer; others favored the doctrine of Zuingle, which was that of the protector.* This schism appeared dangerous to the parliament. That tribunal acknowledged none other in religious matters; it received its commission expressly from the king, who caused himself to be declared the head of it. In order to satisfy all parties, and at the same time, to preserve some appearance of unity, these wise senators adopted certain articles of the tenets of each of the sects, whereof the religion of the country was composed; and in order that none should have cause to complain of having been excluded, they added a portion of Calvinism, which was at that time becoming popular. Calvin had already the confidence to write to the duke of Somerset, the protector, to exhort him to make use of the sword, to reduce the Catholics, and force them to embrace what he termed the doctrine of the gospel. From the many innovations which were introduced into this new religion, that had never before been attempted, the people became alarmed. The celebration of the mass was abolished, the marriage of priests allowed, the images were removed from the churches, and public prayers said in the language of the country. Finally, the six articles which had been established by Henry VIII. were annulled; several bishops were deprived of their sees, and thrown into dungeons; the revenues belonging to the churches, together with their vessels and ornaments, were converted to profane purposes: "*Ut quid perditio hæc*," &c., exclaimed the reformers, like Judas;† in short, a new liturgy was substituted for the old one, by an act of parliament. All these things alarmed the faithful, and gave rise to a rebellion in many provinces of England, where the inhabitants took up arms in defence of the religion of their forefathers.

In Ireland, the effects of the reformation were beginning to be felt in 1548. The Irish were strongly attached to their religion, and took alarm at the slightest attempt to introduce a change. All Europe has witnessed the miseries they have undergone, and the sacrifices that they have made in defence of it, from the above period to the present. Two young noblemen, named Richard and Alexander, sons of Thomas Fitz-Eustace, viscount of Baltinglass, having caused disturbances in the county of Kildare, by opposing some matters connected with the reformation, which was beginning to be introduced among them, the government immediately sent troops, commanded by the viceroy, who was attended by Bellingham and Brabazon, in order to crush the rising conspiracy. A well disciplined army, headed by the deputy, was more than sufficient to disperse a body of men who had been tumultuously assembled, and badly provided with arms; their leaders soon surrendered to the viceroy, who procured them their pardon, and that of their father, the Viscount Baltinglass, who was supposed to have favored their insurrection.

St. Leger, the deputy, having received orders to return to England, brought O'Morra and O'Connor prisoners along with him. These noblemen having submitted, received their pardon, and a pension for life, of one hundred pounds sterling a year, from the exchequer. O'Morra, however, enjoyed it for only a short period, as he died in the course of the same year in London.

Sir Edward Bellingham, who had been sent to England by the government to render an account of the submission of some noblemen in the county of Kildare, returned to Ireland as deputy from the court. He landed at Dalkey, near Dublin, on the vigil of Pentecost, and in two days afterwards, received the sword of office according to custom, in the cathedral church of Dublin. The new deputy reappointed John Allen chancellor, instead of Read, who returned soon afterwards to England.

The deputy being in possession of the government, made incursions into the territories of Leix and Offaly, where he quelled some disturbances that had been caused by Cahir O'Connor, and other nobles of this district. He then marched towards Dealna, the country of M'Coghlan, which he laid waste, and reduced to obedience. He was the first after Henry III., according to Davis and Cox, who extended the frontiers of the English province in Ireland.*

This deputy established a mint in Ireland,

* Le Grand, History of the Divorce, vol. 1, page 287.

† Baker, ibid. p. 304, et seq. Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, preface to the reader.

* History of Ireland, page 284.

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by orders of the government; it failed, however, for want of means to support it. In the month of April, of this year, the city of Dublin, which had been at first governed by a provost, and subsequently, under Henry III., by a mayor and bailiffs, and was honored with the sword by Henry IV., obtained permission from the court to change its bailiffs into sheriffs.

About this time, Francis Brian, an Englishman and baronet, having married Jane, countess dowager of Ormond, was appointed marshal of Ireland, and governor of the counties Tipperary and Kilkenny. This governor and the deputy could not agree; the one being unwilling to acknowledge a superior, and the other an equal; their animosity was carried to such a pitch that Brian wrote to the king against the deputy, and had him summoned to appear at court, to answer the charges which he advanced against him.

In the mean time, Teigue, or Thadeus O'Carroll, seized upon and destroyed the castle of Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, in spite of the spirited resistance of the English garrison. After this, he expelled all the English from the district.*

Some differences sprang up in Ulster between Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, and his son Calvagh, which ended in an open war. Both parties took up arms, and on the 7th of February came to an engagement, in which the father was victorious, and his son put to flight, leaving MacDonough O'Cahan, and several other noblemen, his allies, dead on the field of battle. A dreadful misfortune happened shortly afterwards to MacCoghlan: his district of Dealna being laid waste by the united forces of Teigue O'Melaghlin and Edmond Fay.

King Edward being at war with the Scotch, the viceroy and council in Ireland sent a brigade of Irish troops to his assistance, under the command of Donough, son of O'Connor Fahy, accompanied by the sons of Cahir O'Connor.

In the month of November, Cormoc Roe O'Connor, who had been proclaimed a traitor and proscribed, appeared before the deputy and council in Christ's church, Dublin, where, after making his submission, he was pardoned; but being possessed of considerable estates, (which was then a crime for an Irishman,) they soon furnished him with fresh cause to rebel; he was consequently arrested by the earl of Clanriccard, and sent to Dublin, where he was tried and condemned to death. If accusation renders a man guilty, innocence itself cannot be secure.

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 285.

About Christmas the deputy wrote to the earl of Desmond, to induce him to come to Dublin on some important business. The earl was then the richest of the king's subjects in landed property, and though not one of the privy council, was treasurer of Ireland. The deputy, exasperated at his refusal to obey the summons, set out on a sudden, with twenty horsemen, for Munster, where he surprised him, and brought him prisoner to Dublin. This, however, proved fortunate for him, as he obtained his pardon some time afterwards, and was restored to favor, through the interference of his adversary. Cox draws a very disadvantageous portrait of the earl of Desmond, for rudeness and ferocity of manners. This, however, is contradicted by Ware, who was undoubtedly a more judicious and authentic historian.*

The conquest of Ireland had not been yet completed, A. D. 1549. Symptoms, however, appeared from time to time among the ancient Irish, which portended the speedy reduction of the island.† When the lords of inferior districts had any subject of complaint against their superior lords, respecting the contributions or tributes which the latter exacted from them, perhaps with too much rigor; instead of having recourse to the usual mode of arbitration, or referring their differences to the Brehons, who were the ordinary judges among them, they carried their complaints before the English governor. This politic tribunal, while effecting between them an outward reconciliation, exerted itself to sever the ties of subordination which bound them together, establishing an independence among them; so that by a separation of the vassals from their chief, the body became imperceptibly enfeebled, many instances of which occurred about this time. Conn O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, having had a dispute with Maguire, Phelim Roe O'Neill, and other nobles who held under him, they presented themselves before the deputy and council, in Dublin, in the month of June. The tribunal heard their mutual recriminations and complaints, and had them reconciled on certain conditions; it decided, that Maguire should be exempt for the future from all subjection, homage, and dependence on the earl of Tyrone and his successors; that he should always remain in peace, under the deputy's protection, and that he should be bound to acquit himself towards his excellency, as often as he should be required by the council.

* Hist. of Ireland, page 285.
† Ware, ibid. cap. 3.

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of all homage, debts, and generally of every duty which a subject owes to his lord. In the following month, a similar decree was made respecting O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and the nobles who derived under him. These negotiations were followed by the submission of Brian and Hugh Oge M'Mahon, (the younger,) to the deputy at Kilmainham, and the remission of a fine of five hundred marcs, to which they had been condemned some time before.

The war had lasted for a considerable time between the English and Scotch, respecting the marriage which it was endeavored to conclude between the young king Edward and Mary Stuart, in order to unite England with Scotland.* The Scotch nobility having refused to consent to this marriage, the lord-protector marched into Scotland with a powerful army, where he gained the celebrated battle of Musselborough. Henry II. king of France, whose interest it was to thwart an alliance which would produce the union of these two crowns, averted the blow by sending for the heiress of Scotland. She was afterwards married to his son, Francis II.

At this conjuncture, the Scotch sent a body of troops to Ulster to support the Irish against the English, and thereby create a diversion in their own favor; but these auxiliaries, to the number of two hundred, were defeated by Andrew Brereton, at the head of thirty-five horsemen. This captain quelled the disturbances in Ulster, and was appointed governor of that province.

Bellingham, the deputy, having been recalled by the intrigues of his enemies, sailed from Howth in December, for England. After his departure, the chancellor Allen, by the orders of the king, having convened a meeting of the nobility and privy council, in the church of the holy Trinity, Dublin, in order to appoint a successor, the choice fell on Sir Francis Brian. This election was confirmed by the signatures of Jenico Preston, viscount Gormanstown; Roland Eustace, viscount Baltinglass; Edward Staples, bishop of Meath; Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin; John Plunket, baron of Killeen; Patrick Barnewall, baron of Trimlestown; Robert Plunket, baron of Dunsany; Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth; and Brian Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory. The administration of this new deputy was of short duration. Having undertaken an expedition into the county of Tipperary, to quell some disturbances, and to oppose the incursions of O'Carroll, he fell sick at Clonmel, where he died on the second of February following. His body was removed to Waterford, and interred in the cathedral of the holy Trinity. After his death, the government was confided by the council to Sir William Brabazon, with the title of lord-justice, and this governor intrusted Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, with the superintendence of the country of Ormond, during the minority of the earl, who was then but twelve years of age.

The lord-justice marched towards Limerick, where he received the submission of Teigue, or Thadeus O'Carroll.* This nobleman undertook to pay an annual tribute to the exchequer, and also to maintain a certain number of troops, both horse and foot, at his own expense, for the king's service, and to resign his claims on the barony of Ormond. He likewise placed the district of Eile in the king's hands, who restored it to him afterwards, by letters patent, with the title of lord-baron of Eile. This nobleman having got over his own difficulties, interfered in favor of M'Morrough, O'Kelly, and O'Melaghlin, and procured letters of protection for them. The lord-justice at the same time reconciled the earls of Desmond and Thuomond, whose differences respecting their frontiers had long disturbed the peace of the province. Dermod O'Sullivan, a powerful nobleman in the county of Cork, met with a heavy calamity at this period; some barrels of powder having taken fire, by which he and his castle were blown up together. Amalf, his brother and heir, was killed some time afterwards.

The town of Boulogne, which had been taken by Henry VIII. six years before, was surrendered to the French, in April, 1550, on condition of paying, at two separate periods, the sum of four hundred thousand crowns.† The king of England expended eight thousand pounds sterling of this money in the service of Ireland. He also sent over four hundred men from that garrison, which enabled the lord-justice to pursue the rebels, among others Charles Mac-Art Cavanagh, who had already been proclaimed a traitor. He devastated the country, and killed several of his followers.

The reformation had not yet made much progress in Ireland. In the month of May of this year, Arthur Magennis was appointed by the pope to the bishopric of Dromore, and was confirmed in it by letters patent

* Baker, ibid.

* Cox, ibid. page 287

† Ware, ibid. cap. 4.

from the king. Thomas Lancaster, of the reformed religion, was consecrated bishop of Kildare, in Dublin, in July, by George Brown, archbishop of that city. He, however, lost his bishopric under the following reign, on account of his having married.*

The English sent an army at this time to the frontiers of Scotland. Henry II., king of France, considered this step against his allies as an infraction of the peace lately concluded between him and the English: and accordingly sent a fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty vessels, laden with provisions, powder, and cannon, to Scotland; but having been overtaken by a furious tempest, sixteen of the largest vessels were wrecked upon the coast of Ireland; the remainder were scattered, and found considerable difficulty in reaching the coast of France. The king of England wished to counteract the designs of France against his dominions, but particularly against Ireland. He knew that his power was not firmly established in that country; that the people were in general dissatisfied, and that their fidelity being founded on a forced submission, they only waited for an opportunity to shake off the English yoke. For the purpose therefore of guarding it, he sent a fleet of twenty vessels, consisting of large ships and sloops, under the command of Lord Cobham, with orders to cruise in the Irish sea, from the north to the south of the island. Henry II. found means, however, to elude these precautions. He sent over De Forquevaux, attended by the prothonotary De Montluc, who entered into successful negotiation with the princes of Ulster, O'Neill and O'Donnell, and induced them to enter into a confederacy with France, against the English. As, however, the continuance of treaties is generally measured by the interest of princes, the peace which was concluded between France and England rendered this league with the Irish abortive.

De Serigny speaks in the following terms of this negotiation, in his book of general peerage, or registry of the nobility of France, in the article respecting Beccarie de Pavie, marquis de Forquevaux.† "In the mean time, as the king wished to bring the Irish princes under his dominion, and withdraw them from their allegiance to the king of England, who had many partisans among them, and was in possession of some fortresses; he gave orders to De Forquevaux to set out for Ireland with the prothonotary, De Montluc, (John de Montesquion de Lasseran Massencomme, brother to marshal Blaise de Montluc,) who was then chancellor of Scotland, and afterwards bishop of Valentia, and Die in Dauphiny.* Notwithstanding the delicacy of this affair, they carried on their negotiation, which was a dangerous one, with so much skill and dexterity, that, in the month of February, 1553, they received the oath of fidelity from prince O'Donnel, and O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in the castle of Donegal, province of Ulster, which princes, both in their own name, and in the names of the other lords of the country, placed their lives, forces, and properties under the protection of France; it having been agreed upon, that whoever would be king of France, should be also king of Ireland." This is an historical fact, of which no mention is made, either by our most correct compilers, or in the extensive works of Du Tillet, De Belleforet, De la Popliniere, and others; but concerning which no doubt can exist, since according to the account of the biographer of Raymond de Beccarie, the Latin transcript of the oath taken by the Irish lords is to be found in the king's treasury, and he was moreover well acquainted with the facts.

Allen, chancellor of Ireland, was recalled at this time to England, and succeeded by Sir Thomas Cusack, of Coffington, in the county of Meath, who had been master of the rolls. The office of chancellor was confirmed to him by letters from the king, in the month of August.

In September, Sir Anthony St. Leger was again appointed lord-lieutenant or deputy of Ireland; and on his arrival in Dublin, Brabazon presented him, according to custom, with the sword. This deputy received the submission of M'Carty, and restored him to favor.

Richard Butler, lord of Mongarret, in the county of Wexford, was created a peer of the realm on the 23d of October, under the title of lord viscount Mongarret. He was son of Pierce, or Peter, earl of Ormond, and of Margaret, daughter of Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare.†

Charles Mac-Art Cavanagh having appeared on the 4th of November before the grand council in Dublin, made his submission, and surrendered his possessions publicly, in the name of Mac-Morrough, in presence of the deputy, the earls of Desmond, Tyrone Thuomond, and Clanriccard, viscount Mongarret, the baron of Dunboyne, and other noblemen. The submission of this nobleman produced him no advantage, as he was stripped

* War. de Episcop. Kildare.
† Regist. 2. 1 part. vol. 3.

* He was promoted and consecrated in 1553.
† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

of the best portion of his estates. Such were the usual terms that were imposed upon the Irish by their unjust masters, after they had submitted to the yoke. The lands belonging to them were peculiarly attractive to Englishmen, and enriched thousands of hungry adventurers, who came in crowds to seek their fortunes in Ireland.

Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, died at this time; he was natural son of Peter, earl of Ormond.* This prelate belonged to the privy council of Ireland, under Henry VIII. At the time of the suppression of monasteries, he surrendered the priory of St. Edmond, of Athassel, in the county of Tipperary, to which he had been appointed. A synod was convened in June, 1529, at Limerick, by him; when, among other things, it was decreed that the mayor of the city should have a power, without incurring any censure, to arrest and imprison ecclesiastics for debt. The clergy complained loudly of this decree, as being an infraction upon their privileges. Butler was succeeded in the see of Cashel by Roland Barron.

This year, the king of England sent his commands to the deputy of Ireland, to have the liturgy and public prayers performed in the English language; with a direction that orders should be given to all archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and parish priests, throughout the kingdom, to conform in all these matters to the king's will.

In obedience to the king's commands, the deputy convened a meeting of the clergy, to inform them of the orders he had received, and the opinions of some English bishops, who had conformed to the new liturgy. George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, who was grave, learned, an able preacher, and firmly attached to the Catholic cause, spoke with vigor against this innovation, and among other things said, "Any illiterate layman will then have power to say mass." After this he left the meeting, followed by all his suffragans, except Edward Staples, bishop of Meath. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was more submissive than Dowdal: he received the king's orders respectfully, observing that he submitted, as Jesus had done to Cæsar, in all that was just and lawful, without inquiring into the cause, as he acknowledged him to be his true and lawful king. On the Easter Sunday following, he preached upon this subject, in the cathedral of the blessed Trinity, Dublin, taking for his text the following words of the Psalmist: "Open my eyes, that I may behold the wonders of thy law."

* Ware, Arch. Cassill.

According to Ware, several lords had, at this time, the title of baron, though they did not rank among the nobles: it is probable that these were popular distinctions, from which they did not derive the privilege of sitting in parliament. The following he mentions to have existed in his time: the barons of Burnchurch, Navan, Scrine, Galtrim, Rheban, Norragh, Sleumarg, Brownsford, Thomastown, Ardmail, and Loughno. When the country was, by order of the English governor, divided into baronies, the people, through courtesy, gave the title of baron to some of the ancient Irish, to whom the lands belonged; among others, we discover those of Dartry, Tuathra Clanmahan, Tirereil, Loghtee, who were styled barons of their own estates. All who had large possessions assumed the title likewise, which was also the custom in England, previous to its being conferred by patent.

St. Leger, the deputy, was recalled this year, on account of some complaints that were urged against him by the archbishop of Dublin, either for want of zeal in advancing the reformation, or some other secret cause. He was succeeded by Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber.*

The new deputy having learned, on his arrival in Ireland, that St. Leger was in Munster, he repaired to Cork, where he received the sword from him in May, 1551. Crofts was a zealous Protestant, and endeavored, but in vain, to induce Dowdal, the primate, to conform to the king's wishes respecting the liturgy. Upon his refusal, the king and council of England deprived him of the title of primate, which was thereupon conferred on the see of Dublin. Dowdal was obliged to withdraw to a foreign country, and Hugh Goodacre was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh in his stead. He was consecrated in February, with John Bale, bishop of Ossory, in the church of the blessed Trinity, Dublin, by Archbishop Brown, assisted by the bishops of Kildare and Down.

The first expedition of Crofts was into Ulster, to quell some disturbances that had been caused by the inhabitants of that province, in conjunction with their neighbors, the Scotch. The deputy having reached Carrickfergus, sent a detachment under the command of Captain Bagnall, to surprise Rachlin, an island at some distance in the sea, north of Fairhead. This expedition did not succeed to his wishes: the detachment was repulsed with a heavy loss, and

* Ware, ibid. cap. 5.

one of the vessels of his little fleet was wrecked. Bagnall was taken prisoner by the MacDonnels, and afterwards exchanged for Surly-Boy MacDonnel, their brother, who had been kept in confinement in Dublin. During his stay in Ulster, the deputy received the submission of some of the nobles of the country. The rest intrenched themselves in inaccessible fastnesses, from which he found it impossible to dislodge them.

At this time, the king changed the title of the Irish king-at-arms.* This officer, who had till then enjoyed that office for all Ireland, was thenceforward called Ulster king-at-arms, the cause of which is not known. Nicholas Narbon, one of the English heralds, surnamed Richmond, was the first who held the office under the new title. He was succeeded by Bartholomew Butler.

On the deputy's return to Dublin, he had the earl of Tyrone arrested, on account of some complaints which had been made against him by his son Ferdorach or Matthew O'Neill, baron of Dungannon. The brothers of Matthew took up arms and devastated the lands of Dungannon, to avenge the insult which had been offered to their father. It being the interest of the English government to support their client, they gave him a body of English troops to enable him to defend his possessions. The matter was soon decided by a pitched battle, in which the baron was defeated and put to flight, with a loss of two hundred of his men, killed upon the spot. The earl of Tyrone was detained three months more in prison, after which he received his freedom, upon giving hostages, and returned to his province.

Brien O'Connor Faly, who was a prisoner in the tower of London, having found means to escape, was retaken, and again thrown into confinement. MacCoghlan, who had been expelled from his territory of Dealna, or Delvin, was restored at this time, having yielded to the English yoke. The public archives, which had been before deposited in Bermingham tower, Dublin, were now removed to the library of St. Patrick.

About this period died Robert Waucop, otherwise Venantius, who was either a Scot or an Irishman. During the lifetime of Dowdal, the primate, he was nominated archbishop of Armagh, to Pope Paul III., though Dowdal was a Catholic.† It appears that the pope paid no regard to his nomination, it having been by Henry VIII. during his schism. Two bishops appeared now for the first time in each diocese in Ireland: the one was called titular, appointed by the pope; the other received his mission from the kings of England, with the possession of the revenues. The only advantage which Waucop derived from his appointment, was the honor of being titular archbishop of Armagh.

Two years had now elapsed since the duke of Somerset was liberated from the tower, and deprived of the protectorship;* but fresh accusations having been brought against him, by his rival the duke of Northumberland, and other noblemen, he was impeached and convicted of high treason, and of having attempted the life of Northumberland, in consequence of which he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Such was the end of this ambitious nobleman, who, though but a subject, aspired to be the equal of a sovereign, by assuming the style of "Somerset, by the grace of God," A. D. 1552.† He built a magnificent palace from the ruins of churches and the dwellings of the bishops, and from the revenues, which they and the chapters were obliged to surrender to him.

Morrough O'Brien, who was created earl of Thuomond by Henry VIII., having died, his nephew Donogh, baron of Ibrican, took possession of the estates and title of Thuomond, according to a compact made between them by the king; but as this title was to end with Donough, he surrendered his patent to Edward VI., who conferred a new one on him, by which the title of earl of Thuomond was confirmed to him and his male heirs for ever. He was soon afterwards killed by his brother Donald.

The noble family of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare was restored this year, in the person of Gerald, brother to Thomas, last earl of Kildare, who was executed in England with his uncles, on account of their rebellion. This nobleman spent several years in different countries of Europe, and having been restored to favor, obtained letters from the king, empowering him to take possession of Maynooth and other estates belonging to his family, and two years afterwards, he received the ancient titles of his house from Queen Mary.

Donough O'Brien, who had just been created earl of Thuomond by letters patent, and declared heir to the estates annexed to that title, was disturbed in his possessions by his brother Donald. This nobleman was exasperated to see his eldest brother, and the head of his family, enter into an agreement

* Cox, ibid. page 291.
† Baker, Chron. of England, pp. 306, 308.

* War. de Archiep. Ardmach. Idem. Annal. Hibern.
† Baker, Chron. of Engl. p. 305.

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with the king of England, which were so contrary to the interests of his country; he looked upon the title as the seal of his slavery, and of the dishonor of a house which had been, till that time, free and independent. According to Cox, Donald had another motive for declaring against his brother;* he had cause to apprehend the loss of the prerogatives to which he was entitled by the old custom of Tanistry, as the submission of his brother to the English government secured the possession for ever to his descendants. This, however, is mere conjecture, on the part of Cox, who always puts a bad construction upon the intentions of those who were opposed to the English. In order, indeed, to give an appearance of truth to what he advances, he says that Donald and Terlough were uncles to the earl of Thuomond, while, according to every other historian who wrote on Irish affairs, they were his brothers. However this may have been, the deputy, in conjunction with some of the members of the council, made use of his authority, and settled the matter in favor of the earl.

Sir Nicholas Bagnall was appointed to the command of a force which was sent against MacMurrough. Both armies having met, they fought for a long time with doubtful success; the loss was heavy on both sides, and the victory remained undecided: the numbers of killed and wounded were not known. The English garrison of Athlone pillaged, at this time, the cathedral church of Cluan-mac-noisk, not sparing even the books or sacred vessels of the church.

Some time afterwards, the deputy marched at the head of an army to Ulster, and fortified Belfast, where he left a strong garrison. In the mean time, the baron of Dungannon having marched with his forces to join the English army, he was surprised in his camp by his brother Shane O'Neill, who killed several of his men, and put the rest to flight. The deputy finding himself deprived of this succor, set out for Dublin, with the intention of returning to England. The English monarch having learned that Queen Mary, of Scotland, had sent over O'Connor to Ireland, whose father was a prisoner in England, to influence the Irish to rebel against the government, he gave orders to Sir Henry Knolles to repair thither without delay, and put off the departure of the deputy till he should receive fresh instructions: but finding, soon after this, that the queen of Scotland's plan had failed, he proceeded to England, with the king's permission, attended by Andrew Wise, the vice-treasurer. Two days after his departure, the privy council and nobility met in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, in order to appoint two justices, to be intrusted with the government during the absence of the deputy. The choice fell upon Thomas Cusack, the chancellor, and Gerald Aylmer, chief-justice of the king's bench, both of whom were knights, as, at that time, the title was conferred both on civil and military officers. Some time afterwards, one of the O'Neills, of the house of Tyrone, was arrested in Dublin for having circulated opprobrious reports concerning the deputy, but was liberated on bail. About this period, Hugh Ogue O'Neill, lord of Clanneboy, submitted to the king, in presence of the lords-justices, and took the oath of allegiance. The king, in gratitude, gave him the abbey of Carrickfergus, with the castle of Belfast, and permission for three secular priests to reside with him.

Ulster was desolated this year by a civil war between the earl of Tyrone and his son John, commonly known in history by the name of Shane O'Neill. All Ireland was visited by a dreadful famine and a scarcity of grain; but the year following was a most abundant one; the same measure which cost twenty-four shillings the preceding year, being sold for five, A. D. 1553.

The sentence pronounced by the deputy in favor of Donough, earl of Thuomond, was not sufficient to thwart the designs of his brother Donald O'Brien against him. Donald, who was seconded by his brother Terlough, and a few other lords of Thuomond, with their vassals, attacked Clonroan, or Cluanroad, in the county of Clare, and burned all except the castle.* The earl defended himself in it for some time, but being at length obliged to yield to a superior force, the castle was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword; the earl being found among the number of the slain. Connor, his only son, whom he had by Helen, daughter of Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, being supported by the English government, succeeded to the title and estates of his father.† This was the source of the discord which prevailed for a long time between the houses of Thuomond and Inchiquin, and the other branches of the O'Briens.

About this time, Teugue Roe O'Melaghlin evinced the same spirit of patriotism which Donald O'Brien had displayed. Having received some insult from his relative, Neil Mac Phelim, who was in the interest

* Page 292.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 7.

† Cox, ibid. pp. 315, 545.

of the English, he killed him on the road to Mullingar in Westmeath. O'Melaghlin himself lost his life, some time afterwards, in a battle against the garrison of Athlone, commanded by the baron of Delvin, whereupon his estate was confiscated. The quarrels of the Burkes also gave rise to disturbances in Connaught; Richard Burke having quarrelled with the children of Thomas Burke, called Backagh, gave them battle, in which he was made prisoner, leaving one hundred and fifty of his men dead on the field. Richard, earl of Clanriccard, having had some disputes with John Burke, he entered his lands, sword in hand, and laid siege to his castle; but on learning that Donald O'Brien was coming to his assistance, the earl raised the siege, not thinking it prudent to wait the event of a battle.

King Edward sent three large vessels this year to discover a passage to the East Indies through the north of Europe and Asia, at the solicitation of Sebastian Gabato, a native of Bristol, the son of a Genoese, or, as others say, of a Venetian,* and a celebrated cosmographer. The king appointed him pilot or director of this little fleet, which was under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. On reaching the latitude of 74 degrees, Willoughby's ship was cast upon a desert shore, where he and his crew were found frozen to death. His lieutenant, Richard Cancellarius, was more fortunate, having discovered a passage into Russia, which had been till then unknown to the English. The third vessel, which suffered from the storm, and was separated from the others, fearing for the success of the voyage, returned to England.

Edward VI. died at Greenwich, in July, at the age of sixteen years, of which he had reigned six. The reformation advanced with rapid strides during his time, which cannot surprise us, since this prince, who began his reign at the age of nine years, was wholly under the control and command of those who were intrusted with the administration during his minority. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, governed during the first years, as protector, till he was supplanted by John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. The former was a Zuinglian, and the friend of Cranmer; the latter conformed to the religion which suited his own purposes best; so that these two favorites, and the other nobles belonging to the court, perverted the authority of an infant king, to gratify their cupidity with sacrilegious plunder. The supposed reformation of religion, was a pretext made use of by them to seize upon the property of the church. They first proclaimed Edward, as they had done Henry, head of the church of England, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. The maxim which had been established in the time of Henry VIII. was, *that the king held the place of the pope in England;* but they granted prerogatives to this new papacy, to which the pope had never aspired. The bishops were newly appointed by Edward, and were to continue in their sees according to the king's will, as had been settled by Henry, and it was thought that, in order to accelerate the reformation, *the bishops should be subject to the yoke of an arbitrary power.* The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, was the first to submit to this degradation, which is not surprising, as it was through him all these opinions were propagated; the others followed his pernicious example. This system was afterwards altered, and the bishops were forced to consider it as a favor that the king conferred the sees for life. It was clearly specified in their commission, as had been done under Henry, agreeably to the doctrine of Cranmer, that episcopal authority, as well as that of secular magistrates, emanated from royalty, as its source; that the bishops should exercise it under a precarious tenure, and give it up at the pleasure of the king, from whom they derived it; in short, every thing was made subject to royal power.

The bishoprics, which had thus become offices to be filled by persons who might be recalled at the pleasure of the king, like the governors of provinces, or common clerks, frequently changed their bishop.* The most zealous suffered imprisonment, and by their perseverance, lost their sees; the more politic subscribed to every article of the reformation, and were satisfied with a small portion of the revenues of their rich bishoprics, scarcely sufficient, says Heylin, for the support of a parson; the vacant ones were conferred on men who readily consented to the dismemberment of the lands of their churches, which were formed into baronies, to enrich, as Heylin observes, *the pirates of the court, who had no right by birth to such brilliant fortunes.* The above is but a feeble sketch of the excesses which happened in the reign of Edward; but to return to our history.

The death of Edward VI. was followed by a kind of interregnum of a few days. The duke of Northumberland caused Jane, eldest

* Baker, Chron. of Engl page 309. War. de Annal. Hib. reign of Edward VI. cap. 7.

* Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, p. 99, et seq.

daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, and Mary, sister of Henry VIII., queen of France, and widow of Charles the XII., each to be proclaimed queen of England. Jane was of royal descent through the female line, being grand niece of Henry VIII.; she was also daughter-in-law to the duke of Northumberland, being married to Lord Guilford Dudly, his fourth son.* Upon this was founded her claim to the crown, and the interest which the duke took to have her proclaimed. This nobleman was the favorite of Edward VI., and finding that the prince's end was approaching, represented to him that his conscience required that he should look to the preservation of the new religion, not only during his life, but also after his death; that his sister, the Princess Mary, was opposed to it, but that he could not exclude her from the succession, without also removing Elizabeth; and in short he prevailed so far with this weak prince, that he brought him to make a will, by which he declared his cousin Jane the lawful heiress to the crown.

The duke of Northumberland, who was determined to support the cause of Jane, put himself at the head of an army of ten thouand men. He was attended by several noblemen, many of whom, however, deserted him on their march. Mary, who was at Framingham, in Suffolk, having heard of her brother's death, had herself proclaimed queen, whereon all the nobility of Norfolk and Suffolk flocked to her standard. The nobles who were in London met at Baynard castle, and acknowledging Mary's incontrovertible right to the throne, had her proclaimed by the lord mayor of London. The duke of Northumberland was at Bury when he heard of this general defection in favor of Mary, and deeming it a matter of prudence to follow the torrent, he immediately repaired to Cambridge, where, for want of a herald, he went attended by the mayor, and proclaimed Queen Mary in the market-place, throwing up his cap in the air as a token of joy. This show of loyalty, however, availed him nothing; he was arrested the day following, with other noblemen, by the earl of Arundel, in the queen's name, and sent to the tower. In the mean time the duke of Suffolk entered the apartment of his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, the supposed queen, and informed her that she should lay aside the insignia of royalty, and be content to lead thenceforward a private life. She answered him with modesty, that she resigned it as willingly as she had assumed it, which she never would have done, but through obedience to him, and to her mother. Thus ended her reign of ten days.

* Baker, Chron. of England, page 309.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Queen Mary having been proclaimed in the principal towns in England, left Framingham for London, A. D. 1553. On arriving at Wanstead, in Essex, on the 30th of July, she was met by her sister Elizabeth, attended by a cavalcade of a thousand horsemen.* On the 3d of August, she made her entry into London, with a pomp and magnificence equal to any of her predecessors.† She then took possession of the tower, where Thomas, the old duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, the deposed bishop of Winchester, and the duke of Somerset, were prisoners. They received her on their knees; but raising them she embraced them, saying, "these are my prisoners." They were soon afterwards restored to liberty. Gardiner was reinstated in his see of Winchester, and appointed keeper of the seals and chancellor of England; all the other bishops, who had been dispossessed in the preceding reign, namely, Bonner, bishop of London; Tunstal, of Durham; Day, of Chichester; West, of Exeter; and Heath, of Worcester, were also restored to their sees. All married men, who possessed livings in the church, were removed by Queen Mary, and she herself renounced the profane title of head of the church of England.‡ This princess found herself obliged to make examples of some distinguished personages. The duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were executed on Tower Hill, in the month of August. Shortly afterwards, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Jane Grey, her husband Lord Guilford, and the lords Ambrosius and Henry, sons of the duke of Northumberland, shared the same fate. Queen Mary was crowned with the usual solemnities, in St. Peter's church, by the bishop of Winchester.

The English council having informed the lord-justice and privy council of Ireland of all that had taken place respecting Mary's succession to the throne, she was proclaimed

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 2, p. 244, et seq. Baker, Chron. of Engl. p. 314, et seq.

† War. de Annal. Hib. reign of Mary, c. I. Heylin, Hist. of the Reform. p. 166, et. seq.

‡ Prophanum Primatus ecclesiastici titulum repuit et à stilo Regio sustulit Sanderus ibid.

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in Dublin, and afterwards in the other towns and burghs in the kingdom, to the great satisfaction of the people. The queen afterwards sent over patents to continue the lords-justices and other magistrates in office.

Donough O'Connor made an incursion, at this time, into Offaly, but was put down by the superior force of the lords-justices.

The queen, who was already planning the restoration of the old religion, caused a declaration in favor of the mass, and the other dogmas of the Catholic faith, to be published in Ireland, that is, in the English province, where the heresy was beginning to take root.

About this time, O'Neill made some attempts in the county of Louth, which drew the attention of government towards Ulster. The lords-justices having collected their forces, marched towards Dundalk, where they dispersed his troops, after killing several of them.

Sir Anthony St. Leger was appointed by the queen, lord deputy of Ireland, in November. Having landed at Dalkey, he repaired to Dublin, where he took the oath on the 19th of the same month, and received the sword from Cusack and Aylmer, his predecessors, in the Cathedral of Christ, or the Blessed Trinity; the patent of Cusack, the chancellor, was renewed at the same time.

In this month, Cormac MacCoghlan and his allies, the O'Ferralls, having applied for assistance to Richard, baron of Delvin, against MacCoghlan, chief of the tribe, and superior lord of Dealna, the baron entered freely into their confederacy, which, however, was productive of no other result than the burning of some villages in the territory of Dealna. It tended to perpetuate the animosities and destructive warfare between the tribes of the MacCoghlans and the O'Ferralls.

In the month of December, Owen Magennis, chief of the tribe, and superior lord of Iveach, in the county of Down, surrendered; in consequence of which, he was appointed governor of that district by the deputy and council. This nobleman paved the way, by these means, to the title of lord, which was subsequently taken by his descendants.

In the following spring, George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, who had withdrawn to a foreign country, was recalled by Queen Mary, and restored to his former dignities of archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, A. D. 1554.* The priory of Athird, in the county of Louth, was added to his revenues. The primate convened a provincial synod in Drogheda, in the church of St. Peter, in which several decrees were passed tending to the restoration of religion, and the ancient rights of the church; and statutes enacted against married ecclesiastics. This was only a prelude to other things, more important. In the month of April, the primate and Doctor Walsh, who was appointed bishop of Meath, received an order to depose such bishops and priests as had married. This order was put into execution, in the month of June following, against Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, who was forced to give up his see. About the end of the same year, Brown, archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, and Travers, bishop of Leighlin, shared the same fate. Bale, bishop of Ossory, and Casey, of Limerick, avoided a similar punishment by leaving the country. The bishoprics were then filled by Catholic prelates. Walsh had been already appointed to the see of Meath; Hugh Curvin succeeded Brown in the see of Dublin; Thomas Levereuse filled that of Kildare; Thomas O'Fihely was appointed by the pope bishop of Leighlin; Hugh Lacy, of Limerick, and Bale was replaced by John Thonory, in the see of Ossory. It must be observed that those bishops who were dispossessed, were Englishmen, and the first who preached the reformation in Ireland.

Bale and Brown, the principal of those who introduced the reformation, were monks that had been stripped of their orders. Brown was an Augustinian monk in London. He became provincial of the order in England,* and was appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin by Henry VIII.; but a desire to marry made him renounce the solemn vow of chastity and continence he had made to God, when he embraced the monastic state. He is considered by Protestants as the first who endeavored to introduce the reformation into Ireland. His memory is held in veneration among them, and they have taken care to write his life, as a legend worthy of being handed down to posterity.† Bale was a native of England: he began his studies at Norwich, became a monk of the Carmelite order, and afterwards went to Cambridge to perfect himself. Having a taste for preaching, he never ceased to declaim against the Roman Catholic religion; he was arrested twice, and put into prison, first by order of the archbishop of York, and afterwards by the bishop of London; but was restored to liberty through the influence of Cromwell, the spiritual vicar-general of Henry VIII. He was

* Wareus, ibid. cap. 2.

* War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.
† War. de Episc. Ossor.

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at last forced to leave the country, and withdrew to Germany, where he remained for eight years, after which he returned to England, in the reign of Edward VI., who appointed him to the bishopric of Ossory. This prince died six weeks afterwards, and Mary having ascended the throne, Bale left his library at Kilkenny, and fled to Basle in Switzerland, where he remained till her death, and the accession of Elizabeth. He then returned to England, and was content with a canonship in the church of Canterbury, not wishing to go back to his diocese. He published several works both in Latin and English, a catalogue of which he himself gives in his book on British writers.

In the month of November, Gerald, earl of Kildare, who had been lately restored to his honors, Thomas Duff, or the black, earl of Ormond, and Brian Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory, having distinguished themselves in the war in England, against Sir Thomas Wyat, returned to Ireland. Fitzpatrick was noticed on account of the strict and reciprocal friendship that subsisted between him and Edward VI. In the month of February following, Cahir Mac-Art Cavanagh, an Irish lord, who was highly esteemed in Leinster, and descended from the kings of that province, was created (for life only) lord-baron of Balian, in Idrone, (county of Carlow.) He was succeeded in this title by his brother Dermod.

The queen had given orders at this time to reduce the troops in Ireland to the number of five hundred men; the state of affairs, however, prevented the deputy and council from carrying that measure fully into effect. They retained six hundred foot soldiers, four hundred horsemen, and some light troops; and were obliged soon afterwards to increase the number, and to ask for further reinforcements from the English, to repel the Scotch of the Hebrides.

Before this, mention was made of a marriage between Queen Mary and Philip II. of Spain, eldest son of Charles V.* When this news was spread in England, a serious disturbance broke out in the province of Kent, and other places, in which Wyat was one of the principal performers. Some dreaded that by this marriage, England might become a province of the Spanish monarchy; while the partisans of the reformation feared that the alliance of the queen (who was already opposed to that object) with a Catholic prince, might put an end to the system which had made so rapid a progress during the two last reigns. The queen, however, was so ably seconded by her brave and faithful subjects, that the only result which attended this outbreak was the punishment of the rebels.

Charles V. would let no opportunity escape that might contribute to the aggrandizement of his house.* In January he sent ambassadors to England, and among others, the earl of Egmond, and John de Montmorency; they were honorably received, and were successful in their negotiation concerning the marriage. Philip landed at Southampton, in England, on the 19th of July, and proceeded to Winchester on the 24th, where the queen waited his arrival, and the marriage was celebrated the following day, which was the festival of St. James, by the bishop of that see.† Mary was then thirty-eight years of age, and Philip but twenty-seven; they were immediately proclaimed by the Garter herald at arms, under the following titles:—

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, prince and princess of Spain and Sicily, archduke and archduchess of Austria, duke and duchess of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, and count and countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and the Tyrol."

Although the queen had done much, since her coming to the throne, for the re-establishment of religion and the Catholic liturgy; had the mass and divine offices celebrated, according to the custom of the Roman church, in the Latin language; and had caused heresy to be proscribed, and foreign heretics to be driven out of the country, (of whom, it was said, that at least 30,000 had by various routes departed from England,) still she was unable to bring back the people to their obedience to the see of Rome. The parliament first made some objections on this head, lest the pope might insist upon the restitution of the property of the church, which had been seized upon by the nobles: but all these difficulties being removed, they repealed the laws which had been enacted during the preceding reigns, against the authority and jurisdiction of the popes. They also repealed those respecting Cardinal Pole, who had just arrived from Rome, as legate à latere, from Julius III., who was sovereign pontiff:‡ and finally submitted to every thing, avowing their deep regret for

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 2, part 2, p. 224, et seq.

* Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, on the reign of Mary, p. 209.

† Baker, Chron. of Engl. p. 319.

‡ Heylin, ibid. page 211

having seceded from the obedience due to his holiness, and for having consented to the enactment of laws against him.* They then asked upon their knees, his absolution both for themselves and the people, from the censures which they had incurred by their schism; which was granted to them by the legate, who read aloud the power delegated to him by the pope. A splendid embassy was then sent to Rome, to have all things confirmed by the sovereign pontiff; and on their being thus ratified by his holiness, solemn thanks to God were offered throughout Italy, for the happy reconciliation of England with the holy see.†

War broke out at this time between Connor O'Brien, son of Donough, earl of Thuomond, and his uncle Donald O'Brien. Connor had lost the affection of the people by retaining the English title of earl, which he had assumed after his father, while Donald became very popular by taking the name of O'Brien without any addition, which was considered much more honorable by his countrymen than the title of earl. Donald was very powerful, and took several places from the earl, who required the aid of the English to maintain himself in his districts. The same year Cahir O'Carroll, baron of Ely, who had killed Teugue O'Carroll, perished by the sword of William Odar O'Carroll, of the same family. The latter made himself master of the district of Ely, of which he kept possession for four years. About the same time the baron of Delvin devastated the territory of Dealna, the country of the MacCoghlans, and returned loaded with booty.

An alliance and close friendship had subsisted for a long time between the houses of Tyrone and Kildare, which made them assist each other mutually. John, or Shane Doulenagh O'Neill, son of the earl of Tyrone, having had a dispute with Phelim Roe O'Neill, a powerful nobleman of his family, demanded assistance from Kildare. In order to justify the confidence of his ally, the earl joined in his expedition. The baron of Delvin thereupon marched at the head of his forces to Ulster; but his success did not equal his expectation. He carried away some booty, but lost fifty of his men, who were killed in a skirmish against Phelim O'Neill. Soon after this, a bloody battle took place between the earl of Tyrone and Hugh O'Neill of Clanneboy, respecting some claims of the earl on his territory; the earl was defeated, with the loss of three hundred men killed, besides prisoners; the loss of Hugh was not known.

The court of England sent to Ireland in October, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir John Allen, and Valentine Brown, as commissioners, to assist the deputy in the regulation of the crown lands, by which means they were enabled to procure settlements for themselves in the country. Valentine Brown was a violent Protestant, but his son embraced the Catholic religion; this noble family were afterwards considered worthy of titles of honor, and still live in splendor in the county of Kerry.*

Brien O'Connor Faly, who had been a prisoner in London for four years, was restored to liberty this year, by orders of the queen, who generously continued the pension which had been granted to him by the court. On his landing in Dublin, however, notwithstanding the pardon he had just received from the princess, he was confined in the castle, under pretext of preventing the disturbances he might cause to the state; but in reality to prevent him from reclaiming his property, of which he had been unjustly deprived. We witness in this a surprising contrast between the conduct of the queen and that of her subjects; but their acts were influenced by different motives. The queen found O'Connor innocent, and from a motive of justice gave him his freedom; the council of Dublin were desirous of condemning him as a criminal, and from a mere suspicion that he might become so, deprived him of the benefit of the pardon which the queen had granted him; and then put him in confinement, where he remained till he had given hostages. This mysterious affair must be explained. Whenever the Irish had recourse to arms, it was not so much in opposition to the king and his government, as against their English neighbors, who, always eager to increase their possessions, were continually encroaching upon the lands of the Irish; none but the English being hearkened to by the government, they construed the battle of one individual against another, into rebellion or high treason, the Irish were consequently declared rebels, which declaration was followed by the confiscation of their estates in the name of the king, but in reality, for the benefit of the informers, who, alleging their pretended services against the rebels, found means to have the possessions of the supposed criminals conferred upon themselves. These abuses continued to increase; most of the public offices were filled by Englishmen; the an-

* Baker, ibid. page 320.
† Heylin, ibid pages 212, 213.

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 103.

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cient Irish were altogether excluded from them, and the English government reposed no confidence in those who had first settled in Ireland. These were called the degenerate English; and in every succeeding reign fresh colonies came over from England, who were enriched at the expense of the old inhabitants.

The cathedral church of St. Patrick, in Dublin, which had been suppressed in the preceding reign, was restored by letters patent, dated the 25th of March, 1555.* Thomas Lever, or Levereuse, was made dean, and prebendaries were appointed the May following.† Levereuse, who had been appointed the preceding year to succeed Lancaster in the bishopric of Kildare, was confirmed this year by a bull from the pope, who granted him a dispensation to retain both livings. He was dispossessed in the succeeding reign, for having refused to take the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth, and was obliged to become a schoolmaster in Limerick to obtain a livelihood. William Walsh, bishop of Meath, suffered still more severely: he was not only deprived of his bishopric, but confined in a dungeon, loaded with chains, and afterwards banished from the kingdom.

In June, Pope Paul IV. issued a bull confirming Ireland in the title of kingdom. We can discover no necessity for this new creation of the title of kingdom for Ireland, since it was considered in that light long before the English were known in it, and even before the institution of the popedom.

In July, Cusack, the chancellor, received orders from their majesties to resign the great seal to St. Leger, the lord-lieutenant, and in the following month Sir William Fitzwilliams was appointed to this office, and Hugh Curwin, who had just been consecrated in London archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor of Ireland in October. He convened a provincial synod during the same year, in which several regulations were made respecting religion.

In the mean time, the Scotch of the Hebrides made an attempt on Carrickfergus, in Ulster; but the plan was badly laid and executed. A misunderstanding still continued between Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and his son Calouagh, or Charles. This young nobleman crossed over into Scotland, and having received some assistance from Gilaspock MacAllen, he returned to Ulster, entered Tyrconnel, sword in hand, and took his father prisoner, at Rosrach.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 3.
† War. de Episc. Kildare.

This prince died soon afterwards, in confinement; Calouagh then made himself master of the fortress of Inis-Owen and the castle of Enagh, which he razed to the ground, and in the May following dismissed his allies the Scotch. The proximity of Ireland to Scotland, and the frequent intercourse of the inhabitants with those of the North, was often productive of quarrels between the two countries. Hugh O'Neill, lord of Clanneboy, on the confines of the counties of Down and Antrim, was shot in a skirmish with a party of Scotchmen, who came to attack him on his own estate. The English government availed themselves of the opportunity, to divide this extensive district into two, between Phelim Duff O'Neill, and the children of Phelim Backagh, or the Lame, in order to weaken this illustrious tribe.

The emperor Charles V., being desirous of withdrawing from the cares of the world, first gave up all the low countries to his son Philip, king of England. He soon after this surrendered to him all his hereditary dominions, and abdicated the empire in favor of his son Ferdinand, who was already king of the Romans. He withdrew afterwards to a convent in Estre-Madura, in Spain.

The Cavenaghs and their allies made some incursions, in May, 1556, into the southern parts of the county of Dublin; but they were surprised and dispersed by the garrison of the city, who killed several of them.* A troop of one hundred and forty men withdrew to the fortress of Powerscourt, where they determined to defend themselves. They were besieged by the company of the lord-marshal, and others from Dublin, under the command of Sir George Stanley; and being unable to withstand the great number of their besiegers, were obliged to surrender. They were ungenerously treated by their enemies, and brought to Dublin, where seventy-four of their number were put to death for having rebelled.

St. Leger, the deputy, had before this been recalled, and Thomas Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalters, was appointed lord-lieutenant in his stead. This nobleman landed in Dublin on the day of Pentecost, and a few days afterwards took the usual oath, in Christ's Cathedral, where St. Leger resigned the insignia of office to him. The new governor was accompanied from England by Sir Henry Sidney as treasurer, and Sir William Fitzsymons. He also brought over twenty-five thousand pounds, to be applied against the Scotch and the rebel Irish.

* War. ibid. cap. 4.

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Queen Mary sent instructions to the deputy and council of Ireland, to use every means for advancing the glory of God, and the Catholic faith, and to support the honor and dignity of the holy see.* Her majesty ordered them to assist the ministers of the gospel against the heretics, and their erroneous principles; and also to aid the commissioners whom Cardinal Pole, the legate from the see of Rome, intended sending to Ireland, to visit the clergy.

The deputy having collected his forces, marched towards the north of Ireland, in the beginning of July; on the 18th of the same month, he defeated the Scotch islanders near Carrickfergus; two hundred were killed on the field of battle, and several prisoners taken. Thomas, earl of Ormond, and Stanley, lord-marshal, distinguished themselves in this engagement. The deputy having provided for the necessities of the town of Carrickfergus, and regulated the affairs of Ulster, where he left Stanley as lieutenant-general, returned to Kilmainham. Soon after this, he went to Munster, where he received the submission of several Irish and Englishmen, to whom he granted protections.

In September, Shane O'Neill, son of the earl of Tyrone, having given a promise of submission, repaired to Kilmainham, where he made peace with the deputy. Rory and Donough O'Connor did the same at Dingen; but these arrangements were of short duration, the occasions to rebel being too frequent. The O'Connors soon fell into the snares which had been laid for them. On taking up arms they were declared traitors and expelled from their country, which was laid waste by the English troops.

A parliament was convened in Dublin, in June, 1557. It was adjourned to Limerick the month following, till November, and from thence to Drogheda, till March.† But the lord-lieutenant, who became earl of Sussex by his father's death, having returned to England in December, the parliament ceased its sittings during his absence, and was afterwards prorogued.‡ Cox mentions some acts of this parliament, which had not been printed.§ In them the queen's legitimacy was admitted; she was invested with royal authority, and her posterity declared entitled to inherit the crown of England and Ireland; heresy was made liable to punishment and ordered to be suppressed; all the acts which were passed against the pope since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII., were repealed, and all concessions made by archbishop Brown were declared null and void; the first-fruits too were restored to the church; but all these statutes were annulled in the beginning of the succeeding reign. An act was also passed for granting the queen a subsidy of thirteen and four-pence on every plough-land; and another, by which it was prohibited, under pain of felony, to introduce or receive armed Scotchmen into Ireland, or to intermarry with them, without a license under the great seal.

On his return from England, the deputy undertook an expedition into Connaught in July, against the O'Maddens of Silanchie, at present the barony of Longford. This district had been divided the preceding year between Malachi More O'Madden, and Brassal Dabh, after the murder of John O'Madden, to whom it belonged. The object of the expedition was to punish the O'Maddens, who protected Donough O'Connor, contrary to the law by which he had been declared a rebel. The deputy laid siege to the castle of Milick, on the banks of the Shannon; and being unable to resist the cannon, it surrendered immediately. The conqueror placed a garrison in it, and returned to Kilmainham to prepare for another expedition against the Scotch, who had invaded Ulster. Having collected all his forces, he set out on his march in August, accompanied by the earls of Kildare and Ormond, Viscount Baltinglass, and the barons of Delvin, Dunboyne, and Dunsany. His preparations were, however, not very successful; the Scotch having intrenched themselves in woods, and other inaccessible places, the exploits of the deputy consisted in taking booty, which was carried off by his soldiers, and in conferring knighthood on Donald MacDonnell, and Richard M'Guillan, who made their submission to him.

The deputy returned to Ulster in October. He devastated the lands about Dundalk, Newry, and Armagh. This latter city he burned, sparing only the cathedral; after which he returned triumphant to Dublin, about the end of the month.

Her majesty's service required the presence of the earl of Sussex in England, and in order to secure tranquillity in the English province during his absence, he exacted a promise of peace from some of the neighboring nobles whom he thought likely to disturb it; namely, O'Carroll of Ely, O'Molloy of Fearcall, Mageoghegan of Kinalyach, O'Duinne of Hy-Regan, MacCoghlan of

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 303.
† War. ibid. cap. 3.
‡ Irish Statutes printed in Dublin in 1621, page 846.
§ Hist. of Irel. page 304.

Dealbna, and the two O'Maddins of Silanchie ; and received hostages from them.

During the absence of Sussex, Curwin the chancellor, and Sidney the secretary at war, were appointed, by letters patent, lords-justices of Ireland. Having taken the oath in Christ's cathedral, Dublin, they received the royal sword from Stanley, lord-marshal of Ireland, to whom Sussex had confided it for that purpose. They filled this commission together till the 6th of February following, when the queen thought fit to confer it on Sidney alone.

The new lord-justice carried his arms immediately against Arthur O'Molloy, lord of Fearcall, under pretext of his having protected the rebels ; and having pillaged and burned his district, he granted the lordship to Theobald, Arthur's brother, on condition that he would give his son as a hostage, to serve as a pledge for his fidelity.

In the parliament we have mentioned as having been held this year, an act was passed by which the districts of Leix, Offaly, and the adjacent baronies, namely, Slewmarg, Irris, and Clanmalire, were confiscated for the use of their majesties. These territories had belonged, for more than twelve centuries, to the O'Morras, O'Connors Faly, and the O'Dempsys.* By the same statute, the deputy was authorized to divide these extensive districts into fiefs, and to make prudent grants of them to any English subject whom he might deem likely to advance the English interest ; and in order that such concessions should be rendered valid by law, he was authorized to have the great seal affixed to them by the chancellor, or whoever had custody of it. It was thus that those masters reformed the manners of the Irish nobility. This was an important privilege for the deputy, since, by his signature, he possessed the power of making his valet, or any other favorite servant, a rich and powerful nobleman. By another act of the same parliament, it was decreed that these districts should be hereafter called the King's and Queen's counties ; that the fort of Dingen should be called after the king's name, Philipstown, and that Leix, which was called Protector, under Edward VI., should bear the name of Maryborough. Sidney, the deputy, having terminated his expedition against O'Molloy, applied the tax which had been raised on the English province, in revictualling the garrisons of Leix and Offaly ; he then returned to Dublin, where he published a proclamation prohibiting any one to take provisions out of the English province, or to furnish any to the Irish who were living without the limits. About this time, Maurice Cavanagh and Conall O'Morra, two Irish noblemen, were tried for rebellion, condemned, and executed at Leighlin bridge.

In Ulster, Shane O'Neill, wishing to have the tribute renewed, which he claimed from the country of Tyrconnel, entered that district, sword in hand. Calouagh O'Donnel, the nobleman to whom it belonged, not finding himself able to repel force by force, and dreading to risk a battle, had recourse to stratagem ; he surprised O'Neill during the night in his camp, killed several of his men, and put the rest to flight.

The lands of the monasteries and abbeys, which had been converted, under the preceding reign, into lay-fiefs, and divided among the courtiers, remained in the same state in Mary's time, except the estates of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, near Dublin, which were restored to their former masters, through the influence of Cardinal Pole. Oswald Messingberd was, about this time, appointed prior of that house, and confirmed by letters patent. The queen had conceived the project of restoring all things to their former state, but her reign was too short for the completion of so great an undertaking.

In April, 1558, O'Reilly, chief of the O'Reillys of eastern Brefny, (Cavan,) repaired to the deputy at Kilmainham, where he surrendered, and took the oath of fidelity to their majesties.*

The earl of Sussex was again appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and arrived in Dublin, towards the end of April, with five hundred armed men, who were to be employed both in putting down the rebels, and repelling the Scotch, who were committing piracies on the coasts. Sussex having received the sword and other ensigns of his authority, marched at the head of his army towards Limerick, whence he advanced into Thuomond, in order to reduce Donald O'Brien, who had renewed the war against his nephew, Connor O'Brien, earl of Thuomond. Having taken the castles of Bunratty and Clare, he quelled all disturbances, and restored those places, and the territories which had been invaded by his enemies, to Thuomond. He obliged those possessed of freeholds to take the oath of allegiance.

Sussex having returned to Limerick, received the submission of the earl of Desmond ; he stood sponsor, a few days afterwards, to his son, and had him baptized

* Irish Statutes, pages 247, 248.

* War. ibid. c. 6

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James Sussex, and gave him a gold chain; he conferred another, at the same time, with a pair of gilded spurs, on Dermod Mac-Carthy of Muskerry, whom he created a knight.

The earl of Sussex embarked in September with his forces at Dalkey, near Dublin, to go in pursuit of the Scotch islanders, who had taken possession of the isle of Rachlin, in the north of Ireland, from which they made incursions, and committed piracies on the coast of Ulster. On the arrival of the fleet at Rachlin, it encountered a dreadful storm, in which one of the vessels was wrecked, and the entire of the crew perished. Sussex landed with the remainder, put the inhabitants to the sword, and pillaged the islands. Thence he sailed to Scotland, laid waste Cantyre, and the isles of Arran and Comber; but was at length checked in the course of his conquests by the severity of the weather, which obliged him to put into Carrickfergus. He burned several villages inhabited by the islanders, and returned to Dublin in November, where he received new patents and seals for the chancellor, for the chief-justices of the other courts, and the chief-baron of the exchequer. In the mean time, some families of the Burkes of Connaught, having received cause of dissatisfaction from their chief, Clanriccard, called the Scotch islanders to their assistance, but they and their allies were cut to pieces in an engagement with the earl.

Shane O'Neill, son of Conn O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was indignant to see his house degraded by the title of earl, which had been disgracefully taken by his father, in place of hereditary prince of Tyrone, and the illustrious title of O'Neill given up. He was jealous, too, of the preference which his father evinced for his natural son Matthew, (whom the Irish call Fardorach,) in procuring for him the title of baron of Dungannon, by which he was secured in the succession to the principality, in prejudice to himself.* Shane was continually under arms, either against his father or O'Donnel, who, as well as his rival, the baron of Dungannon, was supported by the English; the latter was killed in the beginning of this war. When questioned upon his conduct in this and the other accusations made against him, either by the lord-justice Sydney, or in the presence of the queen in England, according to Camden, Shane proudly answered that he was son and heir of Conn O'Neill and his wife Alice; that Matthew was the son of a blacksmith in Dundalk,† subsequent to the marriage of Conn O'Neill and Alice, of whom he, Shane, was the legitimate son, and consequently had a right to succeed to his father's property. He added, that the surrender which had been made by his father, of the principality of Tyrone to the king of England, and the restitution he had received from the latter by letters patent, were null, since his father's right to that principality was confined to his life, while he himself had been acknowledged the real O'Neill, by a popular election, according to custom, notwithstanding that he claimed no other superiority over the lords of his province than that which had been exercised by his ancestors. It appears that the prince's arguments prevailed, as he retained possession of Tyrone till his death, which occurred a few years afterwards.

George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, having gone to England on some affairs of the church, died in London, in August.* This prelate having been expelled from his see, under Edward VI., withdrew to the Abbey de Centre, where he remained till the death of the king and the reign of Mary, who restored him to his rights. Even his enemies acknowledge him to have been a learned man and an able preacher. The successors of Dowdal in the see of Armagh were, it is probable, principally of the reformed religion, as the first that was appointed to it, after a vacancy of a few years, was Adam Loftus, Queen Elizabeth's chaplain.

In the month of October of this year, James, earl of Desmond and treasurer of Ireland, died,† leaving three legitimate sons. After repudiating the daughter of the viscount of Fermoy, he married the daughter of O'Carroll, by whom he had Gerald, otherwise Garret, and John. His second wife having died, he married M'Carty's daughter, who was mother to James, his third son. By the daughter of the Viscount Fermoy he had a son called Thomas Ruadh, (Rufus,) who was his eldest; but some doubt having arisen of his legitimacy, he could not succeed to his father; from which important disputes arose between the brothers. Garret was readily acknowledged successor to James, and heir to his titles and extensive estates. Although young, this nobleman gave great hopes of valor and of talent; he afterwards became the hero of Catholicity, but in the end fell a sacrifice to his love of religion.

This was the last year of Mary's reign;

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. tomo 2, lib. 4. cap. 3.

† Camden's reign of Elizabeth, pp. 69, 70. Cox, page 312.

* War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

† Helat. Girald. cap. 13, et seq.

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she died at St. James's, near Westminster, in the forty-second year of her age and sixth of her reign, of grief, it is said, for the loss of Calais, as also for her husband's absence, and the death of her father-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. The bishop of Winchester died before her, and Cardinal Pole survived her but sixteen hours. It was an unhappy omen to the Catholics, and the stability of their religion which had just been re-established, to behold its three principal supporters so suddenly carried off. The reason why this princess has found so few panegyrists among Protestant writers is manifest; far from encouraging the new religion, she labored to destroy it, and restore the old one. Their silence on her other qualities is at least a proof that she possessed no bad ones.

The short reign of this princess only checked for a time the progress of heresy, which soon afterwards acquired new strength, and reascended the throne with Elizabeth. It is remarkable, says Cox, that though Mary was a zealous papist, the Irish were not more tranquil under her reign than under that of Edward; on the contrary, their antipathy to the English and their government hurried them to commit the same excesses as under the preceding reigns. But had this author been as honorable as he is malicious, he would have observed that the antipathy which he advances as the cause of these disorders, was founded rather on the injustice which the English ministry was continually exercising over the Irish, than on the religion of this princess. The Irish people were as tyrannically ruled under her as under the preceding reigns.*

The most celebrated writers in the two last reigns, were the following.† Edward Walsh, a native of Ireland, who went over to England about the year 1550, and was received into the household of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI., and protector of the kingdom; he composed two treatises, one entitled *De officiis pugnantium pro patria*, or, the duties of those who fight for their country; and the other, *ut Hibernia per verbum Dei reformetur*, or the manner in which Ireland ought to be reformed—by the word of God. It would appear by this treatise, and the attachment of the author to the duke of Somerset, that he had embraced the new religion.

* "Although she endeavored to protect and advance the Catholic religion, still her officers and lawyers did not cease to inflict injuries upon the Irish."

† Ware, de Script. Hib.

Sir Thomas Cusack, of Coffingston, in Meath, having filled the offices of master of the rolls, keeper of the seals, chancellor, and lord-justice of Ireland, wrote a long epistle to the duke of Northumberland, dated the 8th of May, 1552, on the state of Ireland at the time. This epistle is with the books of Darcy and Finglass, among the manuscripts of Dr. Sterne, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Thomas Waterford, called by others Waterfield, archdeacon of Leighlin, wrote a treatise on the affairs of Ireland, which is quoted by Dowling in his annals. Nicholas Stanihurst wrote a small work in Latin, entitled, *Dieta Medicorum*, or the regimen of physicians. Richard Stanihurst mentions it in the seventh chapter of the Description of Ireland. Lastly, George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, a native of the county of Louth, wrote some sermons, and also translated the life of the celebrated John de Courcy, the supposed conqueror of Ulster, from Latin into English.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Elizabeth, the only surviving daughter of Henry VIII., was immediately after the death of Mary, declared by parliament heiress to the throne, A. D. 1558. She was crowned queen of England, according to the Roman ritual, with the usual ceremonies, in Westminster abbey, by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle; the archbishop of York and other bishops of the kingdom, refused to attend. This princess was then in her twenty-fifth year; her reign was long and eventful. The contemporary princes were Ferdinand, emperor of Austria, Henry II., king of France, Philip II., king of Spain, and Paul IV., who filled the see of Rome.*

On her accession to the throne, Elizabeth turned her thoughts towards the spiritual and temporal government of the state. Though she had previously determined to make a change in religion, still, in order not to excite the alarm of the Catholics, or depress the hopes of the Protestant party, she selected her council from among noblemen of both religions; after which ambassadors were sent to all the princes of Europe, to announce to them her accession to the throne.

* Baker's Chron. Reign of Elizabeth. Heylin, Hist. of the Reform. p. 173, et seq. Cambd. Annal. rerum. Angl. regnant. edit. Lug. Batav. Salmon, Hist. of England, vol. 7, page 6.

Ambition was the ruling passion of Elizabeth. A desire of reigning alone, and of being absolute mistress in all things, gave her a distaste to marriage, though she was strongly urged to it by her parliament, and solicited by many princes, the most considerable of whom was Philip II., king of Spain, her brother-in-law. Acted on by political motives, this prince made the proposal to her, through his ambassador, the count de Feria, undertaking, at the same time, to obtain a dispensation from the pope. Elizabeth received the ambassador with politeness, but gave him no hope of succeeding in his project. Independently of her dislike to a master, she had sufficient penetration to feel how strongly such a dispensation would tend to affect her honor and that of her mother, Anne Bullen.* She knew that by submitting to the pope and acknowledging the necessity of a dispensation in this instance, she would approve of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Aragon, whereby Anne Bullen would be stigmatized as a concubine, and would establish the right of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, to the crown of England. This princess had been just married to Francis, son of Henry II.; she was acknowledged by France as queen of England, and had the arms of that kingdom quartered with her own.†

In the mean time, Elizabeth had appointed Sir Edward Karn her agent at Rome, to inform the pope of Mary's death, of her own accession to the throne, and her wish to live on amicable terms with his holiness.‡ Karn had many conferences with the pope, who at first appeared to be indignant; however, judging that mildness would be more beneficial than harsh means, his final answer to the minister was, that it was needless that the queen should have recourse to him for a kingdom of which she was already in possession, but that he supposed she would cause no change in religion. Karn answered that he could give no assurance on that head from the instructions he had received, till his holiness would have first pronounced the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Bullen to be valid. The pope and his council were astounded by this reply. He saw clearly that the best plan he could adopt would be, to come to no decision, rather than do what could be productive of no good. According to Baker, he went so far as to write in the most tender manner to the Princess Elizabeth; he exhorted her to return to a union with the Catholic church, and promised her, that if she would follow his counsel, he would revoke the sentence which had been pronounced against the marriage of her mother; that he would confirm the Book of Common Prayer in the English language, and allow her subjects to use the sacrament in both kinds. Elizabeth, continues Baker, withstood the pope's flattering offers, and persisted in her determination to support a religion which she considered as more conformable to the word of God, and the primitive customs of the church. We obviously discover in this negotiation of Elizabeth her insincerity towards the pope. Even had the holy father conceded the validity of her mother's marriage, (which was so difficult to be admitted,) religion would still have equally suffered under a princess whose heart and disposition were prejudiced and corrupt.

It is said that Henry II., king of France, had used his influence with the pope, both to thwart Philip II., who was soliciting a dispensation for the marriage he was desirous of contracting with Elizabeth, and to induce the pontiff to declare that princess to be illegitimate.* However this may have been, Elizabeth did not affect to question her own birthright; and it is singular that the parliament, which by a solemn act acknowledged her right to the throne, never passed one in favor of her legitimacy, nor on the validity of her mother's marriage, whereon she founded her claim.

Elizabeth never lost sight of her intended reformation in religion, which by degrees she carried into effect. She first commanded that the Holy Scriptures should be read to the people in the English language; she next published a declaration, prohibiting all disputes on the score of religion, and ordered every preacher to observe a general silence on the dogmas which had been the theme of controversy. It was then that a difference was discoverable among pastors; the good continuing to preach the truth to the faithful, at the peril of their liberty and even of their lives, while the mercenary and politic, in order to preserve their livings, conformed to the necessity of the times.

In the meanwhile, the queen caused the book of common prayer, which had been published in English under Edward VI., to be corrected;† for which purpose she nominated Parker, Cox, Sir Thomas Smith,

* Camb. ibid. page 5.
† Heylin, ibid. page 283. Baker, p 329.
‡ Heylin, ibid. p. 274.

* Heylin, page 279.
† The book of common prayer is a kind of Ritual, or Breviary, containing the thirty-nine articles of the reformed religion, with the formula of the prayers used in it

an eminent lawyer, and other doctors, who were favorable to the reformation.

Every thing being thus prepared, the book of Common Prayer and Liturgy translated into English were laid before, and approved of by the English parliament; it was then ordered to be used by the whole kingdom; the sacrament in both kinds was established; the mass was abolished; and an act passed to have the tithes, the first-fruits, and the revenues of the monasteries which had been re-established under the preceding reign, transferred to the crown. A warm debate arose, in the parliament, respecting the ecclesiastical supremacy, some of the members maintaining, that it was both unnatural and alarming, to give to a woman the powers of supreme head of the English church;* the majority, however, were in the queen's favor, and she was declared sovereign pontiff, or, to avoid the ridiculous appellation, supreme governess of the church, by the parliament, which had now become an ecclesiastical tribunal. The same parliament reduced the number of sacraments to two, namely, baptism and the holy eucharist, and had the altars demolished and the images in the churches taken down.

The queen having been confirmed in the ecclesiastical supremacy, the taking of the oath became the touchstone of faith; as those who refused to take it, were immediately deprived of their livings.† The number indeed was inconsiderable, and amounted to not more than two hundred in a country where there were more than nine thousand ecclesiastics in orders; the greater part of whom acknowledged the supremacy, without hesitation, by taking the oath; some, from zeal for the reformation, others through a dastardly and disgraceful policy. It was at this time that the bishops displayed a firmness truly apostolical. Many sees remained vacant, the number of bishops amounting to but fifteen, among whom there was but one apostate, viz., Kitchin, bishop of Landaff. The rest, namely, Heath, archbishop of York, Bonner, bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, White of Winchester, Tirlby of Ely, Watson of Lincoln, Pool of Peterborough, Christopherson of Chichester, Brown of Wells, Turbervil of Exeter, Morgan of St. David, Bain of Lichfield, Scot of Chester, and Oglethorp of Carlisle, being determined not to bend to the idol, were thrown into prison and deprived of their bishoprics, which were conferred on those who were more manageable.

* Heylin, ibid. 280.
† Baker, ibid. p. 329. Heylin, ibid. page 286

The see of Canterbury having become vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, was given to Parker, by letters patent. It is said that he was consecrated by Barlow and two others, who were as unprincipled as himself. Parker consecrated all those who were nominated by the queen, to fill all the sees of the deposed bishops. Debates on the validity of those ordinations occupied many writers of that day, and even of the present, who undertook to refute the book of the Père Coroyer; namely, Fennell dean of Laonne, in Ireland, and le Père Quin of the order of St. Dominick. Such was the reformed religion, which was firmly established in England in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. That capricious nation which accuses its neighbors of inconsistency, changed her religion five times within thirty years. The English were Catholics in 1529; immediately after this they became schismatics and formed a religion, no part of which they understood; in Edward's reign, the heresy of Zuingle prevailed; under Mary the Catholic religion was restored; and on the accession of Elizabeth, another was established, composed, with some alterations, of the tenets of Luther and Calvin, to which was given the name of the English church. Such was the state of affairs in England, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth.

Sidney governed the English province in Ireland, as deputy. The privy council informed him of what had taken place in England, the news of which was highly gratifying to the partisans of the reformation. The funeral ceremonies for Mary, and the coronation of Elizabeth, were successively celebrated in Dublin.*

Thomas earl of Sussex, was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland for the second time, in 1559. He arrived in August, with thirteen hundred and sixty foot soldiers, and three hundred horsemen, accompanied by Sir William Fitzwilliam.† This governor repaired to Christ's church, where, for want of clergymen, the litany was recited in the English language, by Sir Nicholas Dardy, after which the deputy took the oath, and the *Te Deum* was sung in the same language, to the sound of trumpets. The earl of Ormond took the oath also as member of the privy council. Soon afterwards a proclamation was issued to abolish the mass.

Sidney convened a parliament in January, in Christ's church, Dublin, to repeal all the acts that had been passed two years before,

* War. de Annal. Hib. reg. Elizab. C. 1.
† War. ibid. cap. 2.

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in another parliament, at which that nobleman had presided; such is the inconstancy of man.* Several acts were passed in this parliament for the establishment of the reformation in Ireland; all the spiritual and ecclesiastical authorities were annexed to the crown, and all foreign influence (which implied that of the pope) was prohibited; all acts appertaining to appeals were renewed; the laws that had been enacted in the reign of Philip and Mary, concerning religion or heresy, were repealed; the queen and her successors were given the power of exercising clerical jurisdiction by commission; every individual, whether lay or ecclesiastic, in possession of livings and offices, was obliged to take the oath of supremacy, under pain of losing their livings, or appointments; whoever would introduce or support a foreign power was to be punished by having his property confiscated, or by a year's imprisonment, for the first offence; for the second, he was to undergo the penalty of the law of *præmunire*, and for the third, that of high treason. It was decided, that no opinion should be considered heretical, unless it were so according to the scriptures, or to the four first general councils, or by an act of parliament. Thus was the senate established judge of the faith, without any mission but that which was received from a woman. In the gospel of Jesus Christ, he who refused to hear the church was considered as a heathen or a publican: in the new doctrine, he who did not hearken to Elizabeth and her parliament, in matters of religion, was deprived of his property, liberty, and under certain circumstances, of his life.

This parliament also passed acts ordaining the uniformity of common prayer, regulating the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord's Supper, and also the consecration of prelates according to the ritual of the book of Common Prayer, as approved of by Edward VI., under pain of a fine to be paid by the delinquents. The first refusal led to the confiscation of a year's income of the culprit, and six months imprisonment; the second to the loss of his living, and a year's imprisonment; and the third, to imprisonment for life. In the same statutes the restitution of the first-fruits was decreed, and the payment of a twentieth part of the revenues of livings to the crown; lastly, it was enacted that the queen's right to the crown should be acknowledged, and it was prohibited to all persons, under pain of *præmunire*, or high treason, to speak or write against it. The parliament also decreed that the priory of St. John of Jerusalem should be united to the crown.

The English church, disfigured as it was, still retained some of the privileges of the old religion. Every bishop had his tribunal for the settlement of matters of ecclesiastical discipline, or as it is termed "officiality;" excommunication retained its full force, and pastors were authorized to refuse communion to whomsoever they considered unworthy of it, without being accountable to any but the established judge, as appears from the following extract, literally taken from the book of Common Prayer, printed at that time in London.

"Those who wish to partake of the holy communion, shall send their names, on the preceding day, to the pastor."*

"If there be any public or notorious sinner among them, or such as have injured their neighbor, by word or deed, so as to offend the congregation, the pastor shall send for him, and warn him on no account to approach the Lord's Table unless he publicly declare that he repents sincerely, and promise to reform his past life, in order to satisfy the offended congregation; and that he will make restitution to those whom he had injured, or at least avow that he will do so when he can with convenience."

"The pastor shall also send to those whom he may observe to bear hatred or rancor mutually against each other; such shall not be allowed to approach the Lord's Table until they declare themselves to be reconciled; but if one of the parties be disposed to pardon him from whom he may have received injuries, and repair the evil committed, and that the other will not submit, but persist in his obstinacy and malice, the minister must then admit the penitent to the holy communion, and not the other, on condition that he who shall have rejected any one according to what is herein specified, or in the preceding paragraph of this rubric, acquaint the ordinary within a fortnight at farthest, who is thereupon to proceed against the culprit according to the canons."† The Protestants have deemed these precautions necessary, in order to avoid the profanation of a sacrament, in which they deny the real presence of our Lord.

It appears, says Ware, that these decrees met with resistance from the Irish, and that many members of the parliament were opposed to them, in consequence of which the

* Irish Statutes, under Elizabeth, Dublin edition of the year 1621, cap. 1, p. 259, et seq.

* Order for the administration of the holy sacrament.

† Constit. and Canons. Ecclesiast. London edition of 1673, art. 26 edit.

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deputy was obliged to dissolve it in February, and repair to England, to inform the queen of it, leaving Williams in Ireland with the title of deputy. Though the Irish had been deceived in religious matters, under Henry VIII., from his quarrel with the pope being represented to them as a civil question, merely relating to temporal government; and though they had been confirmed in this opinion by the example of the king himself, and his English parliament, who, though at variance with the pontiff, still professed the Catholic faith, and had in consequence passed some acts against the jurisdiction of the pope; yet we discover that this people, having relinquished their errors and displayed their zeal for the Catholic cause, in a parliament held in the reign of Mary, repealed, with one voice, all their preceding acts.

As to the parliament we now speak of,* grave authors who flourished about this time affirm, that, far from its being an assembly composed of persons from all the states, those alone were appointed who were known to be devoted to the queen, or who were easily bribed. The nobles of the country, who were all Catholics at the time,† were carefully excluded; so that by these and other similar means, any act could have been passed into a law. However, it is well known that such acts were not published during the lifetime of those who sat in the parliament, nor rigorously enforced till after the defeat of the celebrated Spanish Armada, in 1588.

Elizabeth's moderation was solely the result of the critical situation in which she was placed at this time. Her enemies were numerous; Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, had no small claim on the crown of England; Henry II., king of France, instead of withdrawing his troops from Scotland, sent over secretly fresh reinforcements, with the intention of having Elizabeth declared heretical and illegitimate by the pope; the emperor and the king of Spain joined in this confederacy, and the Irish were waiting the opportunity to shake off the yoke.

By her penetration Elizabeth foresaw all these circumstances and their results. She prepared to defend herself against foreign power, to quell the disturbances caused in England by the Reformation, and secure Ireland by sending over frequent succors. She judged it prudent, also, to put off to a more favorable time the execution of the acts of the Irish parliament, which she knew would tend to rouse the Irish to rebel against her. Time proved that she was not mistaken. Henry II. died; the Huguenots having raised some disturbances in France, she frequently sent them assistance, and supported the rebels in the Netherlands against Philip II. She proposed to the Protestants of Scotland to form a league with her, by which she violated the laws of nations, by encouraging subjects to rebel against their lawful princess. Finally, she reduced the Irish by a long and fatal warfare, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spaniards to assist them; and then found herself able to enforce any law which she wished to establish over them.

The severity which was exercised in the beginning of Mary's reign against the Reformers, forced many of them to seek an asylum in foreign climes.* It is said that, between students and others, they amounted to eight hundred. Embden was the only city in which the religion of Luther prevailed that would receive them;† these heretics looked with horror on the English Protestants, on account of their having denied the real presence, and called those who suffered for that religion, "the *martyrs to the Devil*." The refugees were, however, received at Zurich, Geneva, and Frankfort, as confessors of the faith. The many privileges which were granted them in Frankfort, soon drew them thither in crowds. They shared the church, which had been previously granted to the French Protestants, on condition of performing their service alternately; that is, on different days of the week, and at different hours on Sunday.

The heads of this congregation professed the Evangelical doctrine of Zuingle. Either thinking the English Reformation not sufficiently perfect, or not enough in unison with their own doctrine, they at once corrected and disfigured the English Liturgy; every thing relative to the Roman Catholic faith was cut off, and their worship reduced to the simple reading of a few psalms and chapters taken from the Scriptures.

The fame of this new church at Frankfort having spread itself abroad, John Knox left his retreat at Geneva to join it.‡ He distinguished himself by promoting this new Reformation, and soon became the head of this little church. He had already published a seditious libel, in which he strongly

* It should be remembered that though this was called the Irish Parliament, it was composed of Englishmen either by origin or by birth.

† Analecta Sac. par. 1, p. 430. Ireland's case, p. 4, A. seq.

* Heylin, ibid. p. 196 et seq.

† Heylin, ibid. p. 250.

‡ Ibid. p. 230.

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inveighed against the government of women; it was styled, *The first sound of the trumpet.* The three Marys—namely, Mary queen of England, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and Mary of Lorraine, queen-dowager and regent of that kingdom, were the objects of his calumny. This libel did not fail to bring the author into disgrace in his own country; and not daring to seek an asylum either in England or France, he withdrew to Geneva, and from that to Frankfort, as we have already noticed.

The arrival of Doctor Richard Cox, another English refugee, at Frankfort, checked the progress of the new Reformation in that city.* Having been one of the principal composers of the English Liturgy under Edward VI., he considered it a point of honor to support his work, and prevent any change being made in it; consequently, on the Sunday following his arrival, he had the English Liturgy published from the pulpit. This contradiction gave considerable uneasiness to Knox, who immediately ascended the pulpit and preached against the Liturgy, which he termed imperfect and superstitious; whereon Cox interdicted his preaching, and had him expelled from Frankfort.

Cox finding himself master of the field, began to reform his congregation according to the ritual of the Protestant Church. He appointed a chief pastor, who was assisted by two ministers and four deacons. He established professors of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and of theology. Chambers was appointed to manage the contributions, which were liberally forwarded to Cox from England and Holland, for the relief of the persecuted brethren.

When Knox was expelled from Frankfort, by order of the government, he returned to Geneva, where he was appointed preacher, together with Goodman. They then rejected the English Reformation, conformed to the ritual of the church of Geneva, and adopted the doctrine of Calvin. This was the foundation of the Presbyterian religion, and the sect of Puritans which afterwards produced such ravages in Scotland.

Nothing can be more destructive to that order and harmony in which the happiness of nations consists, than a religion which inculcates general democracy in church and state. We have had strong proofs of this truth in the different nations of Europe where the Calvinists rebelled against their sovereigns: here we will confine ourselves to the Scotch, who are more immediately connected with the history of Ireland than any other nation. The Presbyterian religion took root among the Scotch under the name of Puritanism, the partisans of which, taking advantage of the queen's absence, who was at that time in France, and of the instability of a government headed by a queen-regent, began to form intrigues.* They assembled in a tumultuous manner, headed by a few nobles, and formed a separate body, styling themselves a congregation. Their arrogance increasing with their numbers, they presented a petition to the queen and lords of the council, praying that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper might be administered in both kinds, that Divine Service might be performed in the language of the people, and that they might be allowed to appoint their ministers according to the custom, as they said, of the Primitive Church. The court, unwilling to exasperate these fanatics, returned them a gracious answer, rather with a view of gaining time than of conceding their demands; but this conduct served only to increase their pride. Knox, a turbulent preacher and seditious enthusiast, being informed in Geneva of the progress of his brethren in Scotland, repaired thither in 1559, where he became the preacher and firebrand of rebellion. Finding the little community collected at Perth, he ascended the pulpit, and pronounced such dreadful invectives against images, and the idolatry and superstitions of the Roman Church, that after his sermon, the infuriated populace tore down the images and altars of the church, and destroyed every religious house in the town. The inhabitants of Couper, Craile, St. Andrew, Scone, Cambus-Kenneth, Stirling, Lithgow, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, followed their example. The fanatics made themselves masters of this latter city, and did not leave in it a church in which the queen could have divine service celebrated. In another sermon, Knox inveighed bitterly against the princess, and exhorted the people to unite in expelling the French troops from the kingdom. The rebels consequently published a declaration, depriving the queen of all power in the government.

Alarmed by this event, the queen thought it time to provide for her own safety. Troops were sent to her from France; the numbers of which, though insufficient to put down the rebels, still enabled her to retake Edinburgh. She then fortified the port of Leith, and forced the rebels to withdraw towards the north. Thus situated, they had recourse, by

* Ibid. pp. 231, 232.

* Heylin, ibid. pp. 297, 298.

the advice of Knox, to the queen of England; and though the laws of nations are violated by one prince supporting the rebellious subjects of another, still political motives urged Elizabeth to send assistance to the Puritans of Scotland.* Independently of the interest she took in establishing the reformation in Scotland, she disliked the vicinity of the French forces, at a time that Francis II. made pretensions to the crown of England, in virtue of his marriage with Mary Stuart. The English, therefore, laid siege to Leith,† in which there was a French garrison, and after several skirmishes, caused by the sallies of the besieged and the attacks of the besiegers, peace was concluded on certain conditions between Francis II. and Elizabeth; the hostile forces were to leave Scotland without delay, all differences in religion were to be adjusted by the parliament, and the king and queen of France and Scotland were to renounce the title and arms of England.

The articles of this treaty were favorable to the reformers. Elizabeth protected them in secret; the French troops were withdrawn, and they calculated with confidence that the decisions of parliament would be in their favor. The schismatics of Frankfort, and the brethren of Geneva, flocked to their shores. The French Huguenots were beginning to settle in England. Through the intrigues of Peter Martyr, and particularly through letters from Calvin to Gryndal, bishop of London, and that prelate's influence, they obtained permission to establish a church in that capital, and to make use of a form of prayer entirely different from the English liturgy. In spite of the edict of banishment that had been published against them by the queen, many settled in the seaports, and formed themselves into different congregations.

In conformity with the treaty of peace, a parliament met in Scotland to settle the religious disputes. Three laws were enacted in it in favor of the reformation—the first was to abolish the pope's authority and jurisdiction in the kingdom; the second to repeal and annul all acts passed in favor of the Catholic doctrine; and the third to suppress the mass, and to impose penalties upon those who should perform the ceremony, and those who should be present at it. The leaders of the Puritans, not satisfied with these laws, which were enough to establish the Reformation, next presented a form of faith and doctrine, founded on the principles of Calvin, which had been brought by Knox from Geneva, to be professed by the reformers in Scotland. During the debates there were but three temporal lords found to oppose this, namely, the earl of Athol and lords Somervil and Borthwick, who alleged as the reason of their opposition, that they wished to follow the religion of their forefathers.* The disgraceful silence of the Catholic bishops who were present at this assembly, having exasperated the lord marshal, he declared with warmth, "Since our lords the bishops, who must be sufficiently enlightened to know the true doctrine, and sufficiently zealous to defend it, are silent upon that which is now debated, I am of opinion that this must be the true one, and that every other is erroneous." Such were the effects of the silence of the leading pastors, who should have been the sole judges in religious affairs.

These reformers of the reformation affected to lead mortified lives; they inculcated the most rigid morals, and looked upon all who did not belong to their own sect, as profligates; their speeches were composed of phrases taken from the Scriptures; predestination and special grace were the subjects of their discourses; they wrote and published false translations from the gospel, and epistles of St. Paul, with observations and notes filled with the venom of their doctrine; they deceived the people, who were both simple and credulous, by an affected piety; open enemies to Hierarchy in the church, and monarchy in the state, they opposed Episcopacy, and resisted their lawful princes. By such principles as these their conduct was regulated; they deposed the dowager queen who held the regency, and forced her daughter, queen Mary their legitimate sovereign, to seek an asylum in England, where she was put to death after eighteen years imprisonment, and lest King James VI. might be any obstacle to their undertaking, they drove him from Edinburgh, and kept him in confinement at Stirling. All his faithful servants were removed, and possession taken of his principal fortresses.† In fine, the unhappy prince was mocked and insulted by his own subjects to such a degree, that he frequently expressed a desire to leave the kingdom and withdraw to Venice. The sanguinary wars in England and Ireland under Charles I., the tragical end of that prince on the scaffold, the exclusion of his son Charles II. from his inheritance for twelve years, and the expulsion of James II

* Baker's Chron. page 330.
† Heylin, ibid. p. 299.

* Heylin, ibid. p. 300.
† Ware, ibid. cap. 3.

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of glorious memory,* were among the fatal consequences of the fanaticism of these Puritans.

The earl of Sussex having spent some months in England, returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, A. D. 1560. He was commissioned by the queen to prevail on the earl of Kildare, who was creating disturbances in the latter country, to go to England, and in case he refused, to have him arrested.† He also received orders to have castles built and fortified in Leix and Offaly; to people these districts with Englishmen, and confer estates on their chiefs and male children; to establish order in the province of Ulster, and admit Surley Boy (M'Donnel) into the possession of the lands which he claimed as fiefs, on condition that he would contribute to the public welfare. He was further ordered to reduce Shane O'Neill, either by force or otherwise; to invest the baron of Dungannon with the government of the county of Tyrone; and to have the O'Briens, who resisted the earl of Thuomond, arrested.

Queen Elizabeth was particularly desirous of having the Protestant religion established in Ireland. She sent orders to Sussex to call a meeting of the clergy for that purpose; but the firmness of the bishops and their attachment to the ancient religion, rendered the attempt abortive, notwithstanding the offers which were made in order to bribe them. After this meeting William Walsh, a native of Waterford, and bishop of Meath, who was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, having preached at Trim, in his own diocese, against the Book of Common Prayer, was arrested, thrown into prison, and deposed shortly afterwards, by orders from the queen.‡ This holy prelate was sent into banishment, and died at Complute, in Spain, in 1577, where he was interred in a monastery of the Cistertian order, of which he was a brother.§ The bishopric of Meath having remained vacant for two years, Elizabeth conferred it on Hugh MacBrady, who was more accommodating than Walsh: he died at Dunboyne, the place of his birth, having held this see for twenty years. Thomas Leverous, bishop of Kildare, was treated in almost the same manner as Walsh. Having refused to take the oath of supremacy, he was deprived of his bishopric, and of the deanery of St. Patrick. In order to gain his livelihood, he was reduced to the sad alternative of keeping a school in Limerick, and died at Naas, in 1577, at the age of eighty years. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Kildare by Alexander Craike. The latter, not content with the revenues of the bishopric and the deanery of St. Patrick, which he held together, exchanged most of the estates of that see, with Patrick Sarsfield, a lord of the country, for tithes of little value. By this means the ancient see of Kildare was reduced to great distress.

The Irish Catholics, particularly the ancient inhabitants, were much alarmed at these symptoms of persecution; the continuance of which they foresaw, by the changes which took place in church and state. They saw no security, either for their churches or the preservation of their estates, but by arms. Having received promises of assistance from the pope and the king of Spain, they assembled in great numbers, under the command of Shane O'Neill, at that time the bravest and most powerful nobleman in the country, and the first hero of Catholicity in Ireland.

This resistance of the Irish differs from that of subjects, who under pretext of religion or otherwise, rebel against their lawful princes, conduct which will never receive the approbation of polished and well-informed nations. Ireland had not yet been subjugated; her people acknowledged only the authority of the English by compulsion, whatever their adversaries may advance to the contrary, who always denominated them rebels, an epithet which can only apply to insurgent subjects. They deemed it just to resist a foreign power which was endeavoring to direct their consciences, by introducing a new religion among them.

O'Neill finding his countrymen zealous in the common cause, took the command willingly, and marched into the English province, where he carried on the war with success. When the campaign was over, this prudent general, not willing to spend the winter in a hostile country, which was already laid waste, returned to Ulster with an intention of renewing hostilities in the spring. In the mean time, Sussex made active preparations to oppose him. He received from England fresh troops to the number of four hundred men, four pieces of cannon, a mortar, sixty barrels of gunpowder, and other ammunition; but not being satisfied with this reinforcement, he sailed thither to receive fresh instructions respecting the operations of the campaign.

After stopping for about four months in

* James was a weak despot who deserved his fate. He tyrannized over England, and betrayed Ireland, and both countries hold his memory in contempt.—[Note by Ed.]

† Camd. ibid. page 35.

‡ War. de Episc. Midens.

§ War. de Episc. Kildare.

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England, Sussex returned to Ireland in June, 1561, with the title of lord-lieutenant, which he had previously enjoyed.* He now thought seriously of an expedition against O'Neill. He therefore set out from Dublin for Ulster on the 1st of July, at the head of five hundred men, attended by John Bedlow, one of the sheriffs of the city, who commanded eighty men. Another detachment of eighty archers and fusiliers followed him soon after, under the command of Gough, another sheriff; all of whom were supplied with provisions for six weeks. O'Neill's forces being inferior both in numbers and discipline to the army of Sussex, he posted himself so as not to be surprised; and the only fruit of the expedition was a suspension of hostilities, and a reconciliation between the chiefs. O'Neill went over to England in December, where he concluded an honorable peace with Elizabeth; and returned to Ireland in May, much pleased with the reception he had met with from her majesty. In the mean time, the earl of Sussex was recalled, and William FitzWilliams appointed lord-justice of Ireland in his stead.

Roland Baron, otherwise Fitzgerald, archbishop of Cashel, died about the year 1561. This prelate was descended from the noble family of the Fitzgeralds of Burnchurch, in the county of Kilkenny, who had the title of non-parliamentary barons.† This see having remained vacant for six years, Elizabeth nominated James MacCaghwell to it; but his successor, apostolically appointed, was Maurice Gibbon, or Reagh, whom the Protestants accuse of having stabbed MacCaghwell. He was afterwards driven into exile, and died in Spain. The ancient see of Emly was united at this time with that of Cashel, by authority of parliament. The hierarchy has been always preserved in the church of Ireland, in spite of all heretical efforts, and every see has two bishops, one a Catholic, appointed by the pope, and the other a Protestant, nominated by the king.

The earl of Sussex was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Having taken the oath in July, 1562, the first act of his administration was to change some of the districts into counties;‡ to the ancient territory of Annaly, on the borders of Meath, he gave the name of the county of Longford, the first baron of which was Francis Augier. He then divided the province of Connaught into six counties; namely, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim.

* War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 4.
† War. de Arch. Casseliens.
‡ War. de Annal. ibid. c. 5.

The see of Armagh, which remained without a pastor since the death of George Dowdal, was given by Elizabeth to Adam Loftus, a native of Yorkshire, and bachelor in theology. We may judge of his religion from his having been first a chaplain to the duke of Sussex, and afterwards to the queen.*

O'Neill's enemies were continually endeavoring to have him suspected by the government. Loftus, who had just been appointed archbishop of Armagh, on the deposition of a domestic, wrote against this prince to the lord-lieutenant, A. D. 1563.† The suspicions against him having gained ground, the lord-lieutenant marched his troops, and O'Neill was forced to have recourse to arms. The English army set out in the beginning of April for Ulster. On the thirteenth they had a skirmish near Dundalk, with O'Neill's troops, twenty-one of whom fell on the field of battle. Sussex crossed the Blackwater on the 16th, at the head of his army; but fearing that he might be surprised, he returned to Dundalk, whither he carried great booty in cattle. In the beginning of June he proceeded to Dungannon. The day following he endeavored, but in vain, to dislodge O'Neill, who was advantageously posted in the wood of Tulloghoge, after which he returned with his army to Drogheda, plundering every place on his march.

The earl of Kildare was deeply interested for O'Neill, who was both his relative and friend.‡ He entreated him to lay down his arms and submit; and O'Neill was so swayed by the arguments of the earl, that he went to England, where he made peace with the queen, in presence of the ambassadors of Sweden and Savoy. That princess received him honorably, granted him her friendship, and sent him back with rich presents.

The earl of Sussex published an edict this year against the Catholic clergy, by which monks and popish priests were interdicted either to meet or sleep in Dublin. The head of every family was ordered, under pain of being fined, to attend every Sunday at the Protestant service. Those who were unable to pay the fine went to mass in the morning, and to the Protestant sermon afterwards; but in order to prevent this pious fraud, the inhabitants were registered, and their names called, during service, in the Protestant churches.

When O'Neill returned to Ireland, he declared war against the inhabitants of the Hebrides, defeated them, and killed their

* War. de Arch. Ard.
† War. de Annal. ibid. c. 6.
‡ Camb. ibid. p. 52.

chief, James MacDonnel, his father-in-law, and his brother Aongus,* A. D. 1564. While the prince of Tyrone was putting down his enemies, and laboring to establish peace and good order in his own district, he drew upon himself the hatred of the nobility of the country, whom he looked upon as his vassals. Maguire, Magennis, and others, presented their complaints against O'Neill to the lord-lieutenant, in consequence of which he was reduced to the alternative either of taking up arms against the government, or of submitting to the decision of the lord-lieutenant; but, unwilling to acknowledge the power of the governor, he adopted the former as the more honorable alternative.

The lord-lieutenant took care to inform the queen of O'Neill's movements, and to explain how much was to be feared from such an enemy. The princess sent him the following reply: "Let not your suspicions of Shane O'Neill give you uneasiness; tell my troops to take courage, and that his rebellion may turn to their advantage, as there will be lands to bestow on those who have need of them." This hope of gain frequently caused the condemnation of the Irish nobles.

O'Neill on his side was levying troops, under pretext of defending his boundaries against the Scotch. The government became alarmed, and the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation, which declared that any one enlisting under an officer who had not received his commission from her majesty, or from him, should be considered a traitor: he therefore enjoined all those who had enrolled themselves for O'Neill's army to come forward and lay down their arms within a limited time, under pain of death and confiscation of their properties. The deputy collected his forces on the borders of the English province, but nothing could check the rage of O'Neill. In order to be revenged on Loftus, the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, who had written against him, he burned his church, on which account the Protestant prelate pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. O'Neill then entered Fermanagh, sword in hand, from which he expelled Maguire. After this he laid siege to Dundalk, which was relieved by William Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, at the head of a chosen body of men, who forced him to raise the siege, but was not able to prevent him from devastating the country around.

A serious difference arose at this time between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, respecting the boundaries of their estates, which was followed by a bloody conflict. It may be necessary to observe that the earl of Desmond in question was Garret Fitzgerald, son of James, and grandson of John, who successively held that title.* This nobleman, though young, promised by his early exploits to be one day a terror to the enemies of the Catholic faith. His first expedition was against MacCarty Riagh, by which he acquired great honor. He, however, was not so successful in his battle with Edme MacTeugue, son of MacCarty of Muskerry, in which battle his cavalry being routed, he was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of Askeaton for six months, but was subsequently restored to his liberty.

The several families of the O'Briens were continually at war against their chief, the earl of Thuomond; as they imagined that his title of earl authorized him to oppress them. Teugue MacMorrough O'Brien having been besieged in his castle of Inchiquin by this earl and Clanriccard, sent to solicit assistance from his friend Garret, earl of Desmond. Garret sent him word to keep up his courage, promising to be with him on a certain day: he then crossed the Shannon at Castle-Connell, above Limerick, at the head of five hundred foot soldiers, with about sixty horsemen, under the command of his brother, and marched directly for Inchiquin, intending to raise the siege. The earls having received intelligence of the march of Desmond, were determined to oppose him. They therefore abandoned the siege, and advanced to give him battle. Desmond's only hope lay in the bravery of his men: he exhorted them to follow his example, and not to fear an undisciplined multitude; after which he made so vigorous an attack on his enemies, that, unable to withstand the shock, they fled, leaving Desmond at liberty to relieve his friend.

Jealousy continued to prevail between Desmond and Ormond.† Desmond was an ingenuous and upright character; Thomas Butler, surnamed Duff, or the Black, was cautious and politic. Being brought up at the English court, he imbibed Protestant opinions, in consequence of which he was more favored by the queen than Desmond. The estates of these noblemen were adjoining; they made frequent incursions on each other's lands, and their animosity ran so high that the ambition of power frequently drove them to arms. A battle that was to have

* War. de ibid. cap. 7.

* Relat. Giraldin. cap. 13.

† O'Sulliv. Hist Cathol. Iber. tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 8.

been fought between the two earls at Boharmor, on the borders of Limerick and Tipperary, not taking place, Ormond was continually watching to take revenge on his rival.* Having heard that Desmond was encamped in his neighborhood, he collected his forces, and marched to meet him at Athmean, in the county of Waterford. Desmond had but few men with him; refusing, however, to listen to his friends, who advised him to yield to necessity, he engaged in battle, in which he lost two hundred and eighty of his men. He himself received a pistol-shot, from Sir Edme Butler, by which his thigh was broken. Having fallen from his horse, he was taken prisoner and brought to Clonmel, where he was attended by a surgeon, but ever after continued lame. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently he was sent prisoner to London, and confined in the tower.

CHAPTER XL.

The earl of Sussex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled this year (1565). Sir Nicholas Arnold was appointed lord-justice, and sworn in, in the month of May. This new magistrate brought over a reinforcement of fifteen hundred and ninety-six men.† His stay was of short continuance, since some complaints being made at court against him, he was recalled in the month of January following.

Sir Henry Sidney was next sent to Ireland as lord-deputy. He received his instructions under the queen's signature, which enjoined him to form a privy council, to be sworn, according to custom, in his presence; which he was to consult on all public affairs, and which should co-operate with him for the general good of the people.

The privy council and deputy being assembled together, affairs were found to be in a very bad state. The province was harassed and oppressed by a licentious and undisciplined soldiery, who became also objects of suspicion to the government on account of their intercourse with the Irish.

In Leinster, Kilkenny was in particular attacked by the O'Tools, the O'Birns, O'Kinsellaghs, O'Morroghs, the Cavanaghs, and the O'Morras.

In Munster, the counties of Tipperary and Kerry were brought to the verge of ruin by the wars between the partisans of Ormond and Desmond. The barony of Ormond was devastated by Pierce Grace; the country of Thuomond suffered greatly by the warfare of Sir Daniel O'Brien and the earl of Thuomond.

Connaught was torn by the factions of the earl of Clanriccard and other families of the Burkes. Finally, the whole of Ulster, commanded by Shane O'Neill, who took the title of monarch, was in arms against the English government.

Cox and Hooker remark, that in addition to the miseries with which Ireland was then inflicted, religion had become almost extinct, the clergy dispersed, and the churches stripped; and that scarcely any vestige of the knowledge of the true God could be found in that ignorant and barbarous nation.*

The council, before they separated, gave orders that the English province should be put into a state of defence against O'Neill.

Mac Carty More, a powerful prince in Munster, went to England about this time, and placed at the queen's disposal all his possessions, of which she made a regrant to him by letters patent, together with the titles of earl of Glencar and baron of Valentia. This prince, the chief of the illustrious tribe of the Eoganachts, was descended from Heber, eldest son of Milesius, king of Gallicia, by Oilioll-Olum, and his eldest son Eogan-More, and Dermod Mac Carty, king of Cork, in the twelfth century, who was the first that submitted to Henry II.,

* Relat. Giral. c. 14. Hist. Cathol Ibern. ibid.
† War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 8.

* An insinuation is thrown out by these authors, that either the pretended reformed religion was generally received at that time in Ireland, and abandoned in consequence of the dispersion of its ministers, or that the Irish Catholics opposed to the new doctrine, after losing their pastors, had become at one stroke ignorant barbarians. These two propositions are equally false and deceitful. Some Catholic bishops had been deposed, and were succeeded by Protestant bishops; but the number was inconsiderable, not amounting to more than five or six. The new doctrine which was preached had not made great progress in so short a time among a people strenuously attached to their ancient religion. The persecution which had been commenced was not directed against the Protestants, since they were protected by the very power from which it had arisen. All Ireland was still Catholic; for it may be affirmed, that among every five hundred scarcely one Protestant appeared; consequently the dispersion of the clergy, to which the above authors allude, cannot apply to the Catholic clergy. It is not to be wondered at, that a religion should suffer much in a country where it is strongly opposed, but it is impossible that it should be effaced in five or six years, so as that no knowledge of God could be discovered. They were, however, Englishmen, who put forward the above statement.

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king of England. According to the right of primogeniture, this illustrious house is the first in Ireland. There were several branches of it, namely, the Mac Cartys of Muskerry and Carbry, those of Cluan, Maolain, Alla, and many others.

The deputy returned to England in 1566, to receive fresh instructions, and give an account to the queen of the situation of affairs in Ireland.* During his absence the troops of O'Neill threatened Drogheda. At the request, however, of Lady Sidney, wife of the deputy, who resided there at the time, Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, came with a body of troops and saved the city, for which the deputy, on his return, conferred on him the honor of knighthood.

O'Neill always maintained an army of four thousand foot, and a thousand horse: he was a prince of great skill and talents; he took care to have his vassals instructed in discipline, and inspired them with a love of war, but his pride rendered him insupportable to his neighbors, and added daily to the number of his enemies. Besides the English troops, he had to contend with O'Donnel, Maguire, and other powerful noblemen of Ulster, who complained of his tyranny. He made frequent incursions upon the English province, and laid siege to their towns, by which, though sometimes unsuccessful, he became formidable to the government. He defeated also a Scotch legion, killed three thousand of them, and took their chief, Mac Donnel, prisoner.†

O'Neill's power engrossed much of the attention of the English government at this time. The queen dispatched Knolls to Ireland to concert measures with the deputy to reduce that nobleman, either by kindness or by force. She even offered to him the titles of earl of Tyrone, and baron of Dungannon, with a promise to annul the patents of Henry VIII., which secured to Matthew O'Neill, of Dungannon, the right of succession to the estates and honors of Tyrone.‡ O'Neill received the proposal with a haughtiness expressive of his contempt for titles of honor, which he looked upon as beneath the name of O'Neill. The commissioners who were intrusted with the negotiation, received from him the following reply: "If Elizabeth your mistress be queen of England, I am O'Neill, king of Ulster; I never made peace with her without having been previously solicited to it by her. I am not ambitious of the abject title of earl; both my family and birth raise me above it; I will not yield precedence to any one; my ancestors have been kings of Ulster; I have gained that kingdom by my sword, and by the sword I will preserve it."* He then spoke contemptuously of Mac Carty More, who had just accepted the title of earl.

The English government finding O'Neill fixed in his determination, thought necessary to use force against him. For this purpose Colonel Randulph was dispatched at the head of seven hundred men, to Derry, a small town in the northern extremity of Tyrone. They took possession of the town, and converted the ancient church of St. Columb into a magazine for powder and warlike stores; the priests and monks being driven out, and other sacrileges committed in the churches.† The deputy repaired soon afterwards to Derry, where he continued a few days. Having given the necessary orders for defending the town, and reinforced the garrison with fifty horsemen, commanded by Captain Harvey, and seven hundred foot, under the command of Captain Cornwall, he returned to Dublin.

O'Neill saw plainly that it was against his interest to suffer an enemy to establish a garrison so near, and always in readiness to attack him. He marched therefore to Derry without loss of time, with two thousand five hundred infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and posted himself within two miles of the town. According to Cox, Randulph made a sally on the Irish, with three hundred foot and fifty horse, and after a vigorous attack, killed four hundred of them and put the rest to flight, without any loss on the side of the English but that of Randulph himself, who was killed in the action; but this account appears to be a mere boast of the author, since, independently of the sally alluded to not being mentioned by O'Sullivan and other writers, it is impossible that two armies could have come to so close an engagement, with only the loss of the commander on one side, while four hundred men were killed on the other. It is, on the contrary, certain, that the powder magazine took fire, and that the town and fort of Derry were blown up, by which nearly seven hundred Englishmen, and Randulph their chief, met a miserable end.

Discord still prevailed between O'Neill and O'Donnel. The latter was supported by the English, whose aim was to weaken O'Neill, as his power was an obstacle to the

* War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 9.
† Hist. Cathol. Hib. vol. 2, lib. 4, cap. 3.
‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part 1, page 127

* An ancient Irish Manus. Cox, Hist. Irel. p. 221
† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid.

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Reformation, which they wished to introduce into Ireland, and to the conquest of the country, which was not yet complete. These two princes fought many battles with unequal success. O'Neill, at length, having collected all his forces, gained over the queen's troops that were sent to assist O'Donnel, the celebrated victory of the red Sagums,* called in the Irish language, "*Cah na gassogues Deargs.*" In this battle four hundred English soldiers were killed, besides several officers who had lately arrived from England.

We have already mentioned that Garret, earl of Desmond, was kept prisoner in the tower of London. During his confinement the other branches of his family caused many disturbances in Munster. John, his brother, defeated in battle and killed with his hand, John Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond. James, son of Maurice Fitzgerald, undertook to defend the right of Garret, and for that end strenuously opposed the attempts of Thomas Rua, who had taken the title of earl of Desmond. The queen, in order to allay the disturbances caused by these noblemen, sent to Ireland the real earl of Desmond, and after exhorting him to continue loyal and attached to the crown of England, said, that he might hope by his loyalty to obtain favors and rewards. The earl in thanking her majesty declared, that, after his duty to God, nothing would be more dear to him than to observe faithfully the orders she had given him.

The earl of Desmond was received with universal joy throughout the kingdom, and restored to his title and the estates of his ancestors. Finding himself free, he ordered his vassals to raise troops, and to put on foot an army of two thousand men, conduct which caused great uneasiness to Sidney, the deputy. He endeavored to fathom the designs of the earl. Some said that his object was to unite with O'Neill, and create a diversion in Munster in his favor; while others fancied that his preparations were intended to take revenge for the insults he had received from the earl of Ormond, the viscount of Fermoy, the Barrys, and other noblemen. Whatever they might have been, he obeyed a summons that he had received from the deputy, and proceeded to Dublin with a troop of a hundred horsemen, accompanied by Sir Warham St. Leger, the president of Munster, who had been commissioned to guard the frontiers of the English province during the absence of the deputy, who had undertaken an expedition into Ulster.

Accompanied by the earl of Kildare and other noblemen, the deputy set out from Drogheda, at the head of his troops, in the month of September. He marched through a part of Ulster, and passed near Clogher. The troops of O'Neill harassed his rearguard on their march. O'Donnel on this occasion paid him homage, and was reinstated by him in the possession of his estates, particularly the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal, for which O'Donnel agreed to pay to the crown a revenue of two hundred marks a year. Thus the prince of Tirconnel leagued himself with the enemies of his country to save himself from the attacks of a powerful neighbor.

After this the deputy marched into Connaught, where he retook the castle of Roscommon, and put a garrison into it, the command of which he gave to Thomas Lestrange. Sir Edward Fitton was appointed president of the province: the O'Connor Sligoe, the O'Connor Don, O'Flinn, and others, made their submissions to the deputy, who obliged them to pay an annual revenue to the crown. He marched afterwards to Athlone, where he caused a bridge to be built, and then sent his troops into winter quarters, after placing garrisons along the frontiers of the English province; but all these precautions did not prevent O'Neill from devastating it with fire and sword. The deputy then laid siege to Dundalk, in which he failed.

The great exploits of the earl of Tyrone were not sufficient to save him from ruin. He was brave, and his vassals well disciplined, but they fought better in the field than in their attacks on towns, or in defending them. The deputy was more frequently victorious by stratagem than by force of arms; he was in possession of fortifications and garrisons from which he made occasional incursions on the lands of Tyrone, and was artful enough to foment discord between that prince and his neighbors. He detached Maguire of Fermanagh, a powerful nobleman of the country, from his interest, and always supported O'Donnel against him; so that O'Neill, finding himself hemmed in on all sides, and his forces weakened, was reduced to the sad alternative of seeking safety among his enemies. He had twice defeated the Scotch; in the first battle he had killed their chief, James MacDonnel, and in the second Surly Boy MacDonnel, brother of the latter, was taken prisoner.* Still his misfortunes forced him

* The Sagum was a warlike dress in use among the Persians, Carthaginians, and the Romans, and here signifies the red uniform of the English.

* War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 10.

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to have recourse to those whom he had injured. He restored Surly Boy to his liberty, and set out for Northern Clanneboy, where the Scotch to the number of six hundred were encamped, under the command of Alexander MacDonnel, called the younger, brother to Surly Boy, A. D. 1567. O'Neill appeared with a few attendants in the camp, where he was received with apparent politeness; but the Scotch, either through revenge for the injuries they had received from him, or hoping to obtain a considerable reward from the English government, stabbed him, with all his followers, and sent his head to the deputy, who exposed it upon a pole on the castle of Dublin.

Such was the end of Shane O'Neill, who had sacrificed every thing for his country. Had his example been followed by the people generally, the English would not have succeeded so soon in reducing Ireland. As to the other nobles of the country, some, in return for the vain title of lord, which bound them to the English government, took the rank of subjects; others, guided by different motives, paid homage to the English, rather than unite for the common cause, so that the interests of religion and liberty were basely sacrificed to the ambition of some and the weakness of others.

English authors have drawn a barbarous picture of O'Neill; he possessed certainly some defects, but we can place no reliance on the testimony of those authors against him. He left two legitimate sons, Henry and John. After his death, he was accused and convicted of the crime of rebellion, and his estates confiscated for the queen's use, by an act of the parliament held in Dublin this year, 1567.* The estates of the other nobles who had been of O'Neill's party in the war, were also comprised in this act of confiscation; namely, Clanneboy and Fews, the patrimonies of the two branches of the O'Neills, Kryne, or Coleraine, the country of the O'Cahans; Route, belonging to the Mac Quilins; the territory of the Glinnes, in possession of the Scotch, of which James Mac Donnel styled himself the lord and conqueror; Iveach, the country of the Magennises; Orior, that of the O'Hanlons; the district of Ferny, Uriel, Loghty, and Dartry, belonging to four branches of the MacMahons; Truogh, the estate of the MacKennas; and Clancanny or Clanbressail, belonging to the MacCanns. These proprietors were, however, conciliated in some measure. Turlogh Lynogh, one of the most powerful nobles of the family of O'Neill, was acknowledged *The O'Neill*, with the queen's consent;* but in order to check his authority, she confirmed Hugh, son of Matthew O'Neill, in the title of baron of Dungannon, and subsequently in that of Tyrone. The others received part of their estates as a favor, to hold from the queen by letters patent. Among other absurdities in the statute here alluded to, is the insufficiency of the proofs which are advanced in favor of the right of the kings of England to the throne of Ireland.

An exact account of the expenditure of this war against Shane O'Neill, was sent to the queen;† according to which it amounted to one hundred and forty-seven thousand four hundred and seven pounds sterling, besides the taxes raised on the country. Her majesty also lost about three thousand five hundred men of her own troops, who were killed by the prince of Tyrone and his allies, with several of the Irish and Scotch who had taken up arms against him.

Peace having been partly restored in Ulster, war broke out anew in Munster, between the houses of Desmond and Ormond.‡ Their animosities drove them to the fatal alternative of a battle near Drumelin, after which they both were commanded to repair to England, in order that their quarrels might be investigated in council. The subject, however, being too intricate to be tried in England, they were sent back to Ireland, where witnesses might more conveniently be examined. They, however, would not submit to the laws; but again took up arms, and recommenced hostilities. In consequence of the complaints of Ormond, the queen sent orders to the deputy to repair to Munster without delay,§ and to put down Desmond. In conformity with these orders, the deputy set out with a few troops for that province, where he remained three months. The reasons and complaints of both parties being heard, he decided against Desmond, whom he ordered to indemnify his enemy; and on his refusal to submit to this decision, the deputy had him arrested at Kilmallock, and brought to Limerick, where he was accused of high treason for having taken up arms against the queen. While the deputy was waiting the termination of the trial he created John Desmond, the earl's brother, a knight, and appointed him seneschal of Desmond; this promotion gave great umbrage to the earl of Ormond, who represented to the

* Irish Statutes, reign of Elizabeth, p. 309, et seq.

* Camb. reg. Elizab. part 1, p. 131.
† War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 11.
‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part 1, 130.
§ Cox, Hist. of Irel. pp. 325, 326.

queen that the deputy was partial to Desmond, which excited her majesty's displeasure towards him.

Sidney began to feel a dislike to his office of governor of Ireland, being thwarted in his views by the earl of Ormond, to whom he thought the queen listened too attentively. He was also importuned with the complaints of Oliver Sutton, a gentleman of the English province, against the earl of Kildare; and accusations were brought against Sir Edmond Butler and his brother, by Lady Dunboyne, MacBrian Ara, Oliver Fitzgerald, and others, so that he begged of the court to appoint a chancellor capable of assisting him in the administration of affairs; and this office was, in consequence, conferred on Doctor Weston, who landed in Dublin in the July following. Sidney still continued to request his recall, which he obtained at length, and was permitted to return to England. He brought with him the earl of Desmond, the baron of Dungannon, O'Connor Sligo, O'Carroll, and others. The earl of Desmond and O'Connor were confined in the tower, and Sir John Desmond sent for to Ireland, to keep them company. O'Connor submitted to the queen and was restored to his liberty; the same favor was soon afterwards extended to the earl of Desmond, on similar conditions.

In the absence of Sidney, Weston the chancellor, and Sir William Fitzwilliams the treasurer of war, governed Ireland as lords-justices, by commission under the great seal, dated the 14th of October.* During the administration of the latter, quarrels arose between some private families, which subsequently degenerated into religious feuds. The Butlers were still at variance with the Fitzgeralds; Sir Edmond Butler, brother to Ormond, with Peter Grace, lord of Courstown, in the county of Kilkenny, made incursions on the lands of Oliver Fitzgerald. The O'Connors and O'Morras threatened the possessions of the O'Carrolls. Daniel Mac Carty More renounced the title of earl of Glencar, and assumed that of king of Munster, and entering into a league with O'Sullivan More, MacSweeny, and others, laid waste the domains of Roche, viscount of Fermoy. In Ulster, Turlough Lynogh, who had taken the title of O'Neill, declared war against O'Donnel and his allies the Scotch; and killed Alexander MacDonnel, the murderer of Shane O'Neill. A serious dispute arose in Connaught, between MacWilliam Oughter, (Burke,) and O'Connor Sligo. There were likewise differences between the earl of Thuomond and O'Seaghnassy.

Such was the state of affairs on Sidney's return to Ireland, in 1568. He landed at Carrickfergus about the end of September, and had an interview with Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, respecting the hostilities which the latter had committed against O'Donnel, the Scotch, and others who were under the protection of the court. O'Neill, however, cleared himself with the deputy, and both noblemen separated on good terms. The deputy was sworn in on the 20th of October, in Dublin, and gave orders that Sir Edmond Butler should be sent for; he did not, however, think fit to obey his mandate.

The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in January,* in which angry debates took place between the Catholics and the Protestants, respecting the elections of members for this parliament. The matter was decided by Dillon and Plunket, judges of the grand council, and by the report which was made to parliament by Sir Luke Dillon, who was then attorney-general. Several acts respecting religion, and other public affairs, were passed by this parliament; some of them have been already mentioned; the rest are to be met with in the collection of Irish statutes printed in Dublin in 1621.†

About this time Sir Peter Carew came over to Ireland to take possession of the inheritance of one of his ancestors, who enjoyed the title of marquis of Cork, and large estates in the country. The principal objects of his claims were, the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, and the district of Ballymaclethan, in Meath. Weak as his pretensions were to the barony of Idrone, the ancient patrimony of the Cavanaghs, it was adjudged to him by the deputy and council; but he was not so successful in the claim to Ballymaclethan. This was in possession of Sir Christopher Chivers, a man of English origin, and consequently more indulgence was given to him by the council. The trial, therefore, ended in an adjustment with the latter.

After the death of Shane O'Neill, who was the support of Catholicity and the terror of the English, the reformed religion began to take root in Ireland. Queen Elizabeth desired nothing more ardently than to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to rule over the church in this country, as she did in England. The English government adopted every measure likely to advance her views. For this they took care to send over English

* Cox, ibid. pages 326, 327.

* Cox, ibid. page 328, et seq.

† Page 309, et seq.

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conformists, attached to the opinions of the court; on whom the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred according as they expelled the Catholic ministers. To these bishops orders were given to suppress every Catholic institution in their several dioceses, and to establish Protestant free schools, under the guidance of English Protestants, in order that the minds of youth while most susceptible of strong impressions, might be seduced.* Laws were enacted, compelling parents to send their children to these schools, and to attend the Protestant service themselves on Sundays. These laws also decreed pecuniary fines against all who refused, which were changed afterwards into the penalties of high treason, so that by acts of parliament, the fidelity and attachment of the Catholics to the religion of their forefathers, were construed into this enormous crime. Every individual, both of the clergy and laity, was commanded to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Elizabeth, and to renounce all obedience to the pope and church of Rome.† Many able preachers, both English and Scotch, were sent to Ireland. The principal were Goodman, Cartwright, Knox, Janson, Burchley, and Brady. It was hoped that their great eloquence would win the people to them; but the court finding these missionaries unsuccessful, and the Irish still adhering to their own tenets in religion, determined to change matters and attack the heads of the Catholic party. Richard Burke, earl of Clanriccard, a powerful nobleman in Connaught, was arrested by orders of the queen.‡ Ulick and John, the earl's two sons, assembled their vassals, however, and took up arms against the government in revenge for the injury done to their father, and thus procured him his freedom.

The tyranny of the English government excited the alarm of the Irish. Finding the thunder ready to burst and crush them, they saw no hope save in resistance. In Munster they first signalized themselves; the chief of the confederacy was James Fitzmaurice, cousin to the earl of Desmond, MacCarty More, earl of Glencar, MacDonogh, and other branches of the MacCartys, and Fitzgerald of Imokelly.§ The hatred of the Butlers against the house of Desmond, did not prevent Edmond, Edward, and Peter Butler, brothers to the earl of Ormond, from uniting with Fitzmaurice in defence of their religion. The earl of Desmond, whose memory should be for ever dear to the Catholics of Ireland, was still a prisoner in the tower of London. He had intrusted the management of his estates to James Fitzmaurice, his relative; but Ormond and Thuomond, more politic, but less religious than Desmond, had already sacrificed their religion, and the freedom of their country, to ambition, and a desire to ingratiate themselves with the court.

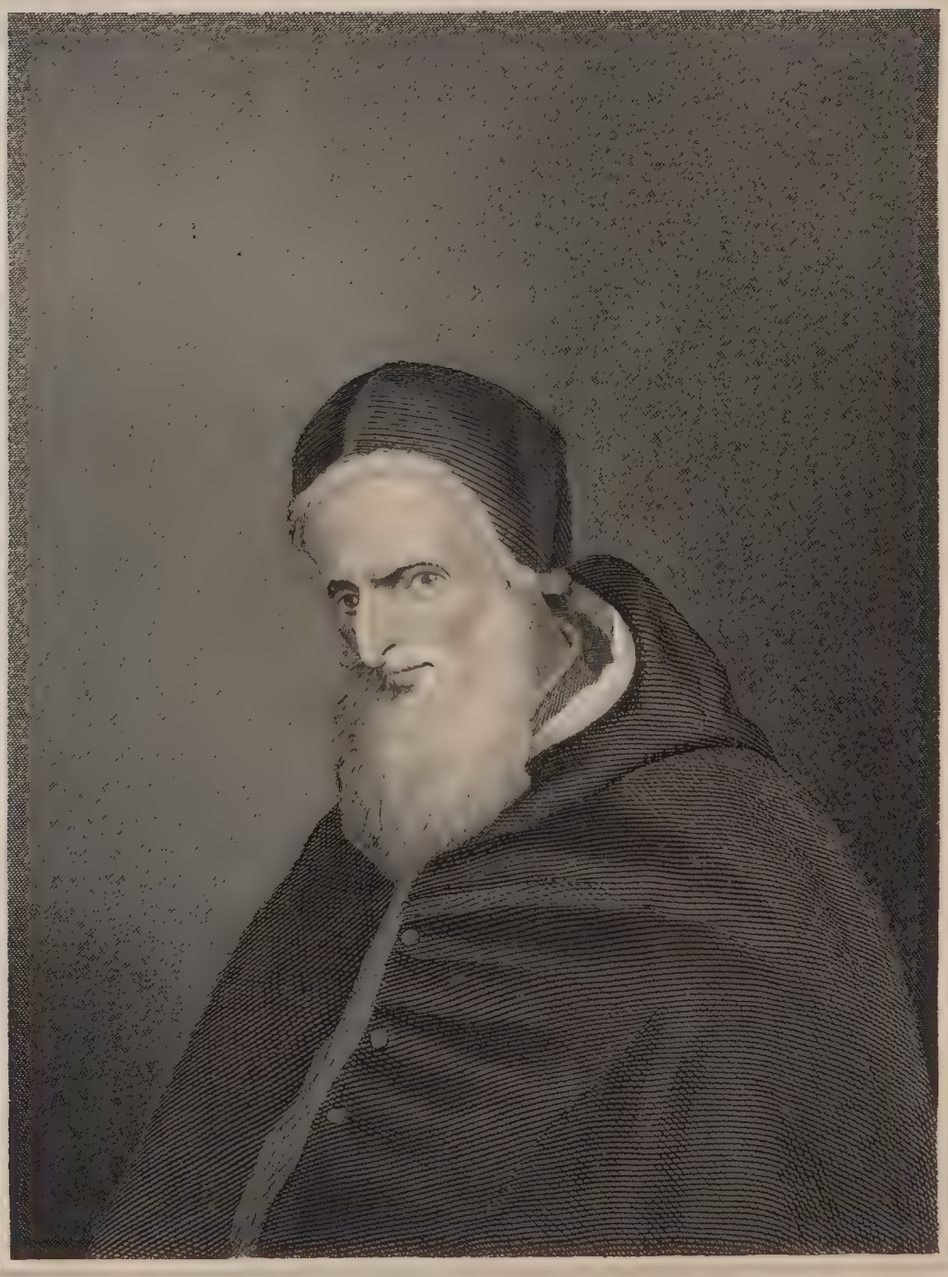
The first step of the confederates was to depute the bishops of Cashel and Emly, and one of the sons of the earl of Desmond, to go with letters to the pope and the king of Spain, to solicit their assistance. Sidney being informed of their movements, proclaimed them all as traitors, and dispatched Sir Peter Carew with a body of troops against Sir Edmond Butler. Carew was so expeditious that he took the castle of Cloghgriman by surprise, and gave it up to plunder. He then marched to Kilkenny, where he defeated a body of light troops. On the other hand, the confederates lost no opportunity of harassing their enemies. James Fitzmaurice intended to besiege Kilkenny, but having no artillery, and the garrison being strong, and provided with every thing necessary to make an able defence, he abandoned his design, and had to content himself with ravaging the estates of the English in the neighborhood, while his allies laid waste the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Ossory, and proceeded to the very gates of Dublin. The campaign thus passed over in hostile attacks on both sides.

The earl of Ormond was in England when he heard with regret of the rebellion of his brothers in Ireland. He applied to the queen to be permitted to serve against them, promising to bring them back to their duty either by persuasion or by force—and set out by leave of the court, for Ireland. He landed at Waterford, or, according to Cox, at Wexford, the 14th of August.* His arrival was immediately communicated to the deputy, whom he soon after joined at Limerick. Ormond sent for his brother Edmond to come to the camp of the deputy, who received his submission, enjoining him to appear before him on his arrival in Dublin. He became security for his brother, who proved faithful to his engagement, by his appearance at the time appointed. To the deputy's questions on the cause of his having rebelled, he answered the representative of majesty with so much haughtiness, that he

* Irish Stat. page 346.
† Peter Lombard, Comment. de lib. c. 19.
‡ Hist. Cathol. lib. tom. 2, lib. 4, c. 4.
§ Camd. Elizab. 1, p. 172. War. ibid.

* Camd. ibid. page 173. Ware, ibid. cap. 12

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was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, from which he shortly afterwards escaped. Ormond himself continued faithful to the queen, whose confidence he had gained, by sacrificing what he owed to his God and to his country; the rebellion of his brothers he considered as a stain upon his family. They received a second time, by orders of the queen, a general pardon from the council in Dublin, without being obliged to make their appearance; and by this means were detached from the Catholic party.

Pope Pius V. pronounced the following sentence against Queen Elizabeth in 1569.

"Pius, bishop and servant of the servants of God; be it remembered by posterity, that he who is omnipotent in heaven and on earth, hath confided his church, which is one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical, and out of which there is no salvation, to one man upon earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the bishops of Rome, his successors, with full power to rule over it. This pontiff alone hath been constituted head over all nations and kingdoms, and invested with power to destroy, to separate, to scatter, and subvert; to plant, build up, and link together by mutual charity, in order to preserve the faithful in the spirit of unity, and surrender them whole and entire to their Saviour. In order to fulfil the duties imposed on us by the divine goodness, we labor incessantly to maintain the unity of the Roman Catholic religion which God hath visited with heavy conflicts, to the end, that His own may be tried, and for our correction; but the numbers and power of the wicked have so far prevailed, that no portion of the earth has escaped their attempts to propagate their infectious and detested dogmas, being supported, among others, by that slave to every species of crime, Elizabeth, the supposed queen of England, under whom the worst enemies of the church have found security. This same Elizabeth having seized upon the throne, and usurped the authority and jurisdiction of supreme head of the church of England, has again plunged that country into a state of misery, from which it was beginning to emerge and to return to the Catholic faith. Having by the violence of her measures prevented the exercise of true religion, which that apostate prince, Henry VIII. destroyed, and which Mary, his legitimate daughter, of illustrious memory, had restored, in concert with the holy see; she has embraced all the errors of heresy, and excluded the English nobility from the royal council, which she has filled with obscure heretics. The Catholics have been oppressed, and the preachers of iniquity established; the sacrifice of the mass has been abolished; prayers, fasting, abstinence, celibacy, and all the rites of Catholicity have been likewise suppressed. She has filled the kingdom with books containing the most flagrant heresies, and not content herself with adopting and conforming to the false and impious doctrines of Calvin, she has forced her subjects to embrace them. The whole of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood throughout England, have been driven from their livings, which have been bestowed on the heretics. Her decisions in ecclesiastical causes have been set up, and the bishops, the clergy, and the people forbidden to acknowledge the authority of the Roman church, or to obey its ordinances and canonical decisions. Thus has Elizabeth compelled most of the people of England, by oath, to subscribe to her nefarious laws, and renounce all authority of the Roman pontiff; to acknowledge her to be head both of church and state; condemning those that have refused, to heavy fines and punishments, whereby those who have persevered in the faith, are overwhelmed with suffering and afflictions. The Catholic bishops and clergy have been loaded with chains, and many of them have ended their days in misery and imprisonment. This persecution is known to all nations, and so clearly proved, that all palliation, argument, or pretext on her part, is unavailing. We find, moreover, that impiety and crimes have increased, that persecution against the religion of Rome has been redoubled by orders of Elizabeth, and that her heart has become so perverted and obdurate, that she has refused to hearken to the charitable counsels of Catholic princes, and has denied admittance to the legates of our apostolical see into England, who have been deputed thither for the same object. With deep sorrow we are now constrained to have recourse to the arms of justice, and obliged to punish a princess whose ancestors have rendered important services to the church.

"In virtue, therefore, of the divine authority by which we have been placed on this supreme throne of justice, an office so superior to our capability, we do, in the plenitude of apostolical power, declare that the said Elizabeth, who is herself a heretic, and the encourager of heresy, together with all her adherents, have incurred the sentence of excommunication, and that they are hereby cut off from the unity of the body of Jesus Christ. Moreover, we proclaim her to have forfeited all right to the said throne, and also all dominion, dignity, and privileges

appertaining to it. We likewise declare, that all subjects of every rank in the said kingdom, and every individual who has taken any oath of loyalty to her in any way whatever, shall be for ever absolved from said oath, as also from all duty, fidelity, or obedience, as we hereby exonerate them from all such engagements, and we do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended claim to the throne of England. The nobility and others above named, we prohibit to obey her, her ordinances and laws, under pain of becoming subject to the same anathema.

"As the circulation of this bull, by sending it to all places, would become a matter of difficulty, it is commanded that copies of it be taken and signed by a notary, subscribed by a bishop, and sealed with the seal of our court; they will then have the same power and efficacy as these presents have.

"Given at St. Peter's, on the 5th of the calends of January, in the year of our Lord 1569, and 5th of our pontificate."

A parliament was held in Dublin the same year, by which several acts were passed;* among others, one giving to her majesty a right to estates and lands in the county of Kildare, belonging to Christopher Eustace, lord of Cotlanston, who was executed, under Henry VIII., for high treason. By a similar act, the estates of Thomas Fitzgerald, knight of the Glynn, in the county of Limerick, and his son Thomas, were confiscated, for their rebellion.† The deputy being at Cork, entered the district of Cirricurry, and seized on the castle of Carigoline; after which he marched to Orrery, and took possession of Buttevant. He intended to proceed to Kilmallock, but was prevented by James Fitzmaurice, who scaled the walls, and made himself master of the town, but finding it impracticable to hold it, he set it on fire. The deputy had the town rebuilt, and put a garrison into it, of four hundred soldiers, one hundred horsemen, and some light troops, under the command of Colonel Gilbert, whom he appointed governor of the province. Having restored peace to the counties of Cork and Limerick, and received the oath of allegiance of some nobles of these districts, viz., Roche, Courcy, Power, Decye, and some others, the deputy returned to Limerick.

Soon after, Gilbert was created a knight, at Drogheda, for his services during his administration in Munster. He then went to England, where he married a rich widow; but having died suddenly, Sir John Perrott was appointed president of Munster in his stead.

War still raged in Leinster and Connaught. Sir Peter Carew endeavored to reduce the Cavanaghs. The tyranny of Fitton over the inhabitants of Connaught was so great, that Conoghor O'Brien, earl of Thuomond, although a loyal subject to England, was obliged to take up arms, and in spite of the mediation of the earl of Ormond, who was sent by the deputy to quell the disturbances, they came to an engagement. Thuomond was defeated, and obliged to fly into France, where he met Norris, the English ambassador, who procured him his pardon from Elizabeth. The earl testified his gratitude, by the important services he afterwards rendered to the crown of England against his country.

Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, who had been acknowledged chief of that illustrious tribe, continued to support the cause of religion in Ulster, A. D. 1570. The noblemen of Ulster and Scotland made frequent alliances about that time. O'Neill married the earl of Argyle's aunt, and kept Scotch troops in his pay. This prince was planning an expedition against the English province, but was unhappily prevented from carrying it into execution. His life being endangered by a musket-shot he received, either by accident or by design, the Scotch began to desert him, and the tribe was about to appoint another chief. Having, however, recovered, while preparing to accomplish his first project against the English, the deputy dispatched two commissioners, Judge Dowdal and the dean of Armagh, on the part of the queen, to his camp at Dungannon; and a treaty was entered into between them in January, which was ratified by the deputy in the month of March following.

The O'Ferrals, ancient lords of Annaly, at present the county of Longford, surrendered their district to the government, who restored them part of it, on condition of paying one hundred marks a year. Lord chief-baron Bath died about this time. He was succeeded by Luke Dilon.

Perrott being appointed governor of Munster, George Bourchier, son of the earl of Bath, and George Walsh, were appointed his colleagues; the former to aid him in the military, the latter in the civil administration. This president was successful in a war he carried on against the confederates, and obliged some of their chiefs, namely, Mac Carty More, Lord Barry, MacCarty Riagh, Donough MacTeigue of Muskerry, Lord Courcy, and MacDonough, to defray the expenses of the war, which weakened considerably the party of James Fitzmaurice.

* Irish Statutes, page 301
† Ibid. page 326.

Sidney the deputy obtained permission from the queen to return to England, with orders to appoint in his stead his brother-in-law, Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was sworn into office in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, in April.* The Irish characters, for printing, were introduced into Ireland the same year, by Nicholas Walsh, the chancellor of St. Patrick's, and John Kerne, treasurer. Government gave orders to have prayer-books printed in the Irish language, in order to seduce the people, but their efforts did not succeed.

Brien Cavanagh, son of Cahir MacArt, who was created baron of Balian by Queen Mary, caused great disturbance in Leinster; he was a brave and accomplished nobleman.† He killed Robert Brown, lord of Malrenkam, for having insulted him. Brien's pride made him so formidable to his neighbors, that Sir Nicholas Devereux and the principal inhabitants of Wexford, assembled to check his progress. They came to an engagement, which was fatal to Devereux; he lost thirty gentlemen on the field of battle, besides several soldiers.

Connaught was also in a state of rebellion, at the head of which were the Burkes of Clanriccard, who could not bear the tyrannical government of Fitton. They therefore took up arms, and, together with their allies, the Scotch, devastated the whole country. Tranquillity was at length restored to the province, says Cox, by a victory which Captain Collin, with one company of infantry, gained over the Scotch, who amounted to a thousand men.‡ Elizabeth saw that the rebellion in Connaught was caused by Fitton's severity; he was consequently removed from the government of the province, and appointed treasurer. The O'Morras and O'Connors of Leinster made attempts to create a diversion in favor of the rebels in Connaught; they burned Athlone, and made some incursions on the English province, where they committed terrible devastation. In Ulster, Brien Mac-Felimy O'Neill made himself master of Carrickfergus, and then set it on fire.

Thomas Smith, an Englishman, and counsellor to the queen, finding that his countrymen were making rapid fortunes in Ireland, at the expense of the old inhabitants, and wishing to have a share in the spoils, asked permission from his royal mistress to send over his son to found an English colony at Ardes, in Ulster. He had two objects in view; first, to procure an extensive estate for his son where he might become a powerful nobleman; secondly, to conceal from posterity, in a foreign land, the ignominy of his birth, being illegitimate. The queen having given her consent, young Smith was equipped for the enterprise. One Chatterton being appointed his governor, with a suitable retinue, they sailed for Ireland; but on approaching the place of his destination, unfortunately for Smith, he met Brien Mac-Art O'Neill, to whom Ardes belonged, ready to receive him. The pretended lord of Ardes was killed in a skirmish, and his troops dispersed by Brien Mac-Art.

Cambden gives a different account of the above circumstance. He assumes, first, that the queen of England had a right to bestow what did not belong to her.* It is true that her predecessors often pronounced sentence of confiscation against those who never acknowledged their authority, and who were always opposed to them. This authority of the kings of England, with respect to the greater part of Ireland, particularly Ulster, was confined to the permission which they granted to their subjects, to seize on the possessions of others by force; which permission being given, the resistance of the proprietor was construed by the English into rebellion. Our author emphatically observes, that Thomas Smith, moved with compassion for neglected Ireland, obtained leave from the queen to send over his bastard son to establish at Ardes, on the eastern coast of Ulster, a colony of Englishmen, in order to civilize the semi-barbarous inhabitants of that country. We might be induced to think that Christian charity was the motive of Smith's conduct on this occasion, but that we are told that this Englishman had already divided the lands of Ardes among his followers, promising to each foot-soldier a hundred and twenty acres; to a horseman two hundred and forty; and to others in proportion to their rank, on condition of paying him an annual rent of one penny an acre, without mention of any thing for the old proprietor. By this it is obvious, that a pretended desire of civilizing the inhabitants of Ardes was a species of pretext to invade their lands. As to the epithet barbarous, which Cambden applies to the people of Ardes, and the word perfidy to Brien Mac-Art, for having killed an enemy who came armed to dispossess him, it is the general style of the English, who believe that their adversaries' obedience should be measured according to their will, and who always define

* War. ibid. cap. 13.
† Cambd. Elizab. part 2, p. 240
‡ History of Ireland, p. 339.

* Elizabeth, part 2, pp. 240, 241.

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the self-defence of a people whom they oppress by the term barbarity.

Walter Devereux, viscount Hereford, was created by the queen earl of Essex in 1573. This nobleman was descended in a direct line from the ancient counts d'Evreux, descendants of the dukes of Normandy, by Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and Count d'Evreux.* In order to gratify him, the queen, whose most attached favorite he was, gave him the half of certain lordships which had been confiscated in Ulster, with the title of captain-general of that province, on condition of repairing thither with two hundred horse and four hundred foot, whom he was to support for two years at his own expense.† To induce men to join readily in this expedition, they were flattered with the hope of estates; whoever should have served without pay in the cavalry for two years, was to receive four hundred acres of land, and those who served in the infantry, were to have similar terms, viz., to receive two hundred acres on condition of their paying an annual rent of two pence per acre.

Fitzwilliam, then lord-deputy, was envious of his new rival; and fearing that his own merits would be eclipsed by a nobleman invested with royal authority, he made use of all his influence to counteract this enterprise.‡ In order to reconcile both parties, the queen commanded Essex to take his patents for the government of Ulster from the deputy. This difficulty being removed, the earl, accompanied by several English nobles, who wished to be sharers of his fortune, and witnesses of his exploits, sailed for Ireland, and landed at Carrickfergus about the end of August. He was waited upon and complimented by Brien MacFelimy, O'Neill, and other Irish nobles, who did not suspect him in the beginning; but on seeing the train that accompanied him, they left him on a sudden, and joined the standard of Tirlogh Linogh O'Neill.

The earl of Essex had scarcely landed in Ireland, when he wished to return to England. From the many difficulties he met with in his undertaking, and the armed hostility of the inhabitants of Ulster, he found himself abandoned by degrees by those noblemen who accompanied him. The earl of Leicester, desirous of keeping him at a distance, opposed his wish to leave Ireland. He was at length, however, permitted to return to England, after an expedition, the only result of which was the loss of large sums of money.

James Fitzmaurice continued to devastate the lands of the queen's partisans in Munster, A. D. 1574. He frequently fought against John Perrott, governor of the province, and was often victorious; having defeated the royal troops at Kilmallock, Sanid, Kuillehugie, and Cluonie, where Captain Morgan was killed, and his troops dispersed.*

The queen, alarmed at the successes of Fitzmaurice, sent orders to her deputy to offer him terms of peace; declaring that she desired more to preserve her authority in Ireland than to persecute religion. Fitzmaurice agreed to lay down his arms, provided that the persecution against the Catholics of the province would cease; and that the earl of Desmond and his brother John, who were prisoners in the Tower, would be set at liberty. These conditions were willingly accepted by the queen, and Fitzmaurice put a stop to hostilities. Elizabeth gave orders to liberate the earl and his brother: she had them brought before her, and admonished them to put an end to a rebellion which disturbed the public peace. The earl replied that he never wished to rebel, and that his own loyalty, and that of his ancestors, to the kings of England, were well known, but that he could not bear the tyranny practised by her majesty's ministers upon the people for their religion. The queen dismissed both with apparent kindness, promising to fulfil the treaty she had concluded with Fitzmaurice. The perfidious princess, however, sent orders secretly to the captain of the ship that was to bring them to Dublin, to give them up to the deputy who resided there. She also dispatched a secret communication to the latter, to retain the earl with him in Dublin, and to send his brother John to Munster, in order to bring James Fitzmaurice with him to that city, that the three might confirm and sign the treaty that had been made with the queen. Such was the plausible but treacherous motive assigned; but the secret determination was, to have the three beheaded together. The earl, however, being apprized of the design, fled immediately. He owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, by which he

* Baker, Chron. p. 346. Cambd. Elizab. part 2, page 255.

† War. ibid. c. 13. Cambd. ibid. p. 256.

‡ The earl of Leicester was honored with the title of grand equerry to the queen. He was youngest son to the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded in the first year of Mary's reign. His grandfather was Dudley, who is ranked by English historians with Empson, one of those infamous leeches of the public money during the reign of Henry VII., and who was put to death in the first year of Henry the Eighth's reign.

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. tome 2, lib. 4, cap. 8. Relat. Girald. cap

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arrived, after five days, with his brother and cousin James Fitzmaurice, in the remotest part of the county Kerry. The earl of Desmond was so far incensed against the English government by this new act of treachery, that he began the war with more vigor than before, whereupon he was proclaimed a traitor; the government offered a reward of a thousand pounds and forty pounds a year, to any that would give him up alive, or five hundred pounds and twenty pounds a year, for his head.

The deputy marched his forces to Munster, to quell the disturbances caused by the Fitzgeralds, and gave, in his absence, the government of the English province to the earl of Kildare.

War was not the only scourge with which Ireland was afflicted at this time. The plague carried away numbers in the English province, while the Irish, who were animated by the promises they received from Rome and Spain, were everywhere up in arms. Fitzwilliam, the deputy, was recalled A. D. 1575, after much importunity on his own part.

The queen again turned her thoughts towards Sidney for the government of Ireland. He was better acquainted than any of his countrymen with the state of affairs there, and consequently better calculated to govern it; but he knew well the difficulty of subjugating the country, which made him averse to undertake the office. In order, however, to fix his mind to the attempt, the queen sent over a fresh reinforcement with warlike stores, and promised him twenty thousand pounds a year. Pleased with these hopes, Sidney sailed in September for Ireland, and on account of the plague in Dublin, landed at Skerries, whence he repaired to Drogheda to be sworn into office.

Having learned at Drogheda that Surly Boy Mac-Donnel was laying siege to Carrickfergus, and had killed forty men and their commander Captain Baker, he marched at the head of six hundred men, and forced Surly Boy to abandon his enterprise. He then pacified the O'Neills, O'Donnels, M'Mahons, Maguires, and other nobles of the North. After this expedition to Ulster, Sidney marched into Leinster, where he found the county of Kildare, particularly the barony of Carbry, laid waste by the O'Morras and O'Connors. The King's and Queen's counties had shared the same fate; but Rory O'Morra made peace with the deputy at Kilkenny, through the interference of Ormond. After leaving Kilkenny, Sidney marched through the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick. He then passed through Thuomond and Galway, administering justice in all these places; received the submission of the Burkes of Clanriccard, who had rebelled, and left garrisons in the towns on his route to Dublin.

The plague ceased in Dublin and in the English province in 1576, but the tyranny of the English was a continual scourge. The country appeared a desert; the towns were destroyed by the marching and countermarching of the troops, after whom, as they passed along, nothing was to be seen but wretchedness and desolation, particularly in Louth, Meath, Kildare, Wexford, Carlow, and the King and Queen's counties, which were at one time harassed by the O'Morras and O'Connors, and again by the English troops.

In the deputy's letters to the queen on this subject, he complained that the undertakers* in the two latter counties were so poor and so few in number, that he was obliged to leave a garrison of two hundred soldiers to protect them, while the produce of both counties did not amount to a twentieth part of what it cost the crown to support them. He also gave her an account of his services, namely, that he had rebuilt Kilmallock, and imposed a tax of two thousand pounds on the inhabitants of Connaught to rebuild Athenry, which had been burned by the Mac-an-Earlas, that is, the children of the earl of Clanriccard; and that he had taken the castles of Ballyclare and Ballinasloe from that nobleman, and had received the submission of the O'Connor Don and O'Flin, at Roscommon, who wished to be governed by English laws. He likewise mentioned that Connaught was disturbed by the Scotch, allies of the Burkes of Clanriccard; that Longford had agreed to pay all arrears which were due; that Brefny was tranquil; that he had appointed Thomas Lestrange and Thomas Dillon, commissioners in Connaught for the settlement of private quarrels; and lastly, that he had made Robert Damport high-sheriff of the province.

The affairs of religion were not more prosperous than those of government; the churches were abandoned; the priests were dispersed; the children left without baptism, and brought up in ignorance, the natural consequence of one religion endeavor-

* These undertakers were needy Englishmen, who were sent over to establish a colony in those counties, between whom the estates of the O'Morras, O'Connors, and other noblemen, which had been confiscated under the pretext of their having rebelled, were divided.

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ing to establish itself on the downfall of another. The ministers of the old religion were driven from their sees, while those of the new were too few to supply their places. These last were Englishmen, sent to preach the new doctrine, but were not attended to by the people; they were shepherds without flocks. The attachment of the Irish to the Catholic religion has been unexampled. Notwithstanding the severe laws that were enacted by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, down to the accession of James I., it is a well-established truth, that during that period the number of Irish who embraced the reformed religion did not amount to sixty, in a country, which, at the time, contained about two millions of souls. With all her power, Elizabeth could not boast of having established the Protestant church in Ireland. The marked abhorrence of this nation to every innovation in religion, made this politic princess dread the consequences of forcing their conscience; she therefore waited a more favorable opportunity, and enjoined the archbishops and bishops to watch only the interests of the church. She appointed William Gerald chancellor, and Sir William Drury president of Munster.

The two latter having landed in Dublin, in June, the chancellor took possession of his office. The deputy wished to bring Drury to Wexford, and have him installed in the presidency of Munster, but was obliged to change his plan; having received a letter from the mayor of Galway, informing him that the Burkes of Clanriccard were again in arms with their vassals; that they had brought back their allies the Scotch, set fire to the gates of Athenry, which had been lately rebuilt, and pulled down the arms of the queen; and that the inhabitants were plundered and their dwellings destroyed.

The deputy immediately set out for Connaught, where he arrived after three days, to the great astonishment of the rebels, who quickly withdrew to their fastnesses. Finding no enemy to contend with, he took possession of the castles and fortresses of the earl of Clanriccard, whom he sent prisoner to Dublin, to answer for the conduct of his sons. He then visited Galway, where he remained for some days, and from that went to Limerick, where Drury was installed president of Munster, after which they both proceeded to Cork.

The new president exercised the greatest severity in the province of Munster, except in the palatinate of Kerry, which the earl of Desmond considered to be exempt from the royal authority. A dispute arose upon this subject between him and the president, whom he accused to the deputy of having raised exorbitant and arbitrary taxes on the people.

The Burkes of Clanriccard, whose father was kept a prisoner in the castle of Dublin, rebelled again, and called the Scotch to their assistance. They laid siege to Ballyriagh, or Loughreagh, a castle within the possessions of the earl their father; but the garrison, which consisted of veteran troops under the command of Thomas Lestrange and Captain Collier, experienced officers, found no difficulty in dispersing a body of men collected in a hurry, and without discipline or arms. The deputy marched thither with his army, and being assisted by Mac William Oughter, a powerful lord of the family of Burke, in Connaught, he completely quelled the disturbance, restored Mac William to his estates, and appointed Nicholas Mally governor of the province, after conferring on him the honor of knighthood, according to his instructions from the queen.

In the mean time, the earl of Essex undertook a second expedition into Ulster, which proved fatal to him. He had many enemies at court, the principal and most formidable of whom was the earl of Leicester. The latter inherited the talents and artifices of his father; he was well versed in the intrigues of the court; the favorite of Elizabeth, and a sworn enemy to Essex, who was then sent back to Ireland with the empty title of lord-marshal, which by its attractions would necessarily render his fall more sure. He was forced soon after, by his enemies, to resign his command. The insult being too great to be borne, he was seized with a dysentery, and died in Dublin, after recommending his son, who was about ten years of age, to the protection of the deputy. The earl of Leicester was suspected of having caused Essex to be poisoned, which is not improbable, as Leicester married the countess of Essex during the lifetime of her husband, which ceremony was again performed after his death.

The nobility of Leinster forwarded complaints similar to those that were brought by the earl of Desmond, against Drury, for his extortions in Munster, A. D. 1577.* A memorial was laid before the deputy, representing that their liberties and privileges were violated by an exorbitant and unreasonable tax, which exceeded twelve pounds sterling for every plough-land, while the parliament

* Ware, de Annal. lib. chap. 19 Cambd. ibid page 280.



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alone possessed the right of levying taxes. Displeased with his reply, they forwarded an appeal to the queen, by three deputies, Scurlock, Nettervil, and Burnel, bringing also letters signed by Lords Baltinglass, Delvin, Howth, Trimleston, and others, in the name of the English province. The queen referred them to her council for their decision: the Lords Kildare, Ormond, Gormanstown, and Dunsany, having been examined, they answered, that it had been always customary to impose taxes on the queen's subjects in Ireland; but at the same time entreated that they might be raised with more lenity.* The queen finding that the petitioners wished to dispute her authority, sent the three commissioners to prison, and dispatched orders to her deputy in Ireland to arrest the petitioners, to fix the tax at five marks for each plough-land, and to punish all abuses in the collection of them. Matters being thus arranged, the petitioners submitted, and were set at liberty, as well as their commissioners.

About this time Sir John Desmond, brother to the earl, married the daughter of the earl of Clanriccard, who had been divorced by her first husband, O'Rourke. By this marriage he formed a close connection with the house of Clanriccard, the object of which was to aid each other against their enemies. This alliance caused uneasiness to the government, and made them watchful of the earl of Desmond's movements, whose loyalty was already doubted.

CHAPTER XLI.

After Garret Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, had escaped from prison in Dublin, and from the perfidious design the queen had formed to exterminate himself and family, he was extremely cautious in his conduct towards the court; but never lost sight of the interests of religion, which he secretly supported, and which he considered as his first and most important duty. He placed no reliance on the repeated treaties with Elizabeth, who had so often deceived him. Deeming it prudent to take precautionary measures, he sent his relative, James Fitzmaurice, to Rome, to consult with Gregory XIII. about preserving the faith in Ireland, and resisting its avowed enemies. Fitzmaurice first went, according to his instructions, to the court of France, where he was well received by the king, who seemed willing to assist the earl of Desmond in his plans to support the Catholic religion, but was prevented by his council.* After this, Fitzmaurice went to Spain. Philip II. recommended him strongly to the pope, and requested his holiness to take under his protection the persecuted Catholics of Ireland.

While James Fitzmaurice was seeking the aid of foreign princes, Rory or Roderick O'Morra and O'Connor Faly were vindicating their country's freedom against the queen's ministers, who practised every species of tyranny against the Catholics. The estates of these noblemen were confiscated in the reign of Mary. Rory, by his bravery, recovered the district of Leix, and kept possession of it till his death. He surprised and burned many towns belonging to the English in Leinster; among others, Naas, Carlow, Leighlin, Rathcoole, and Ballymore. Being attacked by some royalist troops, he took their captains, Harrington and Cosby, prisoners, and brought them to his usual retreat in the middle of a wood. Here, however, he was soon after betrayed by a servant, and surprised in the night by Robert Harpool, at the head of two hundred Englishmen. His safety now rested on his courage; his soldiers were at too great a distance to assist him; the only persons with him were his wife, his cousin John O'Morra, and an aged nobleman of the same family, unable to defend himself. Followed, however, by his cousin, he opened a passage through the enemy with his sword, and after wounding several of them, escaped. The two officers who had been prisoners were set at liberty by the English, who had the baseness and cruelty to stab the wife of O'Morra, and the old nobleman, without pity for her sex, or for the infirmity of his years.

MacGiolla Phadruig Fitzpatrick, prince of Ossory, who became an English subject by accepting the title of baron from that government, made some incursions into Leix, at the head of five hundred of the queen's troops. O'Morra marched to meet him with four hundred men; but unfortunately wishing to reconnoitre the enemy before the action, he was surrounded by a detachment, and was the third that fell. Such was the end of this noble and generous man, whom the English term an arch rebel. Fitzpatrick was not the only Irishman (of the ancient race) who was base enough to sacrifice the interests of his religion and country, for titles of honor which were generally despised by his countrymen.

* Baker's Chron. page 352

* Relat. Girald. cap. 19.

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Francis Cosby being appointed governor of Leix, ruled that country as a true tyrant. His son Alexander equalled him in cruelty, and wreaked his vengeance on inoffensive Catholics for the hard treatment he had received from O'Morra. Having convened a meeting of the principal inhabitants in the castle of Mollach, under pretence of the public welfare, he had them all murdered by assassins posted there for the purpose, violating thereby all honor and public faith. One hundred and eighty men of the family of O'Morra, with many others, were put to death upon this occasion. This cruel and bloody tyrant took such delight in putting Catholics to the torture, that he hanged men, women, and children, by dozens, from an elm tree that grew before his door at Stradbally, where he resided.

Cahal, or Charles O'Connor Faly, was not indifferent to the sufferings of the Catholics; being joined by Conal Mageoghan, of the family of Moy-Cashel, he took up arms, and gave many a check to the tyrants. An Englishman named Macforty, expressly commissioned by the queen to assassinate O'Connor, fell by the sword of him whom he meant to sacrifice to the hatred of that princess.*

Sir Henry Sidney, disgusted with the office of governor, and finding that his services were treated with contempt, solicited with eagerness his recall,† which he obtained at length; and having regulated all public matters, he resigned the sword of justice to Sir William Drury, president of Munster. Sidney was considered an upright man: he had filled high offices in England with integrity; and as a proof of his disinterestedness, it is affirmed that he never, though four times lord-justice, and three times deputy of Ireland, appropriated to his own use an inch of land in the country, which was a rare example among his countrymen.

James Fitzmaurice having arrived in Rome, was received with distinction by Pope Gregory XIII. In this city he met with Cornelius O'Moel Ryan, titular bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely.‡ Nothing certain is known either of the family or country of the latter: some assert that he was natural son of Henry VIII., others, that he was the son of an English knight and an Irish lady; however, his conduct proves him to have been a knight errant that was seeking to improve a moderate fortune.

The sovereign pontiff evinced great zeal for the Irish Catholics, to whom he sent several letters. He exhorted them to persevere in the faith, and to support the cause of religion against the heretics. The earl of Desmond he appointed chief of the holy league, and made James Fitzmaurice, who was then at Rome, his lieutenant, who, in case of accident, was to be replaced by Sir John Desmond, the earl's second brother, and the latter by James, his youngest brother.

The pope gave a large sum of money, and had two thousand men raised in the States of the church, for the expedition to Ireland. Hercule de Pise, an experienced general, was appointed to command them. All things being prepared, and the troops embarked on board a small fleet, the command of it was given to Thomas Stukely, whose orders were to sail for Lisbon, and to wait there for James Fitzmaurice, who was to go thither by land. On reaching that port, Stukely found that Sebastian, king of Portugal, was preparing a considerable expedition for the war in Africa. This prince readily prevailed on him to join his fleet, promising that he would bestow on him rich rewards, and that he would assist him in the war in Ireland. Stukely accompanied Sebastian to Africa, determined, at all hazards, to advance his own interest. On their arrival, a sanguinary battle was fought, in which three kings lost their lives, namely, Sebastian, king of Portugal, Abedelmelic, king of Mauritania, and Mahumet, who was the promoter of this unlucky expedition. Stukely, and the greater part of his Italians, shared their fate, a just reward for his disloyalty.

Fitzmaurice having reached Portugal by land, was indignant at finding that Stukely had betrayed his cause.* Having no resource left, he collected the remnant of his Italian force, which had returned to Spain, with some Cantabrians given him by his Catholic majesty, amounting in the whole, to about eight hundred men. He then sailed for Ireland with six vessels, provided with all kinds of ammunition, and arms for four thousand men. He was accompanied by Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, and Doctor Sandus, an English priest, as legate from the pope. This little fleet arrived, the end of July, 1579, at Ardnacant, which the English call Smerwick, in the western part of the county Kerry, near Dingle. In this harbor there is an islet fortified by nature; on one side it is washed by the sea, and on the other defended by a steep rock, leaving a passage, where it is joined to the continent by means of a draw-bridge. Fitzmaurice

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 7.
† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 20.
‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part 2, on the year 1578.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

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knowing well the importance of this place as an arsenal for the succors that he expected from Spain, added other works to render its natural situation impregnable. All kinds of provisions were put into it, and a garrison of 600 men, the command of which was given to Sebastian de Saint Joseph.

As soon as the arrival of James Fitzmaurice was known, he was complimented by Sir John Desmond, his brother James Desmond, and several noblemen of Munster, who joined them to prepare for the war against the heretics.* While they were raising troops for this purpose, John Desmond attacked Tralee, in which there was an English garrison; he put Henry Davells, Carter, and some others of their chiefs to the sword, and dispersed the remainder. Fitzmaurice marched, at the same time, towards Connaught with a few followers, to prevail on his friends, whose intentions he was aware of, to join in the common cause; but on his way he was attacked by Theobald Burke, eldest son of Sir William Burke, of Castle Connel, who, from a desire to please Elizabeth, sacrificed the interests of religion and of his country. Finding it impossible to avoid an engagement, Fitzmaurice resolved to conquer or die. Being wounded in the breast by a musket ball, and roused to a last effort, he cleared a passage through the enemy, and cut off the head of Theobald Burke with a single blow. The brothers of that captain fell also, and their entire force was routed. The victory, however, proved a dear one to Fitzmaurice. His wound being mortal, he died in six hours after the action, after making his confession and receiving the last sacrament from an English priest called Alan, who always accompanied him. Although the death of this illustrious chief filled the Catholics with alarm, still their courage was not broken down; and the command of the forces was given to John Desmond, whose zeal was equal to his bravery.

Elizabeth, grateful for the services received from the Burkes of Castle Connel, who had rid her of an enemy so formidable as James Fitzmaurice, wrote a letter to their father William Burke, and to console him for the loss of his children, settled a yearly pension on him, of two hundred marks, to be paid from the exchequer; she also created him a peer of the realm, under the title of lord-baron of Castle Connel. The old man died through excess of joy for the new title.†

Sir John Desmond took the command of the Catholic army, and justified, by his heroic actions, the choice which James Fitzmaurice, when dying, had made of him. In order to check the career of Desmond, Drury the deputy marched towards Munster at the head of four hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, attended by marshal Bagnal, Malby, Wingfield, Waterhouse, Fitton, Masterson, and other subaltern officers. He was also joined by the lords Kildare, Mountgarret, Upper Ossory, and Dunboyne, with two hundred horsemen, and a few foot-soldiers. On arriving at Kilmallock, the deputy sent word to the earl of Desmond, and a few other lords of the province whose loyalty he suspected, to appear before him, in his camp, at Kilmallock. After some hesitation, the earl repaired to the deputy, who gave him up to the lord-marshal; but policy soon induced him to set him at liberty, as he knew that Sir John Desmond, the earl's brother, was encamped, with the Catholic army, at Sleavelogher.

Sir John Desmond having received intelligence through his spies, that the deputy was marching to attack him, left his camp at Sleavelogher, and went to influence the barony of Connillo in the county Limerick, in his favor. He posted himself advantageously in the castle of Gortantiburudi, near a forest called Blackwood;* whither the deputy sent a strong detachment under Captains Herbert and Price, with orders to force his camp. On the appearance of the English, both armies drew up in order of battle; the first shock was favorable to the heretics, but they were afterwards cut to pieces by a body of men which Desmond had concealed in the wood; and which attacking them in flank, soon put them to flight. A great number was killed, and among them Herbert and Price.

The loss of this battle caused great affliction to the deputy, but he was relieved by the arrival of six hundred English, under Captains Bourchier, Carew, and Dowdal, sent by the queen to Waterford, to reinforce the army. Sir John Perrot arrived in Cork, with six vessels to protect the coast. Being joined by this reinforcement, the deputy went on another equally unsuccessful expedition to Connillo. Having fallen sick from excess of fatigue, he sent for Malby, the governor of Connaught, to command the troops, and after conferring the honor of knighthood on Bourchier, Stanly, Carew, Moore, Pelham, and some others, he withdrew to Waterford.

* Cambd. ibid. ad an. 1579. Relat Girald. cap. 22. Baker, page 355.
† Cambd. ibid. Baker, ibid.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. Relat. Girald. cap. 23 War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 21, Cambd. Elizabeth.

Malby now assuming the command of the army, he left three hundred infantry, and about fifty horse at Kilmallock, under the orders of Captain Bourchier, and marched with the remainder to Limerick. After refreshing his troops, he led them to Eanaghbeg in the district of Connillo, and encamped near an abbey called Monaster Nenay, where some auxiliaries arrived from the Burkes of Clanriccard and the Lacys, who joined them. Determined to drive away the enemy, John Desmond assembled all his force to give them battle; but the ardor of some of the troops, who began the engagement by pursuing the English (who were flying) to too great a distance, nearly proved fatal. Being surrounded by these fugitives, who were superior in numbers, they would have been cut to pieces, but for the prompt relief brought by Desmond. The action now becoming general, both sides fought with equal bravery, till the right wing of the enemy beginning to give way, and one of their principal officers being killed, they were entirely routed, after a combat of an hour and a half. Desmond remained master of the field of battle, with all the cannon and baggage; he lost only Thomas son of John Fitzgerald his paternal uncle, and Sir Thomas Brown, with some foot-soldiers.

The troops of Desmond having refreshed themselves after the victory, marched from Connillo to Atharlam.* The garrison of Kilmallock being apprized of this movement, sallied forth to dispute their passing. An engagement ensued, in which both sides fought with equal bravery and success; but after a terrible slaughter, victory declared in favor of Desmond, and the remainder of the enemy withdrew into the town. This victory was followed by another at Gort Na-Pissi, where ten battalions of English were cut to pieces.

* Cambden, and other English authors after him, do differ from the Irish writers respecting the above battles. The presumption of the Englishman makes him suppose that every thing belongs to him, and that he ought to be victorious though he be defeated. We here quote two authors who are equally worthy of belief with the English. One is Philip O'Sullivan, whose father was one of the principal actors in this war, and who scaled the walls of Youghal, when it was taken by Desmond. The other is Daniel, or Dominick O'Daly, archbishop of Conimbed, whose father, Cornelius O'Daly, had for some time the command of the forces under the earl of Desmond. These authors may be considered as eye-witnesses of the facts that are given; they ought not to be suspected of partiality or inaccuracy in their accounts, more than Cambden, who wrote on what he had never seen, according to the prejudices of his countrymen. The impartial reader will judge and decide.

Desmond after this made incursions upon Ormond, and carried off great booty. The Butlers then collected their forces, under the following chiefs: Edward and Peter Butler, brothers to the earl of Ormond, MacPieris Butler, baron of Dunboyne, and Purcel, baron of Luochne, and went in pursuit of Desmond as far as Knock Grafuin, or Mount Grafuin, where a bloody battle was fought, which terminated in the total defeat of the Butlers.

The earl of Desmond, who had till now kept an appearance of peace with the queen, began to remove the mask, and to act with his brother John Desmond. He carried off considerable booty from the plains of Cashel, after putting the garrison of that city to flight, which was commanded by Robert, an Englishman. At the same time, Daniel O'Sullivan, prince of Beare, defeated a body of English near the monastery of Bantry.

Sir William Drury, deputy of Ireland, whom we left sick at Waterford, died in September—Malby's authority was now at an end in Munster; however, previous to his return to Connaught, he placed garrisons in the towns of Rakele and Adare, in the county of Limerick. The privy council appointed Sir William Pelham lord-justice *ad interim*. He was sworn into office in October, in Christ's church, Dublin, till the court should nominate a deputy. After this ceremony, the new lord-justice conferred the honor of knighthood on Gerard the chancellor, and Edward Fitton. He also sent letters patent to the earl of Ormond, appointing him governor of Munster, and nominated Sir Warham St. Leger, high sheriff for the same province. The chancellor was dispatched to England to inform the queen of the state of affairs in Ireland; the seals being given, during his absence, to Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin.

All things being thus arranged, the lord-justice proceeded on his route to Munster, attended by three bodies of troops, lately come from Berwick, called "red coats," from the color of their uniform. On his arrival at Kilkenny, he held assizes, at which he presided in person, and condemned Edmond MacNeill, and a few others, to death for high treason. He reconciled the earl of Ormond to the baron of Upper Ossory, obliging them to give bail for mutually repairing the damages which had been caused by their dissensions. He went to Cashel in October, where he was joined by the earl of Ormond at the head of two hundred and thirty men. From that city he wrote a flattering letter to the earl of Desmond, to in-

duce him to repair thither under pretext of wishing to reconcile him to Malby, but the earl could not be prevailed upon to trust him. Pelham afterwards went to Limerick, where he was honorably received by Malby at the head of the army, and by the mayor and a thousand citizens under arms. From Limerick he proceeded to the village of Fannings, which was the rendezvous of the army. Here he was visited by the countess of Desmond, who brought him letters from her husband, with an apology for not obeying his orders. The lord-justice was not satisfied with this, and sent Ormond to the earl of Desmond to know his final intentions, but on his returning an evasive answer; it was decreed that he should be publicly proclaimed in the camp as a traitor, unless he submitted within twenty days; and the troops were ordered to lay waste his lands at the expiration of that time. Viscount Gormanstown and the baron of Delvin signalized their zeal in the cause of Desmond on this occasion. These noblemen were Catholics, and though members of the council, and companions of the lord-justice in his expedition, they generously refused to sign the sentence which was pronounced against Desmond, whereupon they were reprimanded by the council in England.

The earl of Desmond, finding himself condemned, marched towards Cork, hoping to create thereby a diversion which might check the ravages that the enemy were committing in the territory of Connillo. Following the advice of his relative Fitzgerald, seneschal of Imokilly, he attacked Youghal, which he took and gave up to plunder. Dermod O'Sullivan, of the noble family of Beare, contributed greatly to the taking of this town, by his intrepidity in scaling the walls at the head of a body of infantry which he commanded, notwithstanding the obstinate defence of the besieged.* He destroyed a body of troops under Captain White, which had been sent by sea from Waterford, by the earl of Ormond, to relieve Youghal. By way of retaliation for the taking of this place, Ormond made an inroad into Connillo, where he was bravely opposed by the seneschal, and though he remained master of the field of battle, he sustained a heavy loss in killed. After pillaging and burning the whole country, and treating the inhabitants with cruelty, he marched towards Cork, plundering every place as he passed. He was, however, greatly harassed by John Fitzmaurice, the seneschal, who gained an important advantage over the red coats near Lismore.†

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid.
† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid.

When Ormond arrived in Cork, finding the season far advanced, he ordered the troops into winter quarters. He then proceeded to Cashel, through Youghal, where, to appease the queen's anger for the taking of this town, he had the mayor hanged, under pretence of his not having defended it against Desmond. He gave orders to have the walls rebuilt, and left a garrison in it of three hundred men, under Captains Pierce and Morgan.

The earl of Desmond, who saw his forces diminishing, while those of the enemy were increasing every day by reinforcements sent from England, wrote letters to the principal noblemen in Leinster, whom he knew to be well disposed towards them, begging their aid in defence of their religion and country, against the common enemy. Whether these letters made any impression or not on the lords of Leinster, they took up arms the following year in the cause which Desmond so nobly defended.

The lord-justice, who had remained in Limerick, set out for Galway, attended by the earl of Thuomond, and renewed the privileges of that city.* From thence he proceeded to Athlone, and afterwards to Dublin, where he continued for some time. William Norris arrived at the same time from England, with one hundred and fifty horsemen. They were sent by the lord-justice to garrison Newry, where Norris died on Christmas-day.

Towards the end of January, Pelham left Dublin for Wexford, where he presided at the assizes, held for civil and criminal cases. Thence he repaired to Waterford, where he was honorably received. The earl of Ormond joined him in that city, and having intelligence that a detachment of the enemy was marching towards Dungarvan and Youghal, they dispatched Captain Zouch, with four hundred infantry and one hundred horse, to defend those towns.

After remaining three weeks at Waterford, Pelham went to Clonmel, where he was again joined by Ormond. He then proceeded to Limerick. The chancellor of the church in that city was arrested on suspicion of holding a correspondence with the earl of Desmond; and the bishop was confined to his palace for the same cause.

The lord-justice and Ormond having removed to Rathkeale in March, to consult together on the operations of the campaign, they resolved in council to divide the army and act separately. Ormond marched his

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 362.

division towards Slevelogher, burning and destroying the country as he passed. Pelham took the route towards Slevemish, near Tralee. Finding it impossible to proceed further, he fell back to besiege the fortress of Carrikifoyl, which belonged to Desmond. The commander of a detachment of his army, when passing through the territory of Clanmorris, obliged Fitzmaurice, the lord of the country and baron of Lixnaw, to give him hostages as a pledge of his loyalty. This inhuman officer had the hostages hanged, violating thereby the rights of war.* His crime, however, met with a due chastisement; he was attacked at Ardfert by the troops of Fitzmaurice, and his men cut to pieces. Pelham having reached Carrikifoyl, laid siege to the castle; the garrison of which consisted of nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish, commanded by an Italian engineer called Julio. Having effected a breach, Captain Macworth entered at the head of a strong force, put part of the little garrison to the sword,† and caused the remainder, together with their chief, to be hanged. Askeaton and Ballyloghan, the last fortresses belonging to Desmond, shared the same fate.

The lord-justice left four companies in garrison at Askeaton, and returned to Limerick in the beginning of April, 1580. After giving his troops some repose, he recommenced hostilities, devastating the lands of the Mac Auliffs as far as Slevelogher: he then penetrated into the county of Kerry, towards Castlemaine, whence he carried off large herds of cattle, but the army, being badly paid, began to mutiny, which checked his further operations for a while.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when Pope Gregory XIII. addressed the following letter to the Irish clergy and people:—

"Gregory XIII. to all and every of the archbishops, bishops, prelates, princes, earls, barons, and all the inhabitants of Ireland, greeting, health, and apostolical benediction.

"Whereas we have exhorted you by our letters, during these last years, to recover your freedom, to defend and preserve it against the heretics; to aid also and support, with all your strength, James Geraldine, of happy memory, who had ardently undertaken to break the yoke of slavery which the English, who have deserted the holy Roman church, have imposed upon you.

"It was our will that you would speedily and courageously have assisted the said James, who fought against the enemies of God and of your country. In order to support you in your zeal, we have granted to all who will repent and confess their sins, and who have followed the said James, the defender and protector of the Catholic faith, and his army, and to those who will join and assist, either by their counsel, arms, or warlike stores; a full and general pardon of all their sins, the same as the sovereign pontiffs have been accustomed to grant to those who were engaged in war against the Turks, or for the recovery of the Holy Land. Having learned with grief that the said James has (as it hath pleased the Lord) lately fallen in fighting valiantly against the enemies of his country, and that our dear son John Geraldine, his cousin, has with equal piety and greatness of soul, by the assistance of God, in whose cause he is engaged, succeeded him in the command, and has already performed acts of heroism, for which the Catholic faith is deeply indebted to him; we therefore exhort you all in general, and each one in particular, with all the affection of our soul, and urge and require of you, in the Lord, to assist the said John, your leader against the heretics, with all your resources, as you have assisted James when living. Confiding in the mercies of the omnipotent God, and supported by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, we give and grant to all and each of you, who are engaged with and assist the said John and his army, a plenary indulgence and remission of your sins, by a due observance, on your part, of the conditions contained herein, viz., to confess your sins and receive worthily. The same privileges are granted to you, as have been granted to those who have fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land.

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, the 13th day of May, 1580, and in the eighth year of our pontificate."

Thus did Gregory XIII. endeavor to remedy the evils which had been inflicted on Ireland by Adrian IV., one of his predecessors. He wished, by separating that country from England, to repair the imprudence committed in bestowing it upon Henry II., under the specious pretext of establishing the faith in it, and reforming the morals of its people. Gregory's plan, however, was too weak, and the evil too deeply rooted. Desmond and his adherents were betrayed by some of their countrymen, and Elizabeth, having no impor

* Wareus, ibid. cap. 22.
† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid.

tant wars to maintain against the neighboring powers, turned all her thoughts to Ireland.

Some Catholic lords in Munster, who were suspected of holding a correspondence with the rebels, were summoned to appear before the lord-justice at Limerick and account for their conduct.* They all, with the exception of Lord Barry, submitted. Cormac, son of Teague Mac Carthy of Muskerry, having displayed particular zeal in the royal cause, had his share in the rewards; and soon after found an opportunity of signalizing himself. James Desmond,† the earl's youngest brother, either to chastise him for his perfidy or to revenge some private wrongs, made incursions on his lands at the head of one hundred and fifty men, and carried off considerable booty. Domnal, the brother of Cormac, collected all the forces he could muster, and having pursued Desmond, they came to an engagement, which was fatal to the latter. After seeing all his men fall by his side, and being himself mortally wounded, he had the misfortune to be made prisoner, and given up to Warham St. Leger, the high-sheriff of the province, and Captain Rawleigh, who had him put to death in Cork for high treason. His head was cut off, and exposed on the gate of the city, to serve as a warning to others. In order to reward his services, Cormac Mac Teague was created a knight by the lord-justice, and appointed high-sheriff of the county of Cork.

The earl of Ormond, who commanded a body of troops at Adare, marched towards Buttevant, where the whole army suffered from an extraordinary malady, which they termed the "mild correction." It was a kind of violent headache, which lasted for two or three days, and deprived those who were attacked by it of their understanding; it was not, however, fatal to many.

After the contagion had ceased, Ormond divided his army into two parts;‡ one he led to Castle Island, in the county of Kerry, and sent the other to Tralee, the place of rendezvous. He then marched, with his army in three divisions, towards Dingle, plundering the country as he marched, and shedding the blood of the Catholics without mercy, so that not one would have escaped, had it not been for the protection granted to several by Sir William Winter, the English vice-admiral, who commanded a squadron in the port of Bantry, to prevent the Spaniards from making a descent. From this time we may date the decline of the cause of Desmond. He had lost his cousin James Fitzmaurice, and his brother James Desmond, the country was laid waste, and provisions became so scarce, that many who were attached to his cause, were forced, for want of subsistence, to abandon him.

The Reformation in the Church of England was disturbed at this time by the arrival of a body of Dutch fanatics,* who called themselves *the family of love*. They preached in public their wild doctrine, "that none but those who belonged to their family would be saved," and maintained, that perjury before a magistrate who was not of their family was no crime. They had several volumes containing their dogmas translated into English, and published under the affecting titles of *Gospel of the kingdom*, *Dominical Sentences*, *Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*, and others of a similar import, all of which were burned by orders of the government, and the authors expelled the kingdom.

At this period, the court appointed Arthur Grey, lord-baron of Wilton, and knight of the order of the garter, deputy for Ireland; he landed at Dublin in August. Some noblemen of Leinster and Meath beheld with indignation the Catholic clergy persecuted; the holy sacrifice of the mass abolished; their churches profaned by the new ceremonies of the reformers, and dreading fresh innovations, united to defend their religion.† The chiefs of this confederacy were James Eustace, viscount of Baltinglass, Fiach MacHugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and Captain Fitzgerald, who withdrew from the queen's service for the purpose of joining in it. The plot, however, having been discovered before it was ripe for execution, some of the leaders were arrested and put to death.

The new deputy having learned, previous to his receiving the sword, that Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh, with their confederates, were posted in the defiles of Gleandaloch, determined to dislodge them; for which purpose he collected all the English troops in Leinster, both foot and horse, and marched to Gleandaloch, where he found the Irish ready to receive him. The battle began in a wood which was lined with cavalry, under the command of Lord Grey. The combat was long and obstinate, but victory having at length declared in favor of the Irish, a

* Cox, Hist. of Irel. page 365.
† Cambd. Reign of Elizabeth, part 2, ad an. 1580.
‡ Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 365.

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Elizabeth. Cambd. Elizabeth, ad an. 1580.
† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid. cap. 14.

dreadful carnage was made of the English troops, and the deputy, with his cavalry, was forced to fly. The English lost eight hundred soldiers, besides Sir Peter Carew, Colonel Moor, and Captains Audely and Cosby. This last commander was particularly cruel, as has been already observed. His greatest pleasure consisted in putting the inoffensive Catholics, and even their infants, to death before his door. This blood-thirsty tyrant, however, met with his reward at last.*

Pelham having regulated the affairs of Munster, where he left two thousand eight hundred and twenty foot-soldiers, and three hundred and ninety-five horse, under the command of Sir George Bourchier, passed through Connaught, and confirmed Malby in the government of that province. He proceeded to Dublin in September, and gave up the sword of justice to the new deputy in the cathedral of St. Patrick.

According to some writers, James Fitzmaurice had brought to Ireland eight hundred Italians and Spaniards, and had fortified Smerwick as a garrison and arsenal for the rest of the Spaniards who were expected. It is also stated, that he left six hundred men in it, under the command of Sebastian de Saint Joseph; but Cambden and Ware fix the arrival of these troops in Ireland in 1580. However this may be, the new deputy, in order to clear his reputation, which was sullied by his defeat at Gleandaloch, determined to besiege Smerwick, and drive away these foreigners. The earl of Ormond had already failed in the same plan. Having marched from Tralee to lay siege to this fortress, a sally of the besieged prevented his continuing it, and he was obliged to join the deputy, who had already arrived at Rathkeal.

Every thing being prepared, the deputy, accompanied by the earl of Ormond, Captains Zouch, Rawleigh, Denny, Mackworth, and others, marched towards Smerwick at the head of eight hundred, or according to others, of fifteen hundred men, to besiege that fortress, while Sir William Winter blockaded it with his squadron by sea.† The siege lasted for forty days, the place being well provided, and obstinately defended; so that the deputy finding the winter draw near, and knowing the inconvenience of being encamped in bad weather, was resolved to accomplish by treachery, what he could not effect by force. For this end he displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley. An Irish nobleman named Plunket, belonging to the garrison, was very zealous in the cause of the Catholics, and strongly averse to any truce with the reformers, alleging that they possessed neither probity nor honor, and could not therefore be relied on. Sebastian, the governor, was opposed to Plunket's advice. He was desirous of capitulating, and went forth from the castle, attended by Plunket, who was to act as interpreter. The deputy received him with politeness, and proposed to them to capitulate, and that he would allow the garrison to march out with all the honors of war. Plunket used every effort to prevent the treaty from being concluded, by giving false versions of the proposals of both parties. It appeared, however, by his countenance and mode of speaking, that Plunket was not a true interpreter, upon which they had him arrested. They then entered into a treaty; an Englishman, who was acquainted with the Spanish language, being the interpreter. Sebastian returned joyfully to the fortress, saying that he was surrendering the place to the English upon honorable terms, and that seeing matters so desperate, he thought it prudent to save the garrison. The captain of the Cantabrians, and Hercule de Pise, inveighed loudly against the treaty, saying, that so far from fearing for the place, they would be able, if necessary, to oppose the enemy in the field; but the soldiers, who preferred life to glory, declared for the governor, and lost both. Though they surrendered on conditions which were sworn to by the deputy, they were immediately ordered to lay down their arms, and were cruelly slaughtered by the barbarous English. The governor alone escaped, but was banished from the kingdom. Plunket was reserved for a worse fate—his arms and thighs being dislocated with hammers. It is from this event that *fides Greiæ*, or the faith of Grey, became a proverb in the country, whenever mention was made of any signal act of treachery being committed. The fortress of Smerwick being evacuated, a strong garrison and governor were placed in it by the deputy. The government of Munster was then consigned to the earl of Ormond. Four hundred and fifty men were left under Captain Zouch, whom the deputy appointed commander of Kerry and Desmond. He placed troops in the other cities, towns, and villages of the province, and gave orders to the principal officers to destroy with fire and sword every place that continued faithful to the earl, and to bring the war to a speedy termination. He then returned to Dublin.

The deputy received intelligence in Dublin, that the earl of Desmond had passed into

* Hist. Cathol. Iberu. ibid. cap. 6.

† Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 15. Relat. Gerald. c. 13.

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Connaught with two hundred men, to join the earl of Clanriccard's two sons who had taken up arms; that Viscount Baltinglass, with the O'Byrnes, O'Morras, Cavanaghs, and Keatings, were collecting a great force; and that Munster, Connaught, and a part of Leinster, were under arms. He was greatly alarmed at the news; but the arrival of a hundred and fifty horsemen, and six companies of infantry from England, gave him fresh confidence. With this reinforcement, and his other troops, he scoured the territories of O'Faly, Fearcall, Kinalyagh, and Ely. He condemned O'Molloy, lord of Fearcall, to death as a rebel; the O'Connors Faly, MacGeoghegans of Kinalyagh, and O'Carrols of Ely, he appeased, and thus crushed the conspiracy in its cradle.* The earl of Kildare, and his son-in-law, the baron of Delvin, who were suspected of holding correspondence with Baltinglass and the other Catholics, were arrested and given in custody to Wingfield, master of the ordnance. At the same time, the earl's friends persuaded his son, Henry Fitzgerald, to withdraw for a while to the country of Offaly, from which he derived the title of baron. He there fell into the power of the O'Connors, who, for his own safety, detained him against his will till the fate of his father should be known. The deputy sent the earl of Ormond to demand him. The O'Connors at first refused to give him up; but fearing that by detaining the young nobleman they might injure the father, they sent him to Ormond, who brought him to Dublin. He was then, together with his father the earl, and the baron of Delvin, sent to England, where all three were committed to the tower.

A report was spread at this time of a conspiracy to surprise and seize the deputy in the castle of Dublin. Though this was never clearly proved, the persons suspected were capitally punished; John Nugent, one of the barons of the exchequer, and several others, being put to death.

Captain Rawleigh repaired to Dublin to complain of the Barrys and Condons in the county of Cork, and obtained a warrant to seize on Barryscourt, and other estates belonging to Barry, lord of that castle. Rawleigh received a fresh reinforcement, and set out from Dublin to execute his commission. Barry being apprized of Rawleigh's design, set fire to his castle, and the seneschal of Imokilly lay in ambush to intercept his march, so that Rawleigh was obliged to effect his escape to Cork, sword in hand. Viscount Baltinglass, who had taken up arms in the cause of religion, against the queen, wishing to detach his neighbor the earl of Ormond from the interests of Elizabeth, wrote him a strong and interesting letter upon the subject. Among other things, he said, that if holy Thomas of Canterbury had not died for the Roman Church, he never would have been earl of Ormond.* Cambden adds, that this nobleman was descended from a sister of Thomas a Becket, and that to expiate the murder of the holy prelate, Henry II. had bestowed large estates in the district of Ormond on the ancestors of the earl.

The deputy having gone to visit Munster, gave the government of the English province during his absence to Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and to the earl of Kildare.† These governors having met at Tara in July, 1581, the earl set out, by orders of the council, at the head of two hundred horse and seven hundred foot, to propose terms to Viscount Baltinglass; but having failed in this, he withdrew. The enemy taking advantage of his retreat, burned the town of Newcastle, in the county of Wicklow. In the mean time, the deputy on his way through Munster, appointed Captain Zouch governor of that province, and returned to Dublin through Connaught.

Nicholas Nugent, chief-justice of the common pleas, having given some displeasure to the queen, was removed, and Sir Robert Dillon appointed in his stead. It was decreed at this time that the cavalry should be placed in garrison, to prevent their being a burden to the public, and the prices of forage were regulated.

Zouch, governor of Munster, was in garrison at Dingle, where several of his men died of sickness. Having learned that the earl of Desmond and David Barry were collecting their forces near Achadoe, in the county of Kerry, he marched with his army towards Castlemaine, and surprised the earl, who was obliged to withdraw to a wood called Harlow wood. At the same time, Fitzgerald, commonly called the seneschal of Imokilly, made incursions in the neighborhood of Lismore, and being attacked by a detachment from that garrison, he killed twenty-five of them, and put the rest to flight. While Zouch was at head-quarters in Cork, an occurrence took place, disastrous both to religion, and to the earl of Desmond, who defended it so gloriously. David Barry, and

* War. ibid. Cambd. Elizab. part 2, ad an. 1580

* Cambd. reign of Elizab. part 3, ad an. 1583. Baker, Chron. of England, page 361. Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 367.

† Ware, de Annal. ibid. cap. 23.

Fitzgerald, seneschal of Imokilly, though in arms for the common cause, had a dispute which broke out into an open rupture at this time, and destroyed the harmony and union which ought to subsist between the supporters of the same cause.

Barry and Fitzgerald were encamped near Mount Dromphinin, on the right bank of the Blackwater, which falls into the sea at Youghal. Desmond and his brother John, who were posted on the opposite bank, were particularly interested for the reconciliation of these noblemen, who were to share in the perils of the war; and John Desmond having undertaken to bring it about, repaired to the camp for that purpose. Zouch and Dowdal having learned, through a spy, that John Desmond was to cross the river the day following, on his way to the camp at Dromphinin, set out, during the night, from Cork, with a strong force. They arrived at break of day at Castlelyons, and posted themselves near a wood through which Desmond had to pass. This nobleman, not suspecting that an enemy was so near, had the misfortune to fall into their hands, with James, son of John Fitzgerald, lord of Stonacally, who accompanied him. Having refused to surrender, they were surrounded and taken by the enemy, and brought to Cork ; but Desmond, who was mortally wounded, died on the way. His head was cut off and sent to Dublin, where it was fastened to a pole and put upon the top of the castle ; and his body tied to a gibbet on the gates of Cork, where it remained for three or four years, till it was at length carried into the sea by the wind. James Fitzgerald was put to death.

After this expedition, Zouch surprised the camp of David Barry, and dispersed his troops, avenging thereby the garrison of Bantry, which was put to the sword some time before by Barry and MacSweeny. Tranquillity being restored to Munster, the troops in this province were reduced to four hundred foot, and fifty horse. They were, however, soon obliged to increase them.* Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw, with his sons, took up arms again to revenge some injuries he had received from the government, and made himself master of Ardfert, putting the garrison, under Captain Achin, to the sword. He also took the castle of Lisconnel, and forced the troops who defended it to leap over the walls, and afterwards devastated the districts of Ormond, Tipperary, and Waterford, without meeting any opposition.

Zouch, governor of Munster, having received a reinforcement of two hundred men, under Sir Henry Wallopps and Captain Norris, marched towards Kerry, to check the progress of the baron of Lixnaw, A. D. 1582.* He retook Ardfert, Lisconnel, and other places which were abandoned by the baron ; and having defeated a body of the enemy near Lisconnel, he proceeded to Limerick, from whence he dispatched Captain Dowdal in pursuit of that nobleman. On coming to an engagement, the latter having lost a hundred and forty men upon the spot, was forced to retreat. Dowdal revictualled his garrisons with the booty he took, and placing a strong fence in Ardfert, returned to Cork.

Notwithstanding his misfortunes, Desmond again appeared near Athdare, at the head of a few troops, and attacked the garrison of that town, in a sally which they made. He killed several of their men, with two of their officers. and obliged the rest to take refuge within the fortress.

Thomas Butler, lord of Cahir, was at this time created a peer of the realm, with the title of lord-baron of Cahir.† He was descended from James, fourth earl of Ormond, and his second wife Catherine, daughter of Garret Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond. Lord Arthur Grey, deputy of Ireland, was recalled to England in August ; Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Henry Wallopps, treasurer of war, being sworn in lords-justices in his stead. About this time Doctor Sanders, or Sanderus, a native of England, and apostolical legate in Ireland, died. He led an exemplary life, and was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause.‡ He is styled a traitor and arch-rebel, by Protestant writers. This holy man, broken down by fatigue, and disappointment at seeing impiety triumphant, died of a dysentery in a wood, where he lay destitute of all relief. He received the sacraments from Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, who continued with him to his last moments.

The earl of Ormond landed at Waterford in January, with a reinforcement of four hundred Englishmen, who were placed under the command of Captains Bourchier, Stanley, Barkly, and Roberts. This nobleman was also intrusted with the government of Munster, by a commission from the queen. He obtained an increase to the soldiers' pay, of two pence a day, by which he gained the love and confidence of the army. His first expedition was against the earl of Desmond. Not satisfied with having renounced the re-

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

* War. ibid. cap. 24. Cox, ibid. page 371.
† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.
‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 16.

ligion of his ancestors, he also wished to destroy him by whom it was supported; apostacy which was but too faithfully imitated by his descendants. Having received intelligence that that earl, and a few of his followers, were in Harlow wood, he surprised and cut off several of them, dispersing the rest, and forcing them to abandon their chief.

We have now come to the last year of the life of Desmond, A. D. 1583. Finding himself unassisted by the Spaniards, and deserted by his adherents, he became a fugitive through the country. On arriving in the county of Kerry, with a few followers, he took refuge in a small house in the middle of a wood, called Gleam-a-Ginkie, four miles from Tralee, where he was subsisted by plunder, and whatever Goron or Goffred Mac-Sweeny, who was faithfully attached to him, could procure by hunting.* Being surprised at length by his enemies, his head was cut off, and sent to Cork, whence it was brought soon after to England, fastened on a pole, and thus exposed to public view on the bridge of London. Such was the end of the illustrious house of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond; the Maccabees of our day, who sacrificed their lives and properties in defence of the Catholic cause. Their tragical fate was brought about by the treachery and wickedness of their countrymen. James Fitzmaurice was the victim of the Burkes of Castleconnel; James Desmond was betrayed by the lords of Muskerry; John Desmond fell into the snares of the reformers; and Ormond had the honor of ending the scene by the death of this chieftain, the fifteenth earl of his family.† His extensive estates, whose revenue exceeded, at that time, four hundred thousand crowns, having been surveyed by Sir Valentine Brown, Viscount Kenmare's ancestor, who was sent to Ireland for the purpose, were divided among the English who supported the war against him, and particularly the earl of Ormond, who had a large share in the spoils.

The Catholic lords who were engaged in the same cause with Desmond, seeing the unhappy state of affairs, thought of providing for their safety. James Fitzmaurice, viscount Baltinglass, chief of the Catholics in Leinster, withdrew to Spain, where he died soon afterwards. Some were won over by the queen's promises, and others submitted till a more favorable opportunity might arise.

Tranquillity being in a manner restored to Ireland, government turned their thoughts towards the business of the state. Sir Nicholas Bagnal, Sir Lucas Dillon, and James Dowdal, were sent to Ulster, with a commission to settle the affairs of that province with the baron of Dungannon, and the deputies of Turlogh Lynogh and O'Donnel.

* Relat. Gerald. cap. 24. Hist. Cathol. cap. 15. War. ibid. cap. 26.

† Relat Gerald. ibid

CHAPTER XLII.

PERSECUTION, which had somewhat abated during the war, began anew with increased severity after the death of the earl of Desmond, and the other defenders of the Catholic cause. It was enough to be an Irishman to be persecuted, and a Catholic to be crucified. Their neighbors, the English Catholics,* were not exempt from the persecution. In order to form a rampart against heresy, establishments were founded in the Catholic countries, for the education of youth, whose parents had not renounced the religion of their ancestors. These were called seminaries. William Alan, educated at Oxford, and a learned man, founded one at Douay in 1568, which was made a college. This house was protected by the pope, who increased its revenue by an annual pension. The duke De Guise founded a similar establishment at Rheims, and Gregory XIII. instituted one in Rome for the same purpose.

The Catholics of Ireland were as zealous in the preservation of their faith as those of England. Protected by Philip II., king of Spain, they founded in the Catholic countries seminaries for the education of their youth, in order to save themselves, and others, from the contagion of heresy. The college of Douay, in Flanders, was the first of these establishments. It was founded in 1596, by the efforts of Christopher Cusack, a priest of the county of Meath, who applied his own patrimony and the contributions of his friends to this pious undertaking.† He assisted also in founding similar houses at Lille, Antwerp, Tournay, and St. Omer; and was president-general of all. St. Omer is the only one that does not exist at present.

France generously afforded an asylum to these voluntary exiles,‡ and gave them a house on the hill of St. Genevieve. They were kindly received by the people of Paris, who in this imitated their illustrious fellow-citizen, John Lescalopier, baron de St. Just,

* Cambd. ibid. ad an. 1580, p. 315, et seq.

† Harris, Hist. of Irel. vol. 2, p. 252, et seq.

‡ Messingham, Florileg. Insulæ. 55, Epistol. dedicat.

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and president of the parliament. This virtuous nobleman and true Christian was deeply affected for the state of religion in Ireland, and much interested for the fate of the Irish priests who were banished from their country on account of their religion. These were looked upon as martyrs for Christ, and laborers destined to cultivate his doctrine. They were brought by this illustrious Frenchman from an obscure dwelling, and settled in a more commodious place, while he was providing a regular seminary, and funds necessary for its support. Retirement was a favorite virtue of this pious and good man. Every day that could be spared from public business, he passed with the Irish exiles. Devotion to God and his saints, the conversion of heretics, the propagation of the faith, and salvation of souls, were always favorite subjects of conversation between him and these novitiates. He was frequently with them in the refectory, where his humility was such, that, forgetful of his rank as first magistrate of France, and as a proof of his respect for the exiled clergymen, he always chose the last place at table. According as they had completed their studies, and were prepared to return to their country, their illustrious patron, in order to prove their capability, had them examined by Père Binet, a learned Jesuit of the time; he then himself presented them to Cardinal Retz, bishop of Paris, to receive their mission from him; after which they were furnished with clothes and every thing necessary for the voyage, at his expense. This was the beginning of the establishment of the Irish house in Paris.

The college of the Lombards being deserted by the Italians, the trustees conferred it upon the Irish students in Paris, by an act dated 9th July, 1676, which was confirmed and ratified by letters patent in August, 1677, and registered in the parliament of February, 1680. This college, which was in a state of ruin, was rebuilt by the united care of two Irish ecclesiastics, Maginn and O'Kelly; the former abbot de Tulles, the latter, prior of St. Nicholas de Chapouin. In memory of this service they are acknowledged by the agents of the college as its restorers. These two benefactors were authorized to rebuild it, and obtained, for that purpose, letters patent, dated March, 1681, and registered the 19th August of the same year.

Seminaries were also established in Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and Nantes, for the Irish;* the two former under the patronage of Queen Anne of Austria. The seminary of Bourdeaux was first founded in 1603, by Francis de Sourdis, cardinal and archbishop of that city. Louis XIV. granted an annual pension to this house, and to that of Toulouse, at the solicitation of the queen his mother.

Other nations were equally zealous to contribute their support to the religion in Ireland. Cardinal Ludovisius founded a college for Irish students in Rome, in 1628, and endowed it with a yearly income of six hundred Roman crowns; and, in order to enable the establishment to support a greater number of students, he bequeathed to it a vineyard fifteen miles from Rome, and an annual pension of one thousand crowns.

Baron George Sylveria founded, at Alcala de Henares, a college for Irish priests, towards the close of the sixteenth century. This nobleman was a native of Portugal, but an Irishman at heart; his mother was a MacDonnel, and of Irish parents. He endowed this establishment with two thousand pounds sterling a year, and one thousand pounds for the support of the chapel, which was dedicated to St. George the martyr.

At Seville there are two colleges: one a royal establishment for the Irish, and dedicated to the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. Sarapater, a canon of Seville was one of its benefactors. The second, called St. Gregory's college, being dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great, who sent Augustin as apostle to England, was founded for the English, who have since abandoned it. It belongs at present to the Irish.

In 1582, there was a college founded at Salamanca for Irish priests, by the states of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Its revenues having decreased, Philip III. took it under his protection in 1610, and restored it.

The Irish priests have a seminary in Lisbon, founded in 1595, by Ximenes, who was interred there. Mass is offered every week for the repose of his soul. Cardinal Henriques founded, about the same time, a college for Irish priests at Evora, dedicated to St. Bridget. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Jesuits.

These seminaries were filled with learned ecclesiastics, who, after they had completed their studies, returned to their own country to console the faithful, and administer to them spiritual assistance, in which they were seconded by the truly apostolical zeal of the Jesuits. These establishments did not fail to attract the attention of the English court; they were considered as very dangerous to the government, and opposed to the reformation of the church. In order to remedy this, an edict was published, commanding all who had

* Harris, ibid.

children, wards, or relations in foreign countries, to send, within ten days, their names to the judge of the district, to recall them within four months, and present them immediately on their return, to the said judge. By the same edict, it was prohibited to send them money; and every one was strictly forbidden to receive these seminarians or Jesuits into his house, or to support, nourish, or relieve them in any manner, under pain of being considered rebels, and punished according to the laws. In consequence of this proclamation, several priests, Jesuits, and monks, suffered martyrdom with Christian fortitude, among whom were the two celebrated Jesuits, Personius and Campianus.

Dermod O'Hurly, archbishop of Cashel, was the first martyr this year in Ireland.* He studied at Louvain and in Paris with celebrity; and was the professor of law in the former of these universities; he went afterwards to Rome, where he was kindly received by Gregory XIII., who appointed him archbishop of Cashel. Full of zeal for the salvation of his brethren, he set out, after his consecration, for Ireland, where he found all things in a state of anarchy. The see of Cashel was held by Miler Magrath, an apostate monk of St. Francis:† the altars were overthrown, the Catholic clergy left without an asylum, and were forced to assume women's apparel. All, however, did not diminish the zeal of the new bishop of Cashel. He taught in the Catholic houses, and confirmed the faithful in their religion, making no distinction of province or diocese.‡ Being with Thomas, lord-baron of Slane, in the county of Meath, he was recognised by the chief-justice of the King's Bench, who sent intelligence of his discovery to Adam Loftus, the chancellor, and Henry Loftus, the treasurer, who were at the head of the government.§ They immediately gave orders to the baron to send them the prelate in chains. He had, however, escaped, but the baron, dreading the rigor of the laws enacted against those who harbored priests, pursued him as far as Carrick-on-Suir, where he was arrested in September at the earl of Ormond's, and brought a prisoner to Dublin. He was loaded with chains and confined in a dungeon till Holy Thursday of the following year, when he was brought before the chancellor and treasurer. They tried every means to make him renounce the pope's authority and acknowledge that of the queen, who would appoint him to the see of Cashel; but the holy prelate's perseverance in the ancient religion, and firm adherence to the authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, caused the most cruel tortures to be inflicted upon him. He was hanged on the seventh of June, without the city, before daybreak, in order to avoid any tumult which so inhuman a spectacle might produce among the people.

About this same period we discover two celebrated martyrs, Gelasius O'Culennan, abbot of the monastery of Boyle, of the order of St. Bernard, in the county of Roscommon, and Owen O'Melkeren, a priest. These ministers of Christ, after long and cruel sufferings, were hung in Dublin, on the 1st of November, for that cause which the archbishop of Cashel had supported to his death. In order to avoid a tedious digression, we must here refrain from giving a circumstantial account of all those who suffered martyrdom in Ireland from the commencement of the Reformation. In the course, however, of this history, we will meet many, both in this and the succeeding reigns, although certain English writers affirm, with their usual effrontery, that Elizabeth never interfered with the religion of her subjects.*

Sir John Perrot was sent deputy to Ireland, in June, 1584. His commission, which he was to retain according to the queen's pleasure, authorized him to make peace or war; to punish or pardon any crime, except that of high treason against her majesty and that of forgery; to issue proclamations, impose fines, dispose of the estates of the rebels, exercise martial law, and convene parliaments with the queen's consent. He had the appointment of all officers, except the chancellor, treasurer, the three principal judges, and the master of the rolls. He had also the right of conferring livings, except archbishoprics and bishoprics; and, in fine, he possessed power over every thing relative to government, and the administration of justice.†

In order to become acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, the deputy spent eighteen days in consultation with the privy council, which was composed of the archbishop of Dublin, the chancellor, the earl of Ormond, treasurer, the bishops of Armagh, Meath, and Kilmore, Sir John Norris, president of Munster, Sir Henry Wallopp, treasurer of war, Sir Nicholas Bagnal, knight-marshal,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 19.
† War. de Arch. Casseliens.
‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid.
§ Analecta Sacra, part 3, page 48, et. seq.

* Baker, Chron. p. 359.
† War. ibid. cap. 26.

Robert Gardiner, chief-justice, Robert Dillon, chief-justice of the common pleas, Lucas Dillon, chief-baron, Nicholas White, master of the rolls, Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught, and Sirs Henry Cowley, Edward Waterhouse, Thomas Lestrange, Edward Brabazon, Jeoffrey Fenton, secretary of state, Warham St. Leger, and Valentine Brown. The deputy having made himself fully acquainted with the state of Ireland, laid down his plan of government, and sent over James Fitzgerald, son of the earl of Desmond, to England. The countess, his mother, had given him as a hostage to Drury, the deputy, who confined him in the castle of Dublin.

Perrot set out from Dublin in July, to visit the provinces of Connaught and Munster. On his arrival in Galway, he endeavored to reconcile the lords of that province, and settle their disputes. Thence he proceeded to Limerick, where he learned that the Scotch allies of Surly Boy MacDonnel, amounting to a thousand men, had made a descent on Ulster. He also discovered a rebellion to be hatching in Munster by O'Neill, and obliged those whom he suspected most to give hostages. He confided the government of the county of Cork to Judges Walsh and Miagh, the sheriff, Sir William Stanley, and the Lords Barry and Roche. He placed the provost-marshal over Limerick, and appointed the earl of Clancarty, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, and O'Sullivan More, to the government of Desmond. He left Kerry to the care of the sheriff, Lord Lixnaw, and the president of the province, and returned to Dublin in August.

The deputy was now preparing for an expedition into Ulster. Having collected a thousand infantry, and some light troops, with the militia of the province, he marched to Newry, in the county of Down, attended by a great number of officers and noblemen. He confirmed the truce which had been previously agreed upon between the government and Turlogh Lynogh, Magennis, MacMahon, Turlogh Brasilogh, and other Irish lords of that province, from whom he received hostages. The deputy having learned that the Scotch islanders were at Lough Foyle, in the northern extremity of the province, sent a fleet to disperse them; but the Scotch, being informed of his intentions, set sail, and gained their own coasts in spite of the English admiral. The deputy, accompanied by Ormond and other nobles, proceeded on the right bank of the river Bann, where he laid waste the lands of Brian Carrows, and forced him and Surly Boy to retire with their troops to Glancomkeane, during which time General Norris and the baron of Dungannon plundered, without mercy, the estates of Ocahane, and carried off a booty of two hundred oxen. About one hundred, however, of his army were cut to pieces by Brian Carrow's men, and subsequently about the same number, who had been sent to succor the first body. Norris himself was wounded, and Oliver Lambert made prisoner on the lands of Ocahane.

The time passed in mutual skirmishes between the Ulstermen and the English; victory being sometimes in favor of one party, sometimes of the other. Meriman, an English captain, made great booty: while Norris surrounded the wood of Glancomkeane, plundering at the same time the estates of Brian Carrows. The deputy marched northwards to besiege Dunluce, and sent his artillery by sea for that purpose, to Portrush, an island near the coast: whence it was brought to the camp before Dunluce. It may be easily inferred, that a place not provided with cannon, could make but a feeble resistance. Donfert soon afterwards shared the same fate, which obliged Surly Boy to surrender and give hostages.

The deputy having left two hundred infantry and fifty cavalry in garrison at Coleraine, returned to Newry about the end of September. Turlogh Lynogh gave him up the son of Shane O'Neill, as a prisoner. Conn, son of Neil Ogue, or the young, lord of Clanneboy, was forced, by orders of the deputy, to surrender half of his estates. The government of Ulster was divided between Turlogh Lynogh, baron of Dungannon, and Sir Henry Bagnal, after which the deputy returned to Dublin in the month of October.

In April the parliament was convened in Dublin. The deputy was desirous to introduce the English dress among the Irish nobles. To this they were opposed, as they deemed a conformity in apparel as a mark of their subjection. To induce them to comply, the deputy presented English costumes to Turlogh Lynogh, and other Irish noblemen. One among them jocosely observed to the deputy, "you will then give my chaplain permission to walk the streets with me in petticoats, and the rabble will laugh at him as well as at me;" to which the deputy gravely replied, that order and decency required that conformity in dress.

Eastern Brefny was divided into a barony; it has since been called the county of Cavan.* The parliament which assembled in Dublin

* Ware, ibid. cap. 27

had among those who composed it, four archbishops, and twenty bishops, Protestants of course. The other members were, the earls of Ormond, Kildare, Tyrone, Thuomond, Clanriccard, and Glencar; the viscounts Buttevant, Gormanstown, Fermoy, and Mountgarret; the barons Athenry, Kinsale, Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimleston, Dunsany, Upper Ossory, Louth, Curraghmore, Inchiquin, Castleconnel, and Cahir. The lower house was but thinly attended, as not more than twenty-six towns had returned their representatives. Several laws were enacted, among which was the Baltingiass act, by which James Eustace, viscount Baltinglass, and his brothers Edmond, Thomas, Walter, and Richard, were accused and convicted of high treason. Their properties were consequently confiscated.* An act was also passed to enable Laurence de la Hide of Moyglare, in the county of Meath, to succeed to the estates of his grandfather, Sir Walter de la Hide, which were confiscated in the reign of Henry VIII. After this the parliament was prorogued to the 29th of May.

Previous to the meeting of this parliament it was discovered, by an investigation held in Cork, that several lordships belonging to the crown were usurped by different individuals :† thus, the estate of Cloghroe was taken possession of by one Lombard, constable of the castle of Dublin; and Callen, or Glynn, between Cork and Kinsale, was usurped by Richard Roach of Kinsale. It appeared also that the lordship of Kinelmeaky, which Barry Ogue then farmed, formerly belonged to the crown, and paid rent to the exchequer, and that O'Mahown Carbry had seized on it in the middle of the fifteenth century, under the protection of MacCarty Riagh, to whom he surrendered half, and that Canogher O'Mahony was in possession of it when he lost his life in the rebellion of Desmond.

The great severity which was practised in Connaught by Sir Richard Bingham, the governor, gave great displeasure to the nobles of that province.‡ Many of the Catholic clergy and laity were put to death: O'Connor Roe, aged eighty years, was hanged, notwithstanding the nobility of his birth; several of the O'Connors, Burkes, O'Kellys, and other noblemen, shared the same fate. This mode of acting was called by the English, "*good government*." The tyranny of the governor prevented many of high rank from attending the assizes held by him in Sept., at Doneymoney, in the county of Mayo. Among this number were two of the Burkes who withdrew with their families to a castle situate in an island in lake Mask. With the design of surprising them, Bingham crossed the lake in boats, with a troop of armed men; they were, however, vigorously repulsed by the Burkes, who forced them to retreat precipitately to their boats; and so great was the confusion, that Bingham threw himself into the water, and escaped with difficulty. His treatment of Feargus O'Kelly was equally cruel. To avoid his persecution, this nobleman was forced to seek an asylum in the woods, with his followers, from whence he made frequent incursions upon the reformers. The treacherous governor, deceiving him with false promises, received him into favor. O'Kelly was not, however, permitted to enjoy peace long. Bingham sent a force to besiege him in his house on Christmas-day, while he was at supper. O'Kelly being alarmed, got his family safe through a subterranean passage that led to a considerable distance from the house; he then asked to speak with the commander through a window, where, after reproaching him for his perfidy, he shot him and a soldier who stood by him. After this the enemy set fire to his house, but O'Kelly had the good fortune to escape through the passage also.

The persecution was equally severe in the other provinces. Norris, president of Munster, did not yield to the governor of Connaught in cruelty.* The Catholics were hunted in all directions. It may be observed, that whatever might have been Elizabeth's hatred towards them, she was ably seconded by her ministers in Ireland, who laid their snares to make the most innocent appear guilty. The two MacSweeneys, Gelasius and Bernard Fitzgerald, of the house of Desmond, and Donald Macrah, all noblemen of Munster, were inhumanly put to death. Daniel MacCarty, son of the prince Muskerry, Dermod O'Sullevan, of the house of Beare, and many other nobles, were obliged to be continually under arms, to defend themselves against those sanguinary men, or to wander in the mountains and woods to escape their pursuit.

The parliament which had been convened the preceding year, met again in April, 1586, and was dissolved in the month of May following, after having passed several acts.† Those mentioned in the eighth and ninth chapters of this sitting are most interesting

* Irish Stat. 27th of Elizab. reg. p. 373, et seq.
† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, pages 382, 383.
‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 21.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 22.
† Book of Irish Statutes, p 403, et seq.

The first gives an account of the suits against the late earl of Desmond and his adherents, in the war he had carried on against Elizabeth, with the confiscation of their estates, and contains the names of many nobles and gentlemen who had lost large possessions for their attachment to the Catholic faith. In them is to be found a list of about one hundred and forty proprietors stripped of their possessions in Munster alone ; a thing unprecedented in the history of Europe, if we regard the extent of the province, but still inconsiderable when compared to the numerous confiscations under James I., the tyrant Cromwell, and the prince of Orange, throughout the several provinces of the kingdom, on account of their faith. It is this, perhaps, that has merited for the Irish the character of " gens flecti nescia ;" a nation that will not bend, which, indeed, is their true characteristic with respect to religion. The ninth chapter of the above statutes contains the act of confiscation against John Browne of Knockmonhie, and of several of the nobility, for the same cause.

Numbers of Englishmen, invested with commissions either in the armies or magistracy, came at this time to glut their avarice, and seek their fortunes in Ireland. Without mentioning any other, the estates of the earl of Desmond were equal to satisfy many of these adventurers. These estates lay in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Tipperary, and Dublin, and the yearly income from them amounted to upwards of seven thousand pounds—an immense sum at that time. The queen wishing to colonize Munster with Englishmen, ordered a certain number of acres in the following counties to be distributed among them. Sir Christopher Hatton received estates in the county of Waterford ; Sir Walter Raleigh, in the counties of Cork and Waterford ; Sir Edw. Denny, Sir William Harbart, Charles Harbart, John Holly, Captain Jenkin Conwey, and John Campion, in the county Kerry. Estates were likewise given in the county of Cork to Sir Warham St. Leger, Hugh Cuffe, Sir Thomas Norris, Arthur Robins, Arthur Hyde, Edmond Spencer, Fane Beecher, Hugh Worth, and Thomas Say ; in the counties of Cork and Waterford, to Richard Bacon ; in the county of Limerick, to Sir William Courtney, Francis Barkley, Robert Anslow, Richard and Alexander Fitton, and Edmond Manwaring ; Sir Edward Fitton received estates in the counties of Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary ; William Trenchard, George Thorton, Sir George Bourchier, and Henry Bollingsly in the county of Limerick. Lastly, Thomas Duff Butler, earl of Ormond, had a considerable portion of Desmond's estates in the county Tipperary bestowed on him ; a recompense but too well merited for his services against, and his cruel persecution of that nobleman.

The estates of Desmond being thus disposed of, circulars were sent into the counties of England to invite the younger sons of families to come and take possession of other estates that were confiscated. One of the conditions was, that they should hold them in fief, at three pence per acre, in the counties of Limerick, Connillo, and Kerry, and at two pence in those of Cork and Waterford, and that no Irishman should be suffered to reside on them.

The tyranny of Bingham, governor of Connaught, forced the Burkes to act again on the defensive. For this purpose the Clan-Donnells, the Joices, and other tribes of the province, were gained over to their party, and the castle of lake Mask, generally called the castle of Necally, or of Thomas Roe, was fortified. Bingham was at the time laying siege to the castle of Clan-Owen, in Thuomond, which Mahown O'Brien, the lord of the district, who was more attached to the Catholic cause than his namesake the earl, was commander of. The castle of Clan-Owen was not sufficiently strong to maintain a siege against so powerful an enemy, but O'Brien would not surrender, and died in defending it. The castle was then razed to the ground. Bingham after this marched to besiege the castle of Necally, where he was checked in his career. Having arrived at the borders of the lake, he summoned the garrison to surrender, and offered them a general pardon for the past. The besieged, however, replied, that they looked upon the castle as their best security, and would not trust to the promises of an Englishman. Bingham, incensed with their reply, embarked his troops in boats, and approached the island where the castle stood, which was difficult of access. The soldiers, on their landing, were thrown by the besieged into the sea, so that Bingham, after witnessing the loss of his boats, and seeing several of his men killed, considered himself fortunate to escape with a part of his forces. The besieged, dreading a second attack, which might prove more successful than the first, abandoned the lake, and got safe to shore, where they were joined by many of their friends. We discover at this time a striking instance of the treachery and dishonorable conduct of Bingham ; Richard Burke, one of the chief confederates, or as the English term them, rebels, being

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desirous of making peace with the government, submitted to Bingham, with a promise to be loyal to her majesty. Bingham received his submission ; but under a pretence that Burke would betray him, he had him arrested and condemned to death.

Complaints of the tyranny of Bingham in Connaught having been sent to Perrott, the deputy, orders were given to grant protection to the Burkes and other rebels of the province. Bingham, incensed at this order, repaired to Dublin to have an interview with the council, at which mutual recriminations took place between the deputy and himself; but on hearing that the rebels in Connaught had recommenced hostilities, he returned. He found the province in a state of confusion; the Clandonnells and Clangibbons having joined the Burkes, whose courage was raised by the arrival of two thousand Scotch. His first step was to send commissioners to the rebels, to propose terms of peace, and to learn the cause of their disturbing the country. They answered, *What have we to do with this Calliagh* (bastard)—meaning Elizabeth —*we have been very silly to have so long submitted to a woman, &c.* The governor immediately collected his forces at Ballinrobe, where he was joined by the earl of Clanriccard, Bermingham, O'Kelly, and others. His measures were guided by the movements of his enemy, who, after many marches and countermarches, encamped at Aınare, on the River Moy, in Sligo, where they were surprised and cut to pieces by the English.

The deputy was alarmed at the intelligence he had received, that the Scotch islanders had made a descent in the north ; and sent orders to the baron of Dungannon to oppose them, till he would repair thither in person. Tirlogh Lynogh O'Neill was now too old for service. Perrott, in the mean time, collected his troops, and set out from Dublin for Ulster, in June. On arriving at Dungannon, he was received by the nobles, who came to offer him their services. He found that a body of four hundred Scotch islanders had arrived, under the command of Alexander, son of Surly Boy MacDonnel, and were joined by some of the natives, commanded by Ogue and Hugh Mac-Felim, sons of Conn Mac-Neill, O'Kelly, Mac-Cartan, and other noblemen of the province. They intended to assemble in the county of Antrim, but were harassed by Captain Stafford, who forced them to cross the River Bann to Tyrone. They, however, recrossed the river, and withdrew towards Dunluce, and from thence to Inisowen, where they were joined by a fresh reinforcement of Scotch. Hugh Duffe O'Donnel, and an English captain named Merriman, having learned that the Scotch intended to surprise Strabane, marched the whole night in order to prevent an attack. The following morning they arrived in presence of each other ; but the Scotch general, by his imprudence, lost the victory, with his life. He sent a proposal to Merriman, who commanded the English, to decide the battle by single combat. The latter accepted the challenge ; but to secure the victory, a gladiator who took the name of Merriman, was chosen to fight Alexander. The combat having begun with equal animosity, the Scotch general was first wounded ; but Merriman was the victim of his master's dishonor, being killed upon the spot. The English captain perceiving his adversary exhausted from his encounter with the gladiator, entered the lists, sword in hand, to the great astonishment of Alexander, who thought his enemy had been defeated. They fought for some time ; but Alexander having received a dangerous wound in the leg, was obliged to yield to the Englishman, who had his head cut off, and sent to Dublin to be exposed to the public view. The Scotch being left without a leader, lost their courage and abandoned the field to the enemy.

The success of Sir John Perrott in the government of Ireland, did not secure him against his enemies. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor, manifested much resentment towards him, on account of his wish to apply the revenues of St. Patrick's church to the support of the university : he was also constantly opposed in council by Marshal Sir Nicholas Bagnal, Fenton the secretary, Bingham, governor of Connaught, and others, so that his best acts were undervalued by the court.

The deputy still dreading a revolt of O'Donnel, and other noblemen of Ulster who refused to give him hostages, in order to allay his apprehensions, bethought of an expedient worthy of a pirate or a robber, destitute of all honor or good faith.* He sent to Dublin for a merchant, called John Bingham, whom he ordered to freight a vessel with wine and other merchandise, on board of which were fifty armed men. He then sent word to the captain to sail towards the coasts of Tyrconnel, and to stop in some of its ports, as if to sell his cargo, but to endeavor to decoy young O'Donnel on board, and bring him to Dublin. This plan succeeded according to the deputy's wishes. The vessel cast anchor in Lough Swilley,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 24. Pet. Lombard, de regno Hibern. comment. c. 24. War. ibid. cap. 31

on the borders of Tyrconnel. The report was soon spread, and every one, either to purchase goods or through curiosity, repaired on board. Among the number was Hugh, son of Magnus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, aged fourteen years, accompanied by Eugene MacSweeny, lord of Tueth, MacSweeny of Fanid, and Sir Eugene O'Gallachuir. The captain of the vessel, delighted with their visit, received them with attention ; but what was their surprise on finding themselves conducted by armed men into the hold of the vessel, while they were weighing anchor. The nobles who belonged to O'Donnel's suite obtained their liberty by giving hostages ; and the captain, content with his spoil, sailed for Dublin, where he gave up the young prince of Tyrconnel, and the hostages, to the deputy, who had them confined in the castle. Though the news of the taking of young O'Donnel was pleasing to the English in general, it was looked upon by all honorable men as a trait of black perfidy and punic faith.*

Perrott applied, long before this, for his recall. Finding a powerful faction raised against him, who labored to blacken him in the eyes of the court, he wrote an urgent letter to the queen, begging that she would exonerate him from the commission of the lord-lieutenancy. The princess paid attention to his request, and appointed Sir William Fitz-William to succeed him. Perrott, on his return to England, was imprisoned for some offence in the tower, where he died suddenly.

Some Irish authors flourished at this time. According to Stanihurst, Thomas Long, professor of canon and civil law in the university of Paris, wrote some tracts in Latin. One was entitled, "*De speciebus contra mendacem Monachum ;*" the others, a Dissertation on Aristotle ; and a Select Thesis on some points of law, dedicated to Charles cardinal de Bourbon.

Richard Creagh, a native of Limerick, also lived at this time. He studied at Louvain with applause, and received the order of priesthood. He went afterwards to Rome, where he was consecrated by the pope archbishop of Armagh. He was author of some works, viz : a Treatise on the Irish Language, an Ecclesiastical History, a Book of Controversy, a Chronicle of Ireland, the Lives of some Irish Saints, and a Catechism in the Irish language. By orders of the English government, this holy prelate was at length arrested on account of his religion, and imprisoned in the tower. It was then that the pretended ordination occurred at the Nag's Head tavern, so called from the head of a horse being the sign of the house. The Irish prelate was offered his liberty and a great reward, to ordain the false bishops of the reformation ; but this he firmly refused.* He died after a long imprisonment in the tower of London, A. D. 1585. Edmond Tanner, a native of Ireland, doctor in theology, and contemporary of Richard Creagh, wrote commentaries on a work of St. Thomas

Other authors were also born in Ireland about this time Among them we find John Usher, mayor of Dublin ; Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory ; and John O'Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's Church, Dublin Richard Stanihurst, already mentioned, was the author of many works. After studying for some time at Oxford, he returned to Dublin, his native city. Although deeply connected with the Protestants, being the maternal uncle of the celebrated Usher, he belonged to the Catholic church, and, to practise his religion with more freedom, left his native country and retired to the Netherlands. There he lost his wife, after which he embraced holy orders and became a priest. Being well known for his great learning, he was appointed chaplain to Albert, archduke of Austria, at that time governor of the low countries. Besides his Essay on the affairs of Ireland, which has been already alluded to, and which is the least considerable of his works, he wrote, in his youth, a work entitled, "*Harmonia seu catena dialectica in Porphirium.*" This was first printed in folio in London, in 1570, and 1579, and subsequently at Lyons and Paris. He wrote two books on the life of St. Patrick, printed at Antwerp in 1587. He also composed a work, which was printed at Antwerp in 1609, and was called "*Hebdomada Mariana,*" which signifies, the week of Mary, taken from the orthodox fathers of the Roman Catholic church, in memory of the seven festivals of the blessed Virgin Mary, and arranged for each day in the week. After this he wrote a work entitled, "*Hebdomada Eucharistica,*" which was printed at Douay in 1614. He wrote also a description of Ireland, which he dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, who was de-

* Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

* "They importuned, with vehemence, a certain Irish archbishop, whom they had in prison in London, to assist them in their difficulty, and offered him rewards and his liberty, if he would preside over the ordination of these men. But the good archbishop could not be prevailed upon to lay his sacred hands on the heretics, or to be an accessory to the sins of others."—*Sanders on the English Schism*, b. 3, p. 297

puty of the kingdom; it was published by Hollingshed. He translated the first four books of Virgil's Æneid into heroic verse; this work was printed in London in 1583, with some of David's Psalms, and other cursory pieces in Latin and English. He composed a tract on the principles of the Catholic faith. In 1615 he published, at Douay, a Latin work entitled "*Brevis Præmunitio*," &c.; or short premunition, on a book written by his nephew Usher, called an Historical Explanation, &c. Richard had a son named William Stanihurst, born at Brussels in 1601; he entered into the order of the Jesuits at the age of sixteen. The great number of works which he published made him very celebrated. A catalogue of them by Sotvellus is to be met with in the library belonging to the society of writers.

Daniel O'Malone, a friar of the order of St. Jerome, and professor of theology in the college of Bologna in Italy, published some Latin works which were printed at Venice, and afterwards at Douay and Antwerp.

Thadeus O'Dowling, a learned doctor in theology, and chancellor of the church of Leighlin, has given his "*Annales breves Hiberniæ*," and an Irish grammar, which may be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Thadeus Dunn appears, says Harris, in his 13th chapter of writers, to be a native of Ireland. He was a physican of Locarno in Switzerland. where he lived in exile for his religion. A work on medicine, and a chronological treatise on the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, have been written by him. These works were printed at Tiguri in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XLIII.

In 1588, the last war which the Catholics of Ireland had to maintain against Elizabeth and the whole array of English sectarians, commenced. This was called the war of Tyrone, because the earl of that name was the chief leader; it was long and bloody. Philip O'Sullevan, in his Catholic history, calls it *Bellum quindecem annorum*—the fifteen years war. It began in the thirty-first, and ended in the forty-fifth year of Elizabeth's reign, which was also that of her death. This war raged with all the fury that national enmity, and an ardent zeal for religion could excite. From the plans that were adopted, it promised to be more favorable to the cause of religion and liberty than any of the preceding wars undertaken for the same end. Before we enter upon a circumstantial detail of this war, it will be necessary to make known the state of affairs in Ireland, and the character of the inhabitants at that time.

The Irish Catholics founded strong hopes on the promises of the Spaniards. The latter indeed sent them some assistance, but it was inconsiderable, and disproportioned to the undertaking. They were better supported by James VI. of Scotland, who, either to revenge the death of his mother, Mary Stuart, who was executed after a captivity of nineteen years, or to secure to himself the right of succeeding to the thrones of England and Ireland, secretly afforded help to the Irish, who were opposed to the court. As the want of union is generally fatal to the best cause, so the ambition of some of the Irish chiefs induced them to prefer their own interest to the general good. Some were seduced by titles of honor; others were attached to the English court through political views, while others, fearful of success, continued neutral.* The house of Desmond was now extinct. Ormond and Thuomond, two of the most powerful in Munster, had embraced the reformed religion. They received many favors for their attachment to the court, and knew how to turn the misfortunes of their neighbors to their own advantage. Daniel MacCarrha, prince of Clancarrha and earl of Valentia, was more devoted to pleasure than to war. Being advanced in years, he cultivated the friendship of the English, and wasted his patrimony in entertaining them. His sole desire was to be permitted to live a Catholic. Dermod and Donogh MacCarthy were at variance about the sovereignty of Alla; O'Sullivan, prince of Beare, was contending with Owen his paternal uncle; Ulick Burke, earl of Clanriccard, after he had killed his brother John, became devoted to the English court, which he strove to conciliate towards him; the other branches of the Burkes of Connaught were disputing about the lordship of Clanwilliams. Tegue O'Rorke quarrelled for the possession of the principality of Brefny with his elder brother. Many of the nobility of Leinster who were well disposed to oppose heresy and usurpation, were already broken down by repeated wars in their own districts, and bereft of all power to aid the common cause; Viscount Baltinglass, who had sacrificed all for his religion, had died in Spain. No confidence was placed in the earl of Kil-

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. tom. 3, lib. 1, cap. 6

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dare, on account of his being brought up in the principles of the reformed religion. From these causes have arisen the disunion among the Irish, and the consequent misfortunes of that unhappy country.

The Catholic History of Ireland furnishes a list of all the principal Irish, ancient and modern, who abetted or opposed this war. The author calls them princes, and introduces the provinces in order, commencing with Munster. Those who, in opposition to religion and their country, espoused the cause of the queen, are first given.

The modern Irish princes who supported the interests of the queen.

In Munster.—Thomas Butler, surnamed Duff, or the Black, earl of Ormond; Barry the great, Viscount Buttevant; Mac-Pieris Butler, baron of Dunboyne; Courcy, baron de Courcy; Burke, baron of Castleconel, and his son Richard; Theobald Burke, son of Richard, surnamed Naval, a claimant to the principality of Clanwilliam; MacPheoris, or Bermingham, baron of Dunmoris.

In Leinster.—Henry, William, and Gerald Fitzgerald, earls of Kildare; St. Lawrence, baron of Howth.

In Meath.—Preston, Viscount Gormanstown; Nugent, baron of Delvin; Fleming, baron of Slane; Barnewal, baron of Trimelstown; Plunket, baron of Louth; Plunket, baron of Dunsaney; Plunket, baron of Killeen.

The ancient Irish princes who supported the cause of the queen.

In Munster.—Donagh O'Brien, prince of Limerick, earl of Thuomond; MacCarty Riagh, prince of Carbry; Charles MacCarty, son of Desmond, baron of Muskerry; Morrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin.

In Connaught.—O'Connor Don, prince of Magherry Connaught.

In Meath.—O'Melachlin, a prince.

Our author, in giving the names of the ancient and modern Irish who espoused the cause of Elizabeth, adds the Anglo-Irish who were settled in Ulster, which he calls the royal, or English faction. He next enumerates those that fought against the enemies of religion, whom he names the Irish and Catholic party. He begins with Ulster, because the inhabitants of that province were the chief actors in the war. The men of Ulster were, in fact, more zealous in the cause of religion and liberty than any of the other provinces. If their example had been followed, the sway of the English would have been inevitably destroyed in Ireland. The Ultonians are to this day the victims of their own zeal, through the degeneracy of those whose ideas were less generous than their own.

The ancient Irish who fought for the Catholic faith.

In Ulster.—Hugh O'Neill, prince and earl of Tyrone, and his adherents, namely, Magennis, prince of Iveach, Mac-Mahon, prince of Uriel, Mac-Guire, prince of Fermanagh, O'Cahane, prince of Arachty, James and Ranald Mac-Donnel, princes of Glynn, and O'Hanlon, prince of Orior. O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and his adherents, viz., Mac-Sweeny, prince of Tueth, Mac-Sweeny, prince of Fanid, Mac-Sweeny, prince of Banach, O'Dogherty, prince of Inisowen, and the O'Buills, or Boyles.

In Munster.—O'Sullevan, prince of Bere and Bantry; Daniel O'Sullivan More, or the Great, whose father, prince of Dunkeran, was exonerated from any share in the war, on account of his great age; O'Connor Kerry, prince of Arachty; Donogh Mac-Carty Mac-Donogh, son of Cormac, and Dermod Mac-Carty Mac-Donogh, son of Owen, both claimants for the principality of Alla; O'Driscol, prince of Cothlie; O'Mahony of Carbry, O'Donovan, O'Donoghoe of Onachte, O'Donoghoe of the Glynn.

In Connaught.—O'Rourke, prince of Brefny; Mac-Dermod, prince of Moy-Lurg, O'Kelly, prince of Mainech.

In Leinster.—Though the principal men in this province were attached to the queen's cause, several of the ancient nobles took up arms in defence of the faith, particularly the Cavanaghs, O'Connors Faley, O'Mordhas, or O'Morras of Leix, and the O'Byrnes.

In Meath.—Mageoghegan, a prince.

The example of the latter was followed by some other nobles in Munster, of English origin,* viz., Roche, viscount of Fermoy; Richard Butler, viscount of Mountgarret; Mac-Moris, or Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw; Thomas Butler, baron of Cahir; Patrick Condon, a prince; Richard Purcel, baron of Luochne; William Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry and lord of Rafinnan; Edmond Fitzgerald, called the White Knight. All these we have already mentioned were in possession of their estates when they took up arms in defence of the faith. Some estranged themselves from the court party

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

at the cost of their properties, and espoused the Catholic cause; namely, Florence and Daniel Mac-Carty, to whom the principality of Clancarrha belonged for some time; O'Connor, prince of Sligo; James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond; Mac-William Burke; Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim; and Owen O'Morra.

Several nobles, equal both in birth and virtue to those already named, though not chiefs of tribes, espoused the Catholic cause,* namely, Niallgarve O'Donnel, Cornelius O'Driscol, Dermod O'Sullevan, Fiach O'Birne, Cormac O'Neill. Cornelius O'Reilly, Dermod Mac-Carty Riagh, William Burke, Bernard O'Kelly, Richard Tirell, Bernard O'Morra, Walter Fitzgerald, Dermod O'Connor, Peter Lacy, Edmond O'Morra, James Butler, Morrough Mac-Sweeny, Ulick Burke, Daniel Mac-Sweeny, Richard Mageoghegan, Manus Mac-Sweeny, Maurice O'Sullevan, Thadeus O'Mahony of Carbry, and many other powerful lords.

It is strange, however, that all the ancient and modern Irish, who abetted the cause of heresy, were Catholics, with the exception of three or four who had embraced the reformed religion.† The latter were guided by their principles, the former by a blind respect for the shadow of legal authority.

As soon as Fitzwilliam had received the sword of justice, as deputy of Ireland, care was taken to make him doubt the sincerity of Tyrone. This prince, called Hugh O'Neill, was son of Fardorach, baron of Dungannon, whom English writers call Matthew, and grandson of Conn O'Neill, on whom Henry VIII. conferred the title of earl of Tyrone.

Both in respect to birth and fortune, Hugh O'Neill was undoubtedly one of the first noblemen in Ireland.‡ If to these advantages we add that of his having been a good citizen, he surpassed them all. He was descended, by uninterrupted succession, from several monarchs of Ireland. St. Patrick, the apostle of this island, found the supreme sceptre in the tribe of the Hy-Nialls, in the beginning of the fifth century, in which it continued to the usurpation of the provincial kings in the beginning of the eleventh. O'Neill was also the most powerful prince in landed property, money, men, and arms, not only in his own province but in all Ireland. His mind was just, and had been carefully formed in the best schools in Ireland, and subsequently in England, where he frequented the court for some time, and became a general favorite. The queen, who considered him as a useful instrument to reduce Ireland, loaded him with honors. He was, by birth, baron of Dungannon; but in order to abolish the title of O'Neill, which was considered so superior to every other, she conferred that of earl of Tyrone on him, and ordered him to take his seat in parliament. With a design of serving his country, the earl acted cautiously towards the queen by seeming to embrace her views.

Tyrone had a strong relish for war. During his stay in England, he studied the military science with considerable success.* On his return to Ireland he received the command of two regiments, consisting of six companies, whom he trained to the art of war, and according as they became well disciplined, sent them home with rewards. Those dismissed were replaced by others, who were instructed in like manner. He gave fire-arms to the country people also, to induce them to hunt, and thereby made them expert in the use of them; so that, in a short time, almost the whole province was trained to arms. He obtained the consent of the council to bring over plates of lead from England, under pretext of roofing a castle he was building at Dungannon; and the merchants, who were desirous of making a profit by the transaction, exceeded the privilege which had been granted, by sending over larger quantities. Tyrone had the lead converted into bullets. Besides the private depots which were to furnish the wants of the troops under his orders, he had others, into which he secretly collected provisions and warlike stores. Such were the measures adopted by him, while he waited for a favorable opportunity to raise the standard of revolt—measures which proved his skill as a general.

The first cause of Tyrone's quarrel with Elizabeth, was the hospitality with which he received some Spaniards that were cast by a storm upon the coasts of Ulster. A misunderstanding prevailed for a long time between Philip II., king of Spain, and the queen of England. Treaties of peace were often entered into between them, and as frequently broken off. The sovereignty of the Low Countries had already been wrested from Philip by the States of Holland, under the advice of William, prince of Orange, and transferred to the duke d'Anjou. Queen Elizabeth assisted Philip's rebellious subjects, of whom Alexander Farnese, prince

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid.
† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid. cap. 3.
‡ Pet. Lombard de Hib. Comment. cap 24.

* Petrus Lombard, ibid. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 36.

of Parma, was named governor, and, on the other hand, Philip sent aid to the Catholics of Ireland against Elizabeth.

Such was the state of affairs, when a treaty of peace was proposed, this year, between Spain and England. A certain number of commissioners, appointed on both sides, assembled with this object at Ostend, but came to no conclusion. Philip, finding these negotiations unavailing, turned his thoughts to war, and determined to make a descent upon England. For this purpose he equipped the most formidable fleet that had been ever known, from whence it was called the invincible armada.* This fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels of various sizes, having on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety troops, eight thousand and fifty sailors, two thousand and eighty men from the galleys, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. The prince of Parma, governor of the Low Countries, received orders to hold himself in readiness, with the fifty thousand men he commanded, and to have boats of a crooked form, and deep in the centre, (each of which was to contain thirty horses,) constructed. With these boats he intended to convey his army to the mouth of the Thames, at the time of the intended arrival of the fleet from Spain.

On the other hand, all the measures necessary to oppose the designs of the Spaniards, were adopted. Admiral Lord Charles Howard, and vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake had orders to repair on board the fleet at Plymouth. Lord Henry Seymour, at the head of forty English and Dutch ships, was appointed to guard the coasts of the Low Countries, to prevent the prince of Parma from sailing. The land forces were stationed along the southern coast, under the command of the earl of Leicester, who established his head quarters at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames. The ports of Milford, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, and Hull, were fortified, and strongly garrisoned.

Matters being thus prepared on both sides, the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Alphonso, duke of Medina Sidonia, and Jean Martin Recalde, vice-admiral, sailed from the Tagus on the 20th May. Soon after sailing the fleet was dispersed in a violent gale. Having, however, collected the vessels again with difficulty, they appeared in July on the coast of England. The fleet stationed at Plymouth set sail immediately, and in the course of six days three battles were fought with unequal success. The Spaniards, hoping to receive assistance from the prince of Parma, cast anchor opposite Calais. The Spanish admiral dispatched a courier to the prince, with orders to join the fleet with his troops, and, in the mean time, to send him some cannon balls, of which he was in extreme need. This the prince could not accomplish, being blockaded in his own ports by Seymour, who was, at the same time, about to join Admiral Howard's squadron.

Besides this, the boats which were built being in a leaky condition, were not in a state to put to sea. The expedition was fatal to the Spaniards, but the English, according to their national characteristic, boast too highly of their success. The Spanish fleet was in the beginning shattered by a violent storm, and on the coast of Britain it was disappointed of the succors that were expected from the Low Countries, with which hope the expedition had been principally undertaken. In their battles with the English, the Spaniards were in want of ammunition; their fleet, too, consisted of large ships hard to be managed, without frigates or small vessels, so necessary in an engagement. The advantage was entirely in favor of the English. Their vessels were superior in number, and their force of every variety; besides which they were on their own coasts, and had every thing requisite for their fleets.

All hopes of succeeding on the shores of England being destroyed, the Spanish admiral sailed for Spain through the Orkneys. When coasting round the north of Ireland, his fleet was wrecked, whereby he lost more men and ships than in his battles with the English. The disappointment evinced by Philip when informed of this circumstance, and of the defeat of his fleet, was mildly expressed with these words, "I sent them to fight against men, not with the elements."

The Spaniards who escaped the fury of the waves were hospitably sheltered by the Irish nobles, and among others, by O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Rorke, MacSweeny, &c. Cambden incorrectly and maliciously says, that many of the Spaniards were put to death on this occasion by the Irish. His account in this accords with the atrocious murders that the queen's minister in Ireland committed at the time, who sought out the Spaniards everywhere, and had about two hundred of them put to death. His cruelty in this was

* Camb'd. Elizab. part 3, ad an. 1588. Baker, Chron. of Eng. reign of Elizabeth, p. 374.



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not, it is said, approved of by the queen. The same minister persecuted likewise many of the Irish who afforded an asylum to the Spaniards.

A remnant of the Spaniards who were cast upon the north coast of Ireland, divided themselves and proceeded into the country parts to seek relief. Some of them, with their captain, presented themselves to Hugh O'Neill; this prince received them with so much kindness, that the soldiers expressed an eagerness to continue in his service. The captain being recovered from his fatigues, took his leave of O'Neill and set out for Scotland, from whence he might pass with greater security to the Low Countries, and from thence to Spain. Being in company one day, he boasted of the goodness, the humanity, and liberal disposition of Prince O'Neill. One of the company, jealous of the praises that were lavished by this officer upon O'Neill, formed a slight intimacy with him, and gaining his confidence, observed, that if he had any letters to send to O'Neill, he would, with pleasure, undertake to deliver them, as he was going to Ireland. The Spaniard, not suspecting his wicked design, gave him a letter wherein he avowed his gratitude and remembrance of his kindnesses; offering him, at the same time, his services with the king and the court of Spain. This faithless messenger, whom Cambden calls Hugh Gavalerc, and others Conn Mac-Shane, natural son of Shane O'Neill, instead of going to Ireland, proceeded straight to London, where he gave up the Spaniard's letter for O'Neill, to the council. He added, that O'Neill was secretly plotting against the queen, and had given letters to the Spanish officer for the king of Spain, in which he sought assistance against her; and that the offers of service which this Spaniard had made to him, appertained to the same end.

When the above information was given against O'Neill, an order was sent to him, in the name of the queen and council, to appear at court in order to clear himself. O'Neill, desirous of retaining the confidence of the court for some time longer, repaired to London in May, 1590, attended by a retinue suited to his rank, and pleaded his cause so ably that he was judged to be innocent, in spite of the treasurer, William Cecil, who possessed great influence, and was equally hostile to the Catholics and the Irish nation. The prince of Tyrone being reconciled to the queen and council, returned to Ireland.

O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, was not so fortunate as the prince of Tyrone He had afforded shelter to three hundred men belonging to the crew of a Spanish vessel which had foundered on the coast of Sligo; and being summoned by the deputy to deliver them up to her majesty's ministers, he replied, that neither his honor nor religion allowed him to surrender Catholics who had implored his protection, to be put to death. In the mean time, to secure them against the further pursuits of their enemy, he sent them to Tyrconnel, to Mac-Sweeny of Tueth, who had already hospitably entertained Antonio de Leva, and nearly a thousand men, who put to sea soon afterwards, but were unhappily lost within view of the shore.*

In order to punish the supposed disobedience of O'Rourke, Bingham, governor of Connaught, marched against him with a strong force, both English and Irish. Among the latter was Ulick Burke, earl of Clanricard. O'Rourke, who had but two hundred men commanded by Mac-Sweeny, surnamed Muracha Na-Mart, who had come from Munster, and about the same number of vassals, who were hastily armed, was attacked at Droumdhathic. Unable to resist so superior a force, especially as Muracha was wounded, by which he lost an eye, he was forced to retreat. Being thus driven from his district, he was forced to resort to the goodness of Mac-Sweeny Tueth, who received him with generosity. After this he proceeded to Scotland, with the hope of obtaining succor to enable him to recover his possessions; but James VI., king of Scotland, having previously made peace with Elizabeth, notwithstanding her barbarous treatment of his mother, Queen Mary, had O'Rourke arrested, in violation of all the sacred rights of hospitality towards a man whose only crime was his having exercised that virtue to men in distress, whom the most inhuman could not view in the light of enemies. This monarch sent him in chains to Elizabeth, who ordered him to be hanged at Tyburn, without even the form of a trial. When O'Rourke's last hour was approaching, he was visited by a Protestant bishop, who exhorted him to conform to the religion of the queen and of the state; but all his importunity could not shake the faith of that illustrious man, who firmly replied: *Remember from what you yourself have fallen; think of returning to the church, that you may regain the grace of God: as for me, I shall die in the religion which you have deserted.*†

Rossa Boy MacMahon, chief of the noble tribe of the MacMahons of Monaghan, having died without issue, Aodha Rua, or Red

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

† Petr. Lombard, ibid. p. 344.

Hugh MacMahon, his brother, succeeded to his title and estates ;* but having cause to dread the other branches of that tribe, namely, Patrick, son of Art Moil MacMahon, Ebhir, or Iber, lord of Farne, and Brien, son of Hugh Ogue, lord of Dartry, who were powerful and aspired to the succession, he applied to William Fitzwilliams, the lord-deputy, and promised him seven hundred oxen if he would interpose his authority, and secure to him the right of his ancestors. This iniquitous judge, wishing to benefit by the division that prevailed between the MacMahons, began by taking possession of Monaghan, the chief town of their principality. He put a sheriff, or judge, with a strong garrison, into it. He then divided some of the lands between Hugh the Red and Patrick MacMahon, leaving to the former the title of MacMahon ; and lastly, he adjudged to Iber and Brien the lordships of Farne and Dartry, with which they were to be content. Such was the decision of an English minister, who, like the monkey with the oyster in the fable, took care to reserve the better part of the spoils for himself. All further complaints were interdicted. MacMahon, however, having expressed some dissatisfaction, and having refused to pay to the deputy what he had already promised, the latter accused him of some pretended crime ; and in order to give an appearance of justice to his proceedings, he appointed twelve jurors to try him, with orders, however, to find him guilty.† The jurors, with some idea of honesty, exclaimed against an order so unjust, the result of which must be to sway their opinion, and make them to condemn, contrary to their conscience, an innocent man. Twelve others, who proved to be less scrupulous, were then appointed, by whom MacMahon was condemned to death. The inhuman sentence was carried into execution at Monaghan. His estates were confiscated, and a great part of them given to Sir Henry Bagnall and Captain Henslow ; the remainder was divided between some branches of the MacMahons, on condition of their paying an annual tribute, and a vessel of wine to the deputy. This matter was subsequently made the subject of complaint against him to the council of England, from which he had some difficulty to clear himself. Brien, lord of Dartry, recovered all those estates afterwards, and was acknowledged chief of the MacMahons.

According to the best authors, Ireland was celebrated in former ages for her schools, which were frequented by foreigners. They produced many persons who were celebrated for their sanctity and profound erudition, and supplied several universities in Europe with the best professors ; but much of this celebrity was lost by the invasion of the English in the twelfth century.* These new-comers, intent upon amassing wealth, no longer thought of the engagements which had been entered into between their sovereign and Adrian IV.—viz., to restore religion in Ireland, and reform the morals of the inhabitants ; an engagement which, though groundless and absurd, was the only plea for their usurpation. On the contrary, they labored to abolish all learning, whereby the minds of the people would be enlightened and their morals cultivated, by forcing the inhabitants to exchange science for war, in order to defend their patrimonies. A proposal being once made to the council of England, to found a university in Ireland for the instruction of youth, one of the principal members, who was also a bishop, opposed it strongly.† One of his friends expressing his surprise on seeing a Catholic bishop frustrate so holy and salutary a measure, the prelate answered that he had not decided as a bishop of the Catholic church, but as a senator of England. It was the policy of England to deprive the Irish of every opportunity to polish and improve the people, and in order to render them contemptible, to suffer them to fall into the grossest ignorance. This cruel policy forced the nobility of the country to send their children to foreign countries to learn a knowledge of the sciences which were denied them at home.

Queen Elizabeth was the first to infringe upon this policy, which had been observed during four centuries. She founded a college in Dublin for the encouragement of Protestantism, which it was intended should be introduced into Ireland, A. D. 1591.‡ In order to anticipate her majesty's intention, Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, called a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, at the exchange, where he delivered an impressive discourse on the necessity of restoring the sciences ; and represented to them, that, if they would promote so valuable an undertaking, and give, for that purpose, the old monastery called *All Saints*, which had been granted to them by Henry VIII., on the suppression of religious houses, it would be

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. vol. 2, lib. 4, c. 23. Petr. Lombard ibid. pages 341, 342.

† Petr. Lombard, ibid. page 342

* Venerab. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Passim Cambd. Brit. p. 730. Usser. Prim. Eccles.

† Pet. Lombard, Comment. de Req. Hib. cap. 18

‡ War. de Annal. cap. 33, 34, 35.

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pleasing to the queen. This proposal was unanimously approved of, and Henry Usher deputed to obtain from the queen the patents necessary for its fouudation, which were immediately granted. Loftus repaired to the exchange to thank the magistrates, on the part of her majesty, whose letter he showed them. Workmen were employed to pull down the monastery, on the site of which a handsome college was erected, and dedicated to the blessed Trinity. Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone. This college was erected into a university by a charter, dated 30th of March, 1592. William Cecil, baron of Burleigh, grand-treasurer of England, a knight of the order of the garter, and secretary of state, was the first chancellor of Trinity College; Adam Loftus first provost; Luke Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, were the first fellows; and the celebrated James Usher, or Usserius, Abel Walsh, and James Lee, the first bursars. This foundation was confirmed in 1638, by a charter from Charles I., who caused regulations to be drawn up for the government of the college, and the discipline to be observed in it. Michael Morus, or More, of the celebrated tribe of the O'Morras of Leix, was the last Catholic provost of this college. In the time of James II., he was forced to surrender that dignity on account of his religion, and share the same fate with his king. He went to Rome, where he became acquainted with Cardinal de Noailles, who became so attached to him, on account of his erudition, that he brought him to Paris. He became rector of the university in that city, and president of the college of Navarre, where he died.

This year was remarkable for the celebrated declaration or edict which Elizabeth issued against the ministers of the Catholic religion.* It is filled with invectives against the king of Spain, and the pope, the priests, seminarians, and Jesuits. Ecclesiastics, and all who received them into their houses, were condemned to pay heavy fines, under an absurd pretext of high treason, which consisted in their refusal to embrace the reformed religion, and acknowledge Elizabeth supreme head of the church. The following is a copy of her edict:

"Although we have had for thirty-three years, during which God hath secured to us a peaceful reign, sufficient cause to hope that the strong and wicked malice of our enemies, particularly the king of Spain, (who has without provocation disturbed our kingdom,) would at length have subsided on his part, and that of his allies; and that he, with other Christian princes, would unite with us after the war which he had kindled would end, to establish a general peace. But we now find that the contrary has arisen, and that the warlike preparations which he, the king of Spain, hath made, are of the most extensive and formidable character. The God of armies, however, has been pleased to permit, that those who cannot live content with their condition, and in peace, fall by their own imprudence into disasters and distress; and we therefore discover that this king, who has possessed dominions and wealth of greater magnitude than any of his predecessors, or any other monarch in the world, and who has declared an unjust war against France and us, by plotting during two years, the destruction of our realms, has fallen, together with his army, into disappointment and ruin.

"It is now obvious to us, that the king of Spain, in order to add a new appearance to his rash and extraordinary measures, has lately caused a Milanese, his own subject, to be raised to the popedom, and has influenced him to apply the treasures of the church to the raising of troops in Italy and other countries, (which are free from war,) for the purpose of sending them under the command of his nephew into France, to take possession of that kingdom, which has always assisted the church in her necessities. This war, which has been undertaken with so much care and splendor both by sea and land, must necessarily affect our kingdoms and our crown.

"We are likewise convinced that this king has, for the purpose of establishing his designs through the influence of the pope, so disposed to favor him, entered into treaty with some chiefs who have been our ungrateful subjects, and linked in rebellion with the people, who, influenced and paid by the king of Spain, enrolled themselves in great numbers; some from necessity, and some to escape the punishment due to their crimes and perfidy. To maintain and support them in their pursuits, certain places called seminaries have been established in Spain and at Rome, where they become instructed, and after they are made conversant in the arts of sedition, are secretly sent back into our kingdom, well supplied with money from the pope, to influence all with whom they treat, to renounce their allegiance to us, under a hope of being assisted by the Spaniards, who would load them with the riches and spoils of our faithful subjects.

"For these objects the priests oblige, by

* Relat. Girald. cap. 26, page 171, et seq.

an oath, our people with whom they hold intercourse, to renounce their allegiance to us and transfer it to the king of Spain; likewise, to aid his army on their landing, and the more effectually to accomplish their purpose, they impose on a credulous people, by saying that bulls have been obtained from the pope, whereby indulgences and a promise of heaven are held out to those who will range themselves under their standard, and that those who will act in opposition, are loaded with curses, with threats of hell, and condemnation.

"And although such attempts of the pope have been long practised in some countries, we have saved our kingdoms from their influence by the efficacy of the laws enacted against rebels and those guilty of high treason, and not against religion, as has been falsely advanced by the favorers of these base views; which is the more flagrant from criminal suits having been instituted, in which none were condemned or put to death except for treason, and for their avowal, that they would aid and assist the pope and his army if sent to invade our realms.

"It is a matter also of notoriety, that none of our subjects have been put to death for their religion, inasmuch as many possessed of riches, and possessing a contrary belief to ours, are punished neither in their properties, their lives, nor their freedom, and are subject only to pay a certain fine for their refusal to frequent our churches; which is on our part a clear refutation of the aspersions and calumnies that have been propagated in foreign countries, by those who have fled from their own.

"Notwithstanding all this, we know for truth, that some leaders in these receptacles called seminaries, or Jesuitical colleges, have again endeavored to influence the king of Spain to make new attempts upon Ireland, by promising to assist his army on their landing, with many thousand men, although his fleet had met with signal disasters in its first attempts at invasion. Though prudence and experience of the past should show this king how inefficient his plans against England must ever be; still he has been solicited to renew his efforts, under similar false promises and misrepresentations.

"The king of Spain's particular adviser is a theologian named Person, who endeavors by such means to gain the Catholic king's favor, and succeed in becoming his confessor; similar information has been conveyed to the pope through another theologian called Alan, the reward of whose treachery towards us has been a cardinal's hat: these men have provided their patrons with a list of names of those who have espoused, or would espouse their cause, particularly in the maritime parts of our kingdom, and would join the standard of the Spaniards on their landing. Although the pope and king of Spain must be aware that the advices and opinions of these men are frivolous and false, still they are looked upon as fit instruments to keep the people attached to their wicked designs, and many of them have been, within the last ten or twelve months, secretly dispatched into England, to assure their adherents, (as has been made known to us through some who have been lately arrested,) that in the ensuing year, the entire forces of Spain will be directed against England. Some, however, of the Spanish council, more prudent than the rest, seeing that no important advantages would attend such an enterprise, think that France or the Low Countries, Scotland or Ireland, whither some seminarians have been sent for this object, would afford better hopes and prospects of success to the Spanish arms.

"Though convinced now of the intentions and designs of Spain against us, still we doubt not but God, who is the protector of the just cause, will, as he has already done, defeat them. It is the duty of us, therefore, who have received the throne from the hands of the Almighty, to use all the means within our power, under the divine protection, and with the help of our faithful subjects, to make the laws available against rebels, so that by increasing our forces, we may crush the power of our enemies.

"First, we require that the clergy of our church take care, by their doctrine and example, to instruct the people in the gospel, and in their duties to God and to us, particularly as some rebels, with their chiefs, are continually endeavoring, by means of their seminaries, to seduce the simple and unsuspecting.

"Secondly, with respect to our armies by sea and land, intended to suppress those extraordinary forces which are to come from Spain, we hope, that by the good orders we have given, we shall resist our enemies more effectually than we have yet done: still we earnestly entreat our subjects to assist us with their resources in men and money, and with their advice, and to pray that God will protect our cause, which is that of nature, honor, and necessity, and which we have undertaken for the safety of our country, for the safety of your wives and children, your properties and freedom, against those cruel and avaricious despoilers.

"Thirdly, in order to defeat the secret machinations of these seminarians, Jesuits, and other traitors, who are urging the king of Spain to his present designs, and under a garb of sanctity, insinuate themselves into the minds of our subjects, and encourage them to rebel; we have determined to send commissioners immediately to all the counties, provinces, towns, villages, and seaports of our kingdom, with orders to make every necessary effort for the discovery of such characters as think that any obedience whatsoever is due to the pope or to the king of Spain.

"Being aware that several of these seminarians, disguised in female attire, enter our kingdom, and by assuming the name of foreigners, gain admittance into the universities, courts of princes, and the families of noblemen, we expressly command each and every one, of what rank, sex, condition, or dignity soever they be, even the officers of our household, the ministers and magistrates, the heads of families, and pastors, to search carefully for all who, within the last fourteen months, have frequented their houses, and have lived, slept, eaten with, or labored for them, or may labor for them in future; also to give a return of their names, rank, and quality, their birthplace, and where they have lived for a whole year before they came to their houses, on what they subsist, how they have been employed, what places they frequented, and those with whom they keep intercourse, and if, at the periods prescribed by law, they have attended divine service in our churches.

"We likewise command that these inquiries, with the answers given them, be committed to writing by the heads of each family, and that they be carefully preserved, in order that they may be resorted to by our commissioners as they may think proper, both for the discovery of doubtful characters, and to convince them of the correctness and loyalty of the fathers of families.

"Should any hesitate to answer, or appear to waver in their testimony, it is our will that they be forthwith arrested, and brought under a strong guard to the nearest commissioner; and, that the same measure be enforced against the heads of families, who will manifest omission or lenity in their investigations: and that our commissioners shall punish, according to the degree of their offences, such as may be known to have favored suspected persons, or to have neglected giving them up within twenty days after the publication of this decree. They shall be subject to the same penalty as traitors and rebels, and likewise will be deemed their abettors and accomplices, in faith of which we ordain, expressly and firmly, that no favor or respect be shown to either rank or dignity; and finally, that no neglect be tolerated in those who have not discovered traitors, or used their exertions for the discovery of them; which so far from being contrary to law, are in accordance with the most ancient laws and customs of our kingdom, for the maintenance of that obedience which is due to us and to the stability of our government. Given at our palace of Richmond, on the 18th of October, 1591, in the thirty-third year of our reign."

The above declaration is founded on false reasoning. Elizabeth alleges that high treason alone was punishable by death: still, she condemned those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, to death, and deprived them of their estates, their refusal being considered as an act of high treason. She conceals her venom and bad faith under an appearance of justice, resting the proofs of her innocence on the cases of some of her rich Catholic subjects, who were condemned to pay a fine only when they omitted attending the churches of the reformers; but she has never been accused of having condemned all her Catholic subjects to death on account of their religion. Her fury was levelled in particular against the clergy who were opposed to the reformation, while the rich compounded matters by suffering in secret, and escaping her tyranny, by paying a sum of money.

About the year 1592, eleven priests and Jesuits were arrested in Connaught and Munster, among whom was Michael Fitzsimon, a priest, and son of an alderman of Dublin.* They were brought to Dublin, and accused, in presence of the deputy, of having been concerned in the rebellion of Baltinglass. This was the pretext made use of, but their real crime was, that they preached against the reformation, and the supposed supremacy of Elizabeth, which was then high treason. Michael Fitzsimon was hanged in the public market-place.

The horrid fate of Hugh MacMahon, chief of the ancient tribe of the MacMahons of Monaghan, which has been already mentioned, alarmed the neighboring noblemen, who, each in turn, expected the same treatment.† Hugh MacGuire, prince of Fermanagh, was particularly affected by MacMahon's untimely end. The deputy having sent a sheriff to his district without his con-

* Ware, ibid.

† Peter Lombard, ibid. cap. 24, pages 243, 244.

sent, he collected his forces and prepared to defend himself. This English magistrate was called Willis, and was followed by two hundred men, women, and children;* and instead of discharging the duties of his office, he pillaged the country, and raised contributions everywhere. Maguire marched against him, and forced him and his followers to seek safety in a church, where he would have put them all to the sword, had it not been for the interference of Tyrone, who saved their lives, on condition that they would quit the province.

Thomas Jones, Protestant bishop of Meath, sent a minister of his church, about this time, to the abbey of Cluaincois, or Clunes, in the territory of Monaghan, to preach the reformation.† The zeal of this minister was not confined to the people in the neighborhood of the abbey. He proceeded to the districts of Fermanagh, where he gave the Catholics considerable uneasiness about their religion, by endeavoring to force them to embrace the reformation. He intimidated those who persevered in their faith, by accusing them of high treason, and thus became master of their estates. However, his tyranny was of short duration, as he was burned in his house, with all his retinue. The suspicion of the government immediately fell on Maguire. He was summoned to appear before the English judges, but as he would not acknowledge their authority, he refused to obey, and had recourse to arms, whereon he was proclaimed a traitor.

In the mean time, Hugh O'Donnel, Daniel MacSweeny, surnamed Gorm, and Fluan O'Gallachur, were arrested by stratagem, as we have already observed, and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, A. D. 1594.‡ After a close confinement of nearly seven years, they found means to escape with Henry and Art, sons of Shane O'Neill, and Philip O'Reilly. Fiach O'Birne, the implacable enemy of the English, and young Edward Eustace, of the illustrious house of Baltinglass, contributed greatly to their escape. These noblemen having gained over the jailers, sent the illustrious captives a piece of linen, as if for clothing. O'Donnel cut it into strips, which he tied together, by means of which they all descended at midnight, safely into the trench, except Art O'Neill, who was dangerously wounded by a stone that fell from the wall, and of which he shortly afterwards died. Thus delivered from prison, they left the city before daybreak. It was then the depth of winter, the roads were bad, and they were obliged to take by-paths, in order to escape the pursuit of their enemies, so that they suffered great fatigue and hardships before they arrived in Ulster.

Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, called by the Irish *Bal Deargue O'Donnaill*, from a red spot on his body, was next to O'Neill in point of power. Though not twenty years of age, he was remarkable for his prudence and other virtues, particularly for his zeal in the Catholic cause. On his arrival in Tyrconnel, his father being far advanced in years, gave him up his own right; whereupon he was unanimously elected, and crowned prince of Tyrconnel, by O'Pheile, who was the minister of that ceremony in the family of O'Donnel.

As soon as O'Donnel was in possession of the principality, he generously determined to use all his power against the enemies of his religion and country.* The first time he signalized himself in their cause was when Captain Willis made some inroads on the estates of Tyrconnel. This officer having entered the district with a few troops, endeavored to raise contributions. The prince, however, marched against him, and forced him to seek safety in an old monastery, where he was immediately surrounded by the troops of Tyrconnel. The Englishman finding himself hemmed in, and without any hope of succor, implored the clemency of the prince; who generously gave him his freedom, on condition of his telling those who had sent him that the queen and her lieutenants treated the Irish unworthily; that they impiously profaned the Catholic religion, and were cruelly persecuting the ministers of Jesus Christ; that they were degrading the Catholic nobility, and that, instead of administering justice, they were continually committing abuses, and usurping the estates of others; and lastly, that he would not allow his people to pay tribute any longer to the English. O'Donnel having dismissed the English captain and his men, thought of securing allies to defend the common cause. He took care to conciliate the principal noblemen of the country towards him, all of whom were branches of the house of Tyrconnel;† namely, Eugenius MacSweeny of Tueth, Donat MacSweeny of Banach, Daniel MacSweeny of Fanid, John O'Dogherty of Inisowen, the *O'Buildhils*, or Boyles, of Boylagh, and many others. O'Rourke of Brefny,

* Ware, ibid. cap. 36.
† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. vol. 3, lib. 2, cap. 6.
‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 4.

* Pet. Lombard, ibid. p. 348. Ibid. p. 351.
† Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 6. Pet. Lombard, ibid page 345, et seq.

who sought an opportunity to revenge the death of his father who had been executed in London, was among the allies of Tyrconnel.

Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, was already in arms against the English, when Edmond MacGowran, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland, arrived. He was sent by the pope to encourage the Catholic nobility of Ireland to defend their religion: and also brought promises of assistance from Philip II., king of Spain. In order to fulfil his commission, the archbishop visited the princes and lords of Ulster, but generally resided with the prince of Fermanagh.

Maguire, accompanied by the primate, entered Connaught sword in hand. Bingham, governor of that province, sent a detachment against him, under William Guelfert. Both armies having met in a place called Skiethna-Fheart, a brisk engagement ensued between the cavalry, but Maguire having forced his way through the ranks, killed Guelfert with his lance; and the English seeing their chief fallen, took to flight, leaving the field of battle to Maguire. This nobleman's joy for his victory, was, however, changed into sorrow by the death of the primate, who was killed by some English that were retreating. The Irish of the Catholic party, determined to treat not only the English Protestants as enemies, but also the Irish Catholics who assisted them. On this principle, O'Rourke and Maguire marched together to Annaly, at present the county of Longford, belonging to the O'Ferrals; where they destroyed every thing by fire and sword, and carried away immense booty. William O'Ferral, lord of that country, advancing with a body of cavalry to wrest the spoils from his enemy, was killed by Maguire, and his men put to flight.

Fitzwilliam, lord-deputy of Ireland, was recalled in August, and succeeded by Sir William Russel, youngest son of the earl of Bedford; who, on his arrival in Dublin, was sworn into office, and was informed by the council, of the state of affairs in Ireland.

The disturbances continued in Ulster, where the Catholic party were gaining strength by the union of the lords of the province.* The English government became alarmed, and dispatched an army against Maguire, who kept the field. The earl of Tyrone and the marshal Bagnall were appointed to head this expedition. The policy of Tyrone still prevented him from declaring against the queen, or even remaining neutral. Maguire seeing the preparations that were making against him, and the danger with which he was threatened, sent to O'Donnel for assistance, who granted him a small body of Irish and Scotch, the former being armed with axes, and the latter with arrows; but even with this reinforcement, the prince of Fermanagh's army was inferior in numbers to the enemy. The English having reached the banks of the river Earne, began to cannonade the Catholic army, which was posted on the opposite side, from which the latter suffered severely, having but their arrows to oppose the enemy's artillery—at length, Tyrone having discovered a ford, crossed the river at the head of his cavalry, and broke Maguire's infantry; but this advantage was not important, in consequence of his being wounded by the arrow of an Irish archer in the thigh. Maguire having then rallied his cavalry and infantry, forced the enemy to cross the river. The old animosities between Tyrone and Bagnall broke out anew on this occasion. Bagnall, as commander-in-chief, claimed the glory of the action, while the only advantage that was gained over the Catholics, was chiefly due to the bravery of the earl. O'Donnel having arrived in Maguire's camp with a fresh reinforcement, the night after the battle, was desirous of attacking the English; but was prevented by a secret express from Tyrone, who begged of him not to undertake any thing against the English army while he remained among them, as his liberty would be endangered. Tyrone left the camp shortly afterwards, and went to Dungannon to get cured of his wounds.

In the mean time, Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, laid siege to Inniskillen, a fortress belonging to Maguire.* He took possession of it much less by his valor, than by the treachery of one MacCraine, which implies *filius scrophæ*—who was an officer of the garrison, and a favorite with Maguire. The disposition of this man corresponded with his face, which was hideous Being bribed by Bingham, he opened the gates of the castle to him, and was the only person that was spared by this general, who had every man, woman, and child (except the traitor) put to the sword. After this expedition, Bingham garrisoned the castle of Enniskillen, and returned immediately to his province, to avoid meeting with O'Donnel and Maguire who were superior to him in strength.

The Catholics of Leinster having been already persecuted under the government of John Perrott, the deputy, many of them were

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 7

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

forced to abandon their dwellings and take up arms to defend themselves against the rigor of the laws that were enacted against them.* Sir Walter Fitzgerald, of the house of Kildare, was among the number. This knight was called Vater Riach, or the Brown, from the darkness of his complexion. He withdrew to Gloran, in the county of Wicklow, to Fiach Mac-Hugh O'Birne, whose daughter he had married. Fiach was a powerful nobleman, and always opposed to the English. He was one of the most important allies of the celebrated Viscount Baltinglass, when that nobleman took up arms against Elizabeth; but after the fall of the viscount, he was restored to favor with the government, and his house was an asylum for the persecuted Catholics. Several young gentlemen followed the fortune of Walter Fitzgerald, with whom he made war against the English. He defeated Dudley Bagnall, brother to the lord-marshal, who attacked him with the troops of the garrison at Leighlin, Dudley himself being found among the slain. He also made incursions into Ormond, where he defeated the Butlers and their chief, Peter Butler, nephew to the earl Ormond; and afterwards made inroads on Leinster and Meath, and became the terror of the English Protestants. In order to prevent the consequences of his rapid victories, the deputy proposed terms of peace, and a general amnesty, which he thought prudent to accept.

Walter Fitzgerald lived in peace for some years; but the war in Ulster giving rise to fresh persecution in Leinster, he again flew to arms, with Fiach O'Byrne, Terence Feilim, and his son Raymond, George O'Morra, and others. These confederates had many skirmishes with the Protestants, in which they were sometimes the conquerors, and were sometimes defeated; but being at length overcome by the superior number of their enemies, some of their chiefs, among whom was Walter Fitzgerald, fell into the hands of the English, and gave a glorious testimony of faith, by shedding their blood in its defence.

The war still continued to rage in Ulster. O'Donnel surrounded the castle of Enniskillen which had been surprised some time before by the English; but had not the artillery necessary for carrying on the siege in form. The deputy received intelligence of this, and marching to the assistance of the town, had provisions conveyed to the besieged, and after losing a great number of his men, returned to Dublin. In the mean time the prince of Tyrconnel deputed James O'Healy archbishop of Tuam, to Philip II., king of Spain, to inform that prince of the state of affairs in Ireland, and remind him of the promises he made to the primate MacGauran, of assisting the Catholics in Ireland.* The prelate was kindly received by his Catholic majesty, who gave fresh assurances of aid, and dismissed him with presents; but he had not the happiness to bring back the answer to O'Donnel, as he was lost on his passage to Ireland.

O'Donnel still kept up the blockade of the castle of Enniskillen;† his design being to reduce the place by famine. The garrison seeing themselves hard pressed, dispatched MacCraine, who had lately betrayed the place, with five others, to apprize the English of their distressing situation. These emissaries having crossed the river in a small boat, fell into the hands of a party of the Irish, and were cut to pieces. The English government was well acquainted with the state of the garrison of Enniskillen, and resolved to relieve it. Stores of biscuit, salt meat, cheese, and every thing necessary, were provided; the number of the troops raised for its relief amounted to two thousand five hundred infantry, and four hundred cavalry, commanded by Sir Henry Duke, governor and lord-marshal of O'Faly, who received orders to force the prince of Tyrconnel from his intrenchments. O'Donnel received intelligence of the preparations that were making against him, and being determined to meet the enemy, he dispatched a courier to the earl of Tyrone, with a letter, informing him of the danger to which he was exposed, and that he was resolved to shed the last drop of his blood in defence of his country's cause, against the English, adding, that he would consider him as his enemy, if he refused to assist him in so pressing an emergency.

O'Neill convened his council, in order to examine the dispatches of the courier. He hesitated at first, from fear that O'Donnel had engaged too hastily in this war, and that he calculated on doubtful aid from the king of Spain; on the other hand, he thought it wrong to forsake the prince of Tyrconnel in his dilemma, who was his ally, relative, and friend; though he dreaded that if he were defeated it would prove fatal to the cause of religion, in favor of which he intended immediately to declare himself. Tyrone therefore dispatched Cormac O'Neill, his brother, at the head of one hundred horse, and three

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid. cap. 2.

* War. ibid. c. 37. Hist. Cathol. c. 8.
† Hist. Cathol cap. 11.

hundred foot, to Tyrconnel. The latter immediately sent a detachment of a thousand foot, under the command of Maguire and Cormac O'Neill to meet the English, who were approaching his camp with rapid strides. Maguire and O'Neill set out on their march, and arrived in the evening on the banks of the river Farna, where they saw the English army under Sir Duke, posted on the opposite side. Both armies passed the night in firing on each other. At break of day, the English general having discovered a ford, made his army cross the river, and marched towards the enemy in battle array. The battle began at eleven in the morning, and lasted till night, with great slaughter on both sides ; but the English were at length completely routed by the superior skill of the Irish generals, and the bravery of the soldiers under their command. Those who escaped the carnage, endeavored to repass the river, but being pursued by the Irish, several were drowned in endeavoring to escape. According even to their authors, the loss of the English was immense, which avowal from Englishmen is worthy of remark.* From O'Sullivan we learn that they lost four hundred men. He even mentions the place where the battle was fought—*vadum biscoctorum panum*, or the ford of biscuits ; the confusion of the English being so great, that they were obliged to throw the biscuit which had been intended for the garrison of Inniskillen, into the river. This garrison having now lost all hopes of succor, from the defeat of their countrymen, opened the gates to O'Donnel. That prince restored it to Maguire, to whom it belonged.

After the reduction of Enniskillen, Tyrconnel marched to Connaught to revenge the tyranny which had been practised in that province by Bingham, the governor. He carried terror wherever he passed, putting every English Protestant, from the age of fifteen to sixty, who could not speak Irish, to the sword. Tyrconnel afterwards entered Annaly, and burned the district of Longford, which belonged to the O'Ferrals. It had been usurped by an English Protestant named Brown ; so that the English in Connaught who escaped the sword of the conqueror, being deprived of all they had amassed, except those who were under the protection of the garrisons and fortresses, were obliged to return to England, highly indignant with those who had induced them to seek their fortunes in Ireland.

Theobald Burke, a powerful lord of Connaught, of the house of MacWilliam, was deprived about this time by the English, of the estates of his ancestors, and confined in a dungeon at Athlone. Being rescued from his captivity, he had recourse to O'Donnel who gave him a body of men to assist him in recovering his patrimony. Burke thereon returned to his province, laid siege to Ballike, one of his fortresses, which was in possession of the English, and defeated George Bingham and other chiefs, who were advancing, at the head of an English army, to the relief of the besieged. Such was the state of affairs in Ulster. War was raging between the principal nobles of the province and the English. Disturbances also began to break out in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught.

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, had acted his part ably. He had spent seven years in organizing his forces, and in providing provisions and all sorts of warlike stores. He always appeared to act in the queen's interests ; still the English distrusted him, while the Irish blamed his inactivity. He only waited a favorable moment to avow himself Until this year, (A. D. 1595,) he had been thwarted by Tirlogh Linogh, cousin to Conn O'Neill, first earl of the name, and son of the brother of Con More O'Neill, who was father of the earl. Tirlogh assumed the name of O'Neill ; disputed the principality of Tyrone with Hugh, and was supported by the greater part of the tribe, who despised English titles, and considered the name alone to be much more honorable. On the death of his rival, he was acknowledged as the *O'Neill*. He then renounced the title of earl, removed the mask, and declared against the queen. He was afterwards nominated commander-in-chief of the league, which consisted of several branches of the O'Neills, Maguires, MacMahons, Magennises, Mac Donnels, O'Cahans, O'Flannagans, and many other powerful nobles of the province, with their vassals.* O'Donnel, on his side, commanded the Tyrconnel faction. These princes sometimes acted separately, but always for the good of the common cause, which was that of their religion and their country

CHAPTER XLIV.

The frequent victories which the Catholics of Ireland gained over the English, alarmed the court of England. The queen was so

* Cambd. Elizab. ad an. 1594, page 658.

* Pet. Lombard, ibid page 352.

afflicted by these disasters, that she determined to put an end to them by subduing the Catholics. For this purpose, she sent for the old troops who were serving in the Netherlands against Philip II., and dispatched three thousand of them over to Ireland, under the orders of Sir John Norris, with the title of captain-general.* This diversion was highly favorable to Spain. Philip II. had given the command of the Netherlands to Cardinal Albert, archduke of Austria; he collected the Spanish forces, under the pretence of raising the siege of Fere, in Picardy, by which means he took the towns of Calais and Ardres, leaving to Henry IV. the opportunity of taking the town of Fere.†

Norris having landed with his forces in Ireland, was joined by the deputy, and the troops under his command, in all amounting to about ten thousand men. The deputy requested that Baskervile should have the command of this reinforcement; but the court thought proper to confer it on Norris, as being more experienced. He had already served in Ireland, as governor of Munster; and having afterwards commanded the English army in Brittany and the Low Countries, against the king of Spain, he was considered to be the ablest captain in England, and capable of opposing Tyrone.‡ He was so fully persuaded of this himself, that, in taking leave of the queen, he said he would reduce O'Neill to obey her majesty, or force him to leave Ireland. He did not, however, accomplish his promise.

O'Neill having heard that Norris was marching towards Ulster, collected his forces, and began hostilities, by taking a fort called Portmor, on the Blackwater, near the district of Tyrone, where there was an English garrison, the fortifications of which he destroyed. He then marched to lay siege to Monaghan. In the mean time, in order to vindicate his conduct, O'Neill wrote letters in the form of manifestoes, to the earl of Ormond, Wallop, and Russel the deputy, declaring to them that it was not his wish to make war, but to live in peace with the queen, provided he and his followers were allowed to profess the religion of their ancestors, on which condition he was ready to lay down his arms.§ He wrote in the same terms to the queen and Captain Norris; but the two last letters were intercepted and suppressed by Marshal Bagnal, who, though O'Neill's brother-in-law, was his avowed enemy. However, instead of receiving favorable answers to his letters, he was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor to his country, with O'Donnel, O'Rourke, Maguire, and MacMahon.

English writers, who turn every thing to the advantage of their own nation, allege that O'Neill became alarmed at the preparations that were getting up against him, and also at Norris's marching towards Ulster at the head of a veteran army. According to them, he wrote respectful and submissive letters to the English commander, and to other English chiefs, imploring their intercession with the queen, to procure him a general pardon for the past. The English policy required that this falsehood should be made public, in order to break off the treaty of alliance which the prince of Tyrone had concluded with the king of Spain, and to prevent him sending over the succors he had promised.* The plan was well laid. A messenger was sent to Brussels to publish the pretended letters patent of the queen of England, containing O'Neill's pardon, in order that the governor of the Low Countries might make known to his master, the king of Spain, the supposed peace between Elizabeth and Tyrone; but the imposture was soon afterwards discovered, by the seal of England being affixed to them instead of Ireland, which was always used to authenticate any act respecting that nation. It is probable that the report of O'Neill's reconciliation made some impression on the court of Spain, as they put off sending the succors which had been promised to O'Neill, and as the latter suspended for a while his warlike operations, and kept himself on the defensive.

The English government was still desirous of treating with O'Neill and the other Catholic confederates; for which purpose they agreed upon a truce of two months, from the 27th October till the beginning of January. In the mean time, the castle of Monaghan surrendered to the besiegers, commanded by Conn son of O'Neill, O'Donnel, and MacMahon. The truce ended on the 1st January. On the 8th, the government sent a commission to Sir Robert Gardiner and Sir Henry Wallop, with full power to conclude a treaty with the Catholics of Ulster. The commissioners repaired to Dundalk; but the Irish, through distrust of the English, refused to meet them, so that they were obliged to hold the conference in

* Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, lib. 3, c. 1. Pet. Lombard, p. 389, et seq. Baker's Chron. cap. 383.

† Abridg. Chron. of the Hist. France, by Presid. Hayn. on the year 1596.

‡ Cambd. Elizab. part 4, ad an. 1597, page 701.

§ Cambd. Elizabeth, ad an. 1595.

* Peter Lombard, ibid. page 391, et seq.

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a plain, in presence of the two armies. The Catholics demanded three things to be granted: 1st, a general liberty of conscience; 2d, a full pardon for the past; and lastly, the entire removal of their garrisons, their sheriffs, and other officers of justice from the province, except the towns of Newry and Carrickfergus. The English commissioners not approving of these articles, the conference ended without coming to any decision, except that of renewing the truce till the first of April.

At the expiration of this, Russel the deputy, and General Norris, led their army to Dundalk. The jealousy between these two noblemen about the command, was the cause of much disunion. The deputy left Dundalk with his army, to possess himself of Armagh; but O'Neill, accompanied by Maguire, O'Cahan, the two sons of O'Hanlon, and other nobles, met him on his march. The action began at Killcluona with great fury on both sides, but the English were forced to retreat to Newry, leaving six hundred men dead on the field of battle. O'Neill's loss did not exceed two hundred men.*

The ill success of the deputy in Ulster made him quit the province and return to Dublin. He gave up his command of the troops to Norris. The Catholics of Leinster were in arms; Fiach, son of Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and Donal Spaniagh, or the Spaniard, chief of the Cavanaghs, having united their forces, ravaged the whole country from Dublin to Wexford. The O'Connors acted in the same manner in Offaly. Connaught was disturbed, and the inhabitants being joined by a body of Scotch, carried terror wherever they marched. The deputy led his army to this province, and besieged Losmage castle, belonging to O'Madden. He summoned the garrison to surrender; but was answered by the besieged, that were his army composed of deputies, they would hold out to the last. However, as it was not fortified, he made himself master of it, the besieged having lost about forty-six men.

The deputy left the affairs of Ulster to Norris, who marched towards Monaghan, in which there had been a garrison since it was abandoned by the Irish. O'Neill, on receiving intelligence of the march of Norris, intercepted him at Cluoin Tiburuid, in a plain at a short distance from Monaghan. Both armies were divided by a rivulet. The English general endeavored to force his passage, but was twice repulsed by the Irish fusiliers; he had a horse killed under him, and he, with his brother Thomas Norris, was wounded; after which the action of an individual decided the victory. An officer called Segrave, belonging to the army of Norris, and a native of the county Meath, led on a detachment of cavalry to attack the quarter where O'Neill fought. In the midst of the engagement, Segrave forced his way to the earl of Tyrone, and engaged him in single combat. The two heroes having broken two lances each on the shield of his adversary, fell. At this moment, O'Neill attacking his adversary with his sword, slew him, and by his defeat completed the defeat of the English, who left seven hundred men dead upon the field of battle. The loss of the Catholics was inconsiderable. The day following, Norris wishing to return to the charge, was repulsed with some loss at Bealach-Finnuis; Monaghan surrendered to the Catholics, and the garrison marched out with the honors of war.

While O'Neill was supporting the cause of religion so gloriously in Ulster, O'Donnel marched to the relief of the Catholics in Connaught. Young George Bingham occupied the castle of Sligo at that time, with a garrison of two hundred men, both English and Irish. Bingham, who had an insatiable thirst for wealth, left the command of the castle of Sligo to Ulick Burke, and sailed, with part of the garrison on board two boats, for Tyrconnel. After coasting for some days, he landed at Rathmullin, a municipal town belonging to MacSweeny Fanid, in the territory of Kilmacrenan; this English pirate taking advantage of MacSweeny's absence, who was in O'Donnel's army, pillaged the town, and the Carmelite convent,* and carried off considerable booty. On his return to Sligo, he divided part of these sacred spoils among his soldiers who had assisted him in the sacrilege. Ulick Burke observing this Englishman's partiality, from his having withheld from the Irish any share in these favors, determined to be revenged. Having formed his plan, he appointed a day for carrying it into execution; the Irish belonging to the garrison attacked the English, slew Bingham, and gave up the castle to O'Donnel, who appointed Burke to the government of it. About the same time

* Hist. Cathol. ibi cap. 4. Peter Lombard, ibid. page 393.

* This mention of the convent of Rathmullin is not an anachronism, though the suppression of monasteries is considered to have been completed in the time of Elizabeth. As the English had at that time no power in Ulster, it is not surprising that a few of its convents escaped the rage of the reformers.

the castle of Baile-an-Mhota, or Ballimot, in the same county, (Sligo,) was torn from the elder Bingham by Tumultach and Cahal Mac-Donagh, to whom it belonged. After the taking of these two places, the affairs of the English in Connaught were in a very unpromising state. The army of O'Donnel kept them in check. In order to remedy this, the deputy sent a reinforcement of men to Sir George Bingham, governor of the province, to enable him to act.* Bingham's first care was to surround the castle of Sligo, both on account of the importance of the place, and to revenge the death of his relatives and friends, whom Ulick Burke had caused to be massacred. The garrison was in want of provisions, and Burke was frequently obliged to sally forth to procure them, which caused frequent skirmishes between him and the besiegers; but the arrival of O'Donnel at the head of sixteen hundred men, forced them to raise the siege. This prince encamped within view of the enemy, and sent his brother Roderick, Felim MacDavet, and another officer, to reconnoitre their strength. They were pursued by an Englishman called Martin, at the head of a detachment of cavalry; MacDavet stopped in the middle of a stream which they were crossing, and struck Captain Martin dead with a blow of his lance. This action was followed by the raising of the siege of Sligo, and the retreat of the English army.

CHAPTER XLV.

As the queen and her council were particularly desirous of making peace with O'Neill, commissioners were frequently appointed to propose terms to him. General Norris and Geoffroy Fenton, secretary of state, were appointed to make overtures in 1596. They repaired to Dundalk, where they had an interview with O'Neill. He had not confidence enough in the English to treat with them; besides, the principal condition he required was a freedom of religion, so that this conference was not more successful than the preceding ones. Sir Edward Moor was soon afterwards intrusted to carry the queen's pardon to Tyrone, which he peremptorily refused.

Three small vessels, laden with powder, arrived about this time from Spain, for O'Donnel. They brought two hundred men also, and promises of more efficient aid.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

O'Neill wrote letters on the common cause to Fiach, chief of the O'Byrnes, and other noblemen of Leinster, his allies, to which he received favorable answers. He kept up a correspondence, also, with the best-disposed characters in Munster, by means of the clan Shyhyes, whom he sent thither for that purpose with confidential letters from himself.

His letters to many of the lords of Leinster had the desired effect. Fiach O'Byrne renewed hostilities, by taking the fort of Balli-ne-cor, the fortifications of which he destroyed. The O'Morras, O'Connors, O'Tools, Cavanaghs, and Butlers, took up arms likewise, and demanded the restoration of their confiscated estates. The deputy marched against O'Byrne; the Butlers were pursued by the earl of Ormond, who, after renouncing his religion, persecuted his relatives; the O'Morras and O'Connors were exposed to the attacks of Sir Anthony St. Leger. Connaught was in as great a ferment as Leinster; Richard Bingham, governor of that province, having taken up arms against the Burkes and O'Rourkes.

The king of Spain was aware that Elizabeth had made frequent proposals of peace to O'Neill, O'Donnel, and the other Irish lords who were fighting for their religion.* His Catholic Majesty sent an agent to encourage these princes to persevere, and to renew the promises he had already made to them. In the mean time, the English took Armagh by surprise, and placed a garrison in it. O'Neill beheld with sorrow this holy city, that was founded by St. Patrick, profaned by the reformers, to whom nothing was sacred. The garrison was strong, and protected by the army which was encamped near it, under General Norris. Tyrone not deeming it prudent to undertake a siege, brought Norris to an engagement near the church of Killoter. The English being confident in their strength, were eager to engage, but were vigorously repulsed and put to flight by O'Neill's forces, who pursued them as far as Armagh, and killed several of their men. After this, Norris left five hundred troops in the garrison, under the command of Francis Stafford, and withdrew with the remainder of his army towards Dundalk. O'Neill being master of the field, was enabled to intercept the provisions that were intended for Armagh, so that famine was the consequence. This was succeeded by a plague, which carried off their men in great numbers. The English of Dundalk hearing of the sad condition of their garrison in Ar-

* Hist. Cathol. ibid cap. 5, 6, 7.

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magh, sent a supply of provisions, under an escort of three companies of infantry and a troop of horse. O'Neill surprised the convoy, and put the troops that were guarding it to the sword. The penetrating mind of Tyrone guided him in turning every thing to advantage. He now bethought of a stratagem in which he was most successful: he got some of his men, both foot and horse, to assume the uniform of the English who were killed, and ordered them to march with English banners towards a ruined monastery that was within a gunshot of Armagh. The prince pursued these supposed English with the rest of his troops, within view of the garrison; both parties began a discharge of their musketry, loaded only with powder, whereupon the men, as instructed, fell on every side, without sustaining any injury. This sham battle soon drew the attention of the garrison of Armagh; Stafford, the commander, gave orders that half of the garrison should take up arms and advance rapidly to the field of battle, to the relief of their supposed countrymen. The English found not only O'Neill's troops, but those to whose succor they came, drawn up in order of battle, and ready to charge them; while Conn, son of O'Neill, who lay in ambush with some infantry in the neighboring monastery, attacked them in the rear. The English being now between two fires, were cut to pieces, within view of the garrison. Stafford, who was in Armagh, finding himself without any resource, submitted to Tyrone, who permitted him to join, with the rest of the garrison, the English army at Dundalk. O'Neill after this made an attempt on the castle of Carlingford, in which he was unsuccessful; however, he sent his son-in-law, Henry Ogue, with some troops, to make incursions on the English province, and to create a diversion in favor of the Catholics of Leinster, who had taken up arms.

The continued complaints that were made against Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, for his cruelty and tyranny, having reached the throne, that infamous minister was recalled, and replaced by Sir Conyers Clifford.* The Irish were but little skilled in the art of defending towns and fortifications, and were obliged to remedy their unskilfulness by a greater number of men. For this purpose O'Neill evacuated Armagh and Portmore, which were immediately taken possession of by Norris, who garrisoned them, and gave the command of the former to Sir Henry Davers. The English general endeavoring to extend his conquests further was stopped by O'Neill, who lay encamped on his way. Norris then set his men to build a fort or intrenchment, since called Mount Norris, in the barony of Fews, between Armagh and Newry. They were frequently interrupted by the attacks of O'Neill's men; but having at length completed it, Norris placed a garrison in it, under the command of Williams. He then returned to Dundalk with his army; and Mount Norris, Armagh, and Portmore, which had been taken but lately by the English, surrendered to O'Neill, who sent the garrisons home. In vain did Norris return to attack him with his whole force; he was completely defeated at Molach Breac by O'Neill, in the district of Orior, after having rallied his men three times. Maguire, the general of O'Neill's cavalry, contributed to the gaining of this battle. Norris himself was dangerously wounded in the action, which was his last against O'Neill.

O'Donnel, accompanied by the MacSweenys, O'Dogharty, the brave Maguire. O'Rourke, MacWilliam, O'Kelly, MacDermot, O'Connor Roe, and O'Dowd, entered Connaught with their troops.* He was also joined by Murrogh MacSweeny at the head of three hundred men, whom he assisted in a petty war with the English during two years in Munster. Clifford, who was appointed the new governor of Connaught, had not yet arrived. General Norris was weary of serving in Ulster, where, instead of gathering fresh laurels, he was losing those which he had gained in foreign countries. Being desirous of trying his fortune in other parts, he undertook an expedition against O'Donnel into Connaught, either to make terms with him, or reduce him by force. For this purpose he repaired to Athlone, where he was joined by the earls of Thuomond and Clanriccard, Theobald Burke, surnamed *Na-Luing*, or the Naval, from the trade he carried on by sea, and several lords of the English faction, with the Anglo-Irish of Munster, Leinster, and Meath. He also received a reinforcement from England, which increased his army to ten thousand men. Norris knew that O'Donnel was in the neighborhood of Ballinroab, near lake Mask, at the head of five hundred men; and having set out upon his march, he soon found himself in view of the enemy, from whom he was divided by a small river. The night was spent in firing, and at break of day Norris demanded a conference with O'Donnel, in which peace

* War. ibid. cap. 39.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 2.

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was proposed between the general of the queen and the Catholic chiefs. The terms offered to O'Donnel were advantageous, but were not accepted. The conference lasted for some days, during which both armies kept up hostilities, and fought in detached bodies, without coming to a general engagement. Theobald the Naval, having attacked the right wing of the Catholic army at the head of a heavy detachment, was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men. The negotiation lasted for a month between the prince of Tyrconnel and Norris, without any thing being settled upon. The latter suffered heavy losses, both in skirmishing, and by the desertion of some nobles who joined the standard of the Catholics. After being harassed in his retreat by the troops of O'Donnel, he lost several of his men, and was forced to quit the province in disgrace.*

The deputy undertook an expedition in May, into the county of Wicklow, where he surprised and killed Fiach MacHugh, chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Byrnes, and the champion of the Catholic cause in Leinster.† Fiach left two sons, Felim and Raymond, who inherited his bravery and zeal for religion. Felim left the command to his brother, and went to visit O'Neill in Ulster, to ask him for assistance. The prince of Tyrone expressed great friendship for the young nobleman, and having condoled with him on the death of his father, gave him about three hundred and fifty men, under the command of Brian Riach O'Morra, a nobleman of Leinster. On returning with this reinforcement, Felim fought some skirmishes with the English, and took possession of his father's patrimony, which had been seized upon by these foreigners. After this expedition, Brian O'Morra marched with the same troops towards Loughgarme, (Wexford,) pillaged all the English he met with on his march, and cut a large body of them to pieces, besides four hundred Irish auxiliaries.

After the death of the celebrated Rory O'Morra, who was killed in a battle against the English, as we have already observed, his sons Uoine, or Owen, and Edmond, were placed under the protection of Fiach O'Byrne, from whom they received an education suitable to their rank. When Owen attained the age of manhood, Felim, son of Fiach, gave him a suitable retinue, and sent him to lay claim to his patrimony. This young nobleman having made himself known, was acknowledged and proclaimed by his father's vassals the *O'Morra*, or lawful heir to the principality of Leix. Warham St. Leger, the English governor of that district, alarmed at these occurrences, marched his army to put them down; but the inhabitants of Leix ranging themselves under the banners of their chief, O'Morra, gave battle to St. Leger, who, after an obstinate resistance, was forced to retreat, leaving five hundred men dead on the field.

Some step was necessary to be taken, in order to restore the English power in Ireland. The queen recalled Russel, the deputy, and appointed Lord Burrough to succeed him. This new deputy received the sword in May, in St. Patrick's cathedral, and was invested with the supreme authority both in civil and military affairs.* He first exercised his power over General Norris, whom he sent back to his office of governor in Munster, forbidding him to leave it without his permission. Norris was too proud to brook this insult; he had been already disgraced by O'Neill, who had deprived him of the high military reputation he had acquired abroad, and at length died, loaded with ignominy, in the country which had given birth to St. Rumold, first bishop and patron of Malines, whose relics he had profaned when commanding the English army in the Netherlands.

Burrough was haughty and determined; he commanded for a long time in Holland, against Philip II., whereby he became expert in the art of war. A truce was made by this deputy, for one month, with O'Donnel, O'Neill, and other Catholic chiefs, and terms of peace were offered to them, but in vain. The month being expired, the English general marched to Ulster at the head of a powerful army. Besides the troops which served under Russel and Norris, a large reinforcement was sent to him from England.

The Anglo-Irish of Meath were zealous to signalize themselves in the cause of Elizabeth: they assembled at Mullingar to the number of a thousand men, under the command of Barnewall, baron of Trimlestown, and marched after the deputy. In their route, however, they met with a signal defeat.

Richard Tirrell, who was of English descent, and lord of Fertullagh, in West Meath, served at that time in the army of O'Neill. He was a nobleman by birth, and strongly attached to the Catholic religion. His talents peculiarly fitted him to command a flying camp. From the rapidity of his expeditions,

* Peter Lombard, ibid. page 395.
† Hist. Cathol. ibid. 6, 10.

* Ware, ibid. cap. 40

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and capability of sustaining fatigue, he had already become formidable to the English, and his memory is still respected by the true Irish.

The prince of Tyrone saw with calm reflection the preparations that were in progress against him; the march of the deputy was known to him; he therefore prepared to oppose him, and to cause a diversion. Captain Tirrell was dispatched at the head of four hundred infantry, with orders to act in either Meath or Leinster, according to emergencies. Tirrell marched through the whole of Meath without meeting an enemy, and having reached Fertullagh, he encamped, in order to give his army some repose. The troops which had been assembled at Mullingar, as has been already observed, being apprized of Tirrell's march, determined to take him by surprise. The baron who commanded them looked upon this expedition as unworthy of himself, on account of the small number of the enemy he had to fight, and therefore commissioned his son to undertake it, thinking it a good opportunity for him to signalize himself, and thereby to make his court to the deputy. At the dawn of day Tirrell received information, through his spies, that the enemy were in full march to surprise him. Without losing a moment, he put himself in a state of defence, but made a feint of flying before them as they approached; by which movement he gained a defile covered with trees, which has been since called Tirrell's pass. He then detached half of his little army, and posted them in a hollow adjoining the road, giving the command to his lieutenant, O'Connor, a brave and intrepid man like himself. He then, in order to influence his enemy to pursue him, marched on with his division. While the English were passing the place where O'Connor lay in ambuscade, this officer sallied forth with his troops, and caused the drums and fifes to play Captain Tirrell's march. This was the signal agreed upon for an attack; the English army having got between two fires, were cut to pieces; and so general was the slaughter, that one soldier only escaped, through a neighboring bog, to carry the news to Mullingar, from whence the army had set out three days before. Tirrell had sufficient generosity to spare the life of the young nobleman who commanded his enemy, but brought him a prisoner to O'Neill. During the action, O'Connor's hand became so swollen, that it became necessary to cut off the handle of his sword with a file, before it could be disengaged.

Burrough, the deputy, having reached Ulster with all his forces, his first step was to take possession of Armagh and Portmor, which O'Neill had abandoned after destroying the fortifications.* The English general being afraid to proceed further, repaired Portmor, where he left a garrison of five hundred men, and drew off the remainder of his army. He boasted highly of this act of prowess, proclaiming everywhere that he held the key of Ulster, which he could enter at his pleasure. This boast was truly characteristic of his countrymen, who considered the most trifling advantage a complete victory. It was carefully circulated in foreign countries, where it was reported that the Irish had lost all their towns, and that they were obliged to escape into the woods and inaccessible places. A similar falsehood had been already published at Brussels, on the supposed reduction of O'Neill, the folly of which we will discover in the sequel.

The deputy was on his way to Dublin, when he learned that Tirrell was besieging Portmor; so he immediately returned, collected his forces, and crossed the Blackwater, but was prevented from advancing by O'Neill, who divided his army and formed two camps, sufficiently near to assist each other.† The command of the first division he gave to his brothers Cormac and Art O'Neill, and MacMahon, at Droum-Fluich, on the road to Beaun-Bhoruib, at present Binburb, on the left bank of the river. The prince himself commanded the second camp at Tobuir-Masain, and was assisted by James Mac-Donnel, prince of the Glynns. The deputy endeavored, in spite of Tyrone's position, to force a passage; but O'Neill's two divisions having united, they made a desperate attack. In the onset, Burrough was mortally wounded, and was carried to Newry, where he died in a few days. This battle was renewed several times. The earl of Kildare, on whom the command of the English army devolved after Burrough's retreat, suffered the same fate: having been wounded, and twice thrown from his horse, his two foster-brothers were killed in endeavoring to put him again on horseback; he fled from the field of battle, and died of his wounds a few days after. The carnage was dreadful; numbers of the English lay dead upon the field; many were drowned in the river, and very many wounded. The persons of note who fell upon this occasion, besides the deputy and the earl of Kildare,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. Pet. Lombard, ibid. pages 398, 399.

† Hist. Cathol ibid. Pet. Lombard, ibid.

were Francis Waghan, the deputy's brother-in-law, Thomas Walen, and Turner.

Clifford, governor of Connaught, received orders to march with his troops to the relief of the deputy in Ulster. He accordingly set out at the head of seven hundred men, but having the misfortune to meet with O'Donnel, he was completely defeated. Clifford lost several men of rank on this occasion, among whom was the baron of Ineschete.*

The queen saw her forces greatly diminished in Ireland by the frequent advantages gained over them by the Catholics, and could not find persons qualified to succeed Burrough and Norris. She, however, nominated provisional magistrates and officers for the administration of affairs. Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, was appointed lord-justice; but his grief for the death of his brother caused him to resign in a month. The government then conferred that office jointly on Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, and chief-justice Sir Robert Gardiner, who were sworn in on the 15th of November. On the same day they received an account of the state of affairs from the council, who informed them that the war was a general revolt of the Irish, with an intent to shake off the English yoke. Thomas Duff Butler, earl of Ormond, accepted the commission of lieutenant-general. Ambition being the guide of this nobleman's acts, he was drawn into a faction that was opposed to religion and his country, but he never enjoyed the reputation of being a great captain. Among other instructions which the earl of Ormond received from the court of England, he was enjoined to endeavor to bring about a peace with O'Neill, for which purpose a truce for two months was agreed upon. They met at Dundalk, and O'Neill proposed the terms; the first and principal one being the free exercise of the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom. The other conditions proposed by this prince, regarded the grievances of the Irish, and the reparation of the injustice which was practised towards them. These overtures were submitted to the English council, and acceded to in every thing except the free exercise of religion; whereon the truce was broken off and hostilities resumed.

About the end of the summer, 1598, O'Neill collected all his troops and laid siege to the fort of Blackwater, called also Portmor. At the same time he sent fifteen hundred chosen men to assist his ally, O'Moore of Leix, who was then besieging Porteloise, at present Maryborough, where there was an English garrison.* These movements produced a diversion, and compelled the earl of Ormond to divide his forces He first dispatched three thousand men against O'Morra, commanded by James Butler, nephew to the earl. Five thousand men were then sent against O'Neill of Ulster, commanded by Bagnal the marshal. The earl's object was the relief of Portmor and Porteloise, by throwing provisions and warlike stores into them; but the result was not equal to his hopes. Brian Riach O'Morra defeated the three thousand English that were sent against him, fifteen hundred, besides the commander, being slain, and Porteloise was taken. O'Morra died in a few days after from his wounds, and the command devolved upon Owen O'Morra.

During these transactions in Leinster, Marshal Bagnal, having the command of the army in Ulster, repaired to Newry, which was a general place of meeting for the English.† Tyrone was then encamped with his army at Mollach-Ban, on the road to Armagh, and wishing to cut off all communication between that place and the enemy, he sent his brother Cormac, with a body of five hundred men, to defend the passes. Bagnal was considered an able general; he knew that O'Neill was waiting to give him battle, on his march to Armagh, which city he wished to relieve, but he deceived the prince. In order to avoid an engagement, which would probably have deranged his plans, he marched circuitously from Newry to Armagh, and supplied the garrison with provisions, in spite of the brave resistance of Cormac O'Neill, who maintained his ground for some time, but was at length forced to yield to superior numbers. Flushed at this trifling advantage, Bagnal determined to take O'Neill's camp by surprise; and setting out by night, he put the enemy's advance-guard, consisting of twenty-four horsemen, to the sword. They then surrounded O'Neill's tent who had escaped in his shirt, with some of his attendants; but some servants that were left to guard it and the baggage, were killed As soon as day appeared, O'Neill collected the forces that were near him, and having forced the English to abandon their booty, he then put them to flight. Both sides lost some men in this action.

The English were masters of some towns in Ulster, which were favorable for their depredations, and afforded them a secure

* Pet. Lombard, ibid p. 400.

* Pet. Lomb. p. 402. Hist. Cathol. ibid. vol. 3, lib. 4. cap. 1, et seq.

† Hist. Cathol. ibid.

retreat; the principal of them were Newry, Dundrum, and Carrickfergus. Sir John Chichester, the governor, marched about the same time, at the head of five hundred infantry and a troop of horse, to plunder the neighborhood. Coming up at Alfracha with James Mac-Donnel, prince of Antrim, who had with him about four hundred foot and sixty horse, to oppose these robbers, they came to an engagement which was fatal to the English. Their captain having fallen, they were cut to pieces, so that scarcely one remained to bring the intelligence to Carrickfergus. About the same time, the baron of Trimlestown made some inroads on Monaghan, with the Anglo-Irish of Meath, and a few English troops, but was defeated by the Mac-Mahons.*

The vanity and bad faith of the English will not suffer them to admit the victories the Irish Catholics gained over them. Their historians either pass them over in silence, or obscure them so as that the advantage may appear to be in favor of their countrymen. Invectives are poured out against a generous people who fought for their religion and their freedom, and the epithets of traitor, rebel, and barbarian, are heaped upon the Irish for not calmly yielding to a hateful yoke. An Englishman must be well beaten before he will admit of it. A brilliant victory was gained this year over those foreigners, by O'Neill. The truth of this is not questioned even by the English themselves, since they acknowledge that it was the bloodiest defeat they met with since their arrival in the island.

O'Neill endeavored to bring the English marshal to an engagement, and being joined by O'Donnel, Maguire, the general of the cavalry, and other noblemen of the province, he laid siege to Portmor, having in this a double object in view; first, to reduce the place by famine, by cutting off the supplies; and secondly, to compel the English to fight, by forcing them to relieve it. The hopes of the prince of Tyrone were equalled by his success. In the beginning of August, Bagnal marched with the flower of his army to the relief of Portmor, and when arrived within a mile of Ardmach, he met with O'Neill, at a place called Beal-an-ath-a-buidh, between two plains, bordered by a bog on one side, and on the other by a thick wood. The battle commenced, and the rout was terrible. Marshal Bagnal, with twenty-four of his principal officers, and two thousand of his army, were killed upon the spot; and the remainder of his forces put to flight. The loss of the English was heightened by an accident that happened in the beginning of the action, in the quarter where the reserve forces lay. The powder magazine having taken fire, five hundred men at least who were guarding the baggage, were blown up. The spoils that were wrested from them also were very considerable. Twelve thousand pieces of gold —their warlike stores—thirty-four stand of colors—all their instruments of war—all their artillery, and provisions of every kind, fell into the hands of the Irish. In the army of Bagnal there were several Irishmen who ranged themselves under him from motives of self-interest; among the number of whom was Maolmora, surnamed the Fair, a son of O'Reilly. This young nobleman had lately returned from England, where he surrendered into the hands of the queen all his estates, which she restored to him by letters patent. Through gratitude, he unhappily espoused her cause against O'Neill, and lost his life at the head of a troop, while he endeavored to rally them again to the charge. The English who had the good fortune to escape, took the road to Ardmach. Several were slain in the pursuit, and both horsemen, and about fifteen hundred foot-soldiers, sought safety in the churches of that city. This victory cost O'Neill about two hundred men killed, and six hundred wounded, and was followed by the surrender of Portmor.

These brilliant campaigns of Tyrone, and of the other princes and noblemen of Ulster, had opposite influences on the English and Irish Catholics; the alarm of the former was great, while the joy of the latter was universal. They looked upon O'Neill as the liberator of his country, the avenger of their freedom, and the protector of the Irish nobles who were persecuted by the English, or oppressed by their own chiefs. In fact, Raymond, son of John Burke, baron of Leitrim, whose property the earl of Clanriccard invaded after he had put him to death, threw himself on the protection of O'Neill: and Dermod O'Connor, and his brothers Cairbre and Conn, having been dispossessed by the English, sought an asylum with him also; but Tyrone being busily employed in defending his own province, and unable therefore to afford them effectual aid, sent them to Owen O'Morra in Leinster, to assist in the war of that province.

The queen's officers sent letters to her majesty, complaining of the sad state of things in Ireland, and saying, that so far from being able to maintain an offensive war in that country, they could not defend them-

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 2.

selves against the enemy without speedy assistance, and more powerful resources than any that had been previously sent. The queen was averse to abandoning the cause of her English province in Ireland. She attached heavy blame to the earl of Ormond for not having gone in person against O'Neill; and commanded Bingham, who had been lately removed from the government of Connaught for his cruelty, to repair to Ireland, and succeed Bagnal in the office of marshal. Two thousand foot, and a hundred horse were, at the same time, dispatched thither, under the orders of Sir Samuel Bagnal. These troops landed at Wexford, and were harassed in their march to Dublin by the Catholics, who killed a great number of them. Bingham arrived in Dublin with great difficulty, where he died soon after.

The example of the men of Ulster roused the fallen courage of the Catholics in other provinces of Ireland, particularly in Munster, where the bravery of the celebrated earl of Desmond was still fresh among his illustrious allies. This feeling it was necessary to encourage, and to effect that object, Sir Peter de Lacy, a powerful nobleman in the county of Limerick, wrote to Owen, or Owny Mac-Rory-Ogue O'Morra, who had an army on foot; and invited him, in the name of the Irish Catholics in Munster, to come to their relief. O'Morra, having consulted with O'Neill, undertook the expedition. He committed the government of Leix to his brother Edmond, and, at the head of eight hundred infantry and some horsemen, set out on his march for Munster. Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, and his brother William, as also Dermod O'Connor, and his brothers Cairbre and Conn, with Richard Tirrel of Fertullagh, accompanied O'Morra in this expedition. The earl of Ormond, who had still the title of general of the English army, made a show of intercepting O'Morra, but whether by the rapidity of that chieftain's march, or the earl's fear for the result of a battle, he and his army arrived without interruption in the county of Limerick. Thomas Norris, who was then governor of Munster, was greatly alarmed by this invasion. His duty impelled him to attempt driving the enemy out of his province, and for that object he collected his forces and marched to Kilmallock, with a design of fighting O'Morra; but dreading the result of an engagement with him, he placed a strong garrison there, after which he marched for Cork. He, however, had the mortification to witness his rearguard pursued by the light troops of O'Morra, through the whole of his march.

The success of O'Morra produced an almost universal rising of the noblemen in Munster against the queen. MacCarty More, the head of his illustrious tribe, was prevented by death from being of the number of the confederates. He left a legitimate daughter, named Helena, that was married to MacCarty Riagh, and a natural son called Daniel, who aspired to inherit the title and estates of his father. The earls of Thuomond and Ormond, and the baron of Inchiquin, inclined always to the side that gave hopes to their ambition; and the desire of titles of honor and court favors prevented them from joining in any league against Elizabeth. The extensive influence of these noblemen marred the good intentions of the MacMahons, MacNamaras, O'Connors, O'Loghlins of Thomond, O'Dwyers, O'Fogartys, O'Meaghers, O'Moel-Ryans, O'Kennedys, and other noblemen of Tipperary, and withheld them from uniting against the queen of England.

The other great men of the province being more liberally disposed, looked with contempt upon dignities which interfered with their religion and freedom, and took up arms in defence of both. The chief men that formed a league against the queen, were Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw; William Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry and lord of Kafinnin; Edmond Fitzgerald, knight of the Glinn; Sir Edmond Fitzgerald, called the white knight, with many other branches of that illustrious house; Dermod and Donogh Mac Carty, rival candidates for the principality of Alla; Daniel, son of MacCarty More; Patrick Condon; O'Donohoe More of Onachte; O'Donoghoe of the Glinn; Roche, viscount Fermoy; Richard Butler, viscount of Montgarret, who had married the daughter of O'Neill; and Thomas Butler, baron of Cahir. The same disposition animated the several tribes of the O'Sullivans, the O'Driscols, the O'Donnevans, and the O'Mahonys of Carbry, who signalized themselves in the common cause of their country. The confederates appointed for their leader, James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, surnamed the Red, and acknowledged him as earl of Desmond. Thomas the Red was brother to Garret, last count-palatine of that illustrious family. He left a son named James, who had been given by the countess his mother as a hostage to the English, and who had been kept prisoner in the tower of London for seventeen years. James was lawful heir of the earl, and to his title of Desmond; but so long an absence rendered him forgotten, and caused the title to be conferred upon James, son of his cousin Thomas; who was therefore chosen as the

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leader of the Catholics in that province, where the memory of the earls of Desmond was still dear and respected.

Religion was not the sole cause of the above alliance. The tyranny of the English governors, and the intolerable insolence of the adventurers who had been sent to occupy the estates of Desmond and other noblemen, contributed greatly to the undertaking. These adventurers became the first victims to the rage of the confederates. They were driven from their ill-gained possessions, and their castles razed to the ground. Finding themselves now unprotected by the governor Norris, who was scarcely able to defend himself, they fled to Waterford, and embarked for their own country.

It was disgraceful in Norris to shut himself up in Cork, and remain inactive while the war was blazing in the province, to the command of which he had been appointed. He felt heavily the shame of it, and in order to screen his character, he formed the resolution of attacking the Catholics. For this purpose all his forces, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, were mustered by him in Cork; some nobles also in Munster, attached to the court party, were commanded by him to meet, and with these troops, which were formed into three columns—he marched upon Kilmallock. His plan was to draw from the garrison the veteran troops, and replace them with the new levies that were less experienced. He met many difficulties on his march. His rearguard was attacked at a place called Bearrach Abharrah, by William Burke, at the head of three hundred infantry, who killed several of the English, and made themselves masters of part of their baggage. Norris, however, effected his object concerning the garrison of Kilmallock, but was attacked on his return at Ard-Scieth, by the earl of Desmond, Viscount Montgarret, the barons of Cahir and Luochne, William Burke, and Richard Tirrell. It was rather a disordered retreat than a battle. The above chiefs pursued him the entire day for eight miles of his march. Many fell in the several skirmishes, but the heaviest loss was sustained by the fugitives who, being favored by the night, were at length fortunate enough to get back into Kilmallock.

Norris undertook a second expedition, which had no better success than the first; he marched with two thousand four hundred foot, and three hundred horse, against Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy. At first the viscount abandoned Baile Androhid, a place not fortified, and withdrew to Bailean Caislean, which was stronger. His allies did not forsake him; he was quickly joined by Daniel MacCarty, to whom the principality of Clancarrha was given by the earl of Desmond. Dermod and William O'Connor also joined, with two thousand five hundred infantry, and nearly a hundred cavalry. This army encamped to advantage for the Viscount Fermoy: the place he occupied being made secure by it against an attack from the English. The two armies continued for twelve days in view of each other, and had frequent skirmishes, in which some soldiers were killed on both sides. Norris at length sent away some of his baggage by night, and took the route for Cork. He was pursued by the Irish, who killed two hundred of his men at Mainister-na-Mona.

Some months after the expedition of Norris, Thomas Burke, brother to the baron of Castleconnel, left the queen's party, and sought to be admitted into the Catholic army For this purpose he applied to Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, and to his brother William; and they appointed him to the command of two hundred men. With this little band Thomas wished to surprise some places belonging to the English in Muskerry Burke. He met with General Norris at Killtili, at the head of twelve hundred men. To avoid fighting was impossible; and notwithstanding the disproportion of their numbers, he acted intrepidly, and by one bold stroke decided the affair. A young man named John Burke, having forced his way into the ranks, struck Norris with his lance and disabled him; and the English army seeing their leader fall, dispersed. The English general was brought to Mallow, where he died in fifteen days of his wounds. This Thomas Burke being reconciled afterwards to the English, met with the same fate as Norris; he and his brother, earl of Castleconnel, were killed by Dermod O'Connor in an engagement wherein these noblemen, who were much superior to him in force, refused him quarter, so true is it, that despair in an enemy is always to be feared.

Donogh O'Connor having been dispossessed by the English of his principality of Sligo, went over to England to conciliate the protection of the queen. His affairs were kept for a long time in suspense at court; but at length, Elizabeth, in order to lessen her enemies in Ireland, when almost the whole country were up in arms against her. sent him back with permission to repossess himself of his estates. On his arrival in Connaught, he found Clifford, the governor of the province, preparing an expedition

against O'Donnel; and through gratitude he joined him in his enterprise. Clifford, intending to besiege Ballyshannon, a strong place belonging to O'Donnel, marched with four thousand men, and some Irish auxiliaries, the principal of whom were O'Brien, earl of Thuomond, Burke, earl of Clanriccard, and Morrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin. The army having arrived on the banks of the river Earne, Inchiquin was the first who sacrificed himself to the royal cause; wishing to take the lead, he put spurs to his horse and plunged into the water, but being thrown in the middle of the river from his horse, he sunk and perished miserably before he could reach the opposite bank. Clifford having discovered a place that was fordable, crossed with his army, in spite of a detachment sent by O'Donnel to dispute his passage. He then laid siege to the castle of Ballyshannon with four pieces of cannon. Owen Crawford, a Scotchman, commanded the place, having eighty men under him, six of whom were Spaniards, and the rest Irish. The attack was a powerful one, and the defence equally determined. The troops of O'Donnel were not assembled so as to be able to raise the siege. While this prince waited an attack from the enemy's cavalry, (in which O'Connor Sligo, who fought for the English, was dangerously wounded,) the cannon incessantly played upon the castle, and the besiegers, as often as they mounted the breach, were beaten back by the besieged. O'Donnel caused frequent alarm to the enemy's camp; so that Clifford being informed that O'Rorke was marching with his army on one side, and O'Neill upon another, to relieve the castle of Ballyshannon, that general decamped so precipitately that he left behind him three pieces of cannon. He repassed the river indeed in such disorder, that the place was called after him, "the route of heroes." He was pursued by O'Donnel, and it is said that he lost in the one day three hundred men in killed and drowned. O'Donnel drove his conquests still further; he penetrated, sword in hand, into the estates of Clanriccard; scaled the walls of Athenry, and put the English garrison to the sword. After this, he devastated the lands of the baron of Inchiquin, of Turlough O'Brien, and the O'Shaughnessys.

O'Neill beheld with pleasure the league that was formed in Munster, and the advantages already gained over the English, A. D. 1599.* This prince, desirous of strengthening the alliance which he had made with his confederates, granted their demands for assistance, by sending them his brother Conn O'Neill, at the head of three thousand men, well provided with arms and ammunition. The English lay in ambush to dispute his passage, but Conn escaped their snares, by opening his way, sword in hand, through the enemy. After leaving two thousand of them dead upon the field of battle, he continued his march to Munster, where he acquired a high reputation for his military exploits.

* Peter Lombard, ibid. page 208.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE state of affairs at this time in Ireland, says Cambden, was deplorable, the rebellion having become general through the kingdom. The sway of the English in Ulster was confined to a few strong fortresses. The greater part of the nobility in Munster were up in arms against them. The O'Morras, the O'Connors, the O'Byrnes, the O'Tools, the Cavanaghs, the Eustaces, and other chiefs of Leinster; with the O'Molloys, the Mageoghegans, and the Tirrells of Meath, were leagued to revenge their freedom. The O'Rorkes, and some branches of the Burkes, besides some other chiefs in Connaught, took up arms for the same cause, so that Elizabeth saw herself, by this general revolt, on the eve of losing all her authority in Ireland. She had no person in that country capable of governing it. Marshal Bagnal was killed; Richard Bingham, who had been sent by the court to succeed that general, died on his arrival in Dublin; Norris, who governed Munster, and St. Leger, the president of Leix, perished by the sword of the Catholics. The earl of Ormond commanded the army; his name, however, only, and not his capability, was suited to his zeal in the cause of his mistress. In this position of her affairs, the queen consulted with her council on the choice of a man capable to remedy the disorders that prevailed in Ireland. Her majesty, and most of her counsellors, cast their eyes on Charles Blunt, lord-baron Mountjoy. Robert d'Evereux, earl of Essex, whose ambition knew no bounds, insinuated secretly, that Mountjoy was not fit for the undertaking, that he had not sufficient experience in the art of war, and that he was too devoted to literature to be a good commander. This nobleman sought to make it appear, that some one of the highest nobility, who was rich, and dear to the army, and who had been commander-in-chief, ought to be sent to Ireland, by which qualifications he seemed to intimate his own claims.

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Opinions were divided as to the choice of the earl of Essex to fill the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. His friends wished for an opportunity to satisfy his insatiable thirst for fame, of which he was the slave; while others thought that it would not be prudent to give the command of the army in Ireland to a nobleman who was flattered by his creatures with the idea of being descended from the royal blood of Scotland and England, and consequently with having a higher claim to the crown than any of his predecessors. The enemies of Essex sought for a long time an opportunity of supplanting him at court, and the present appeared the most favorable that offered, through that very absence which he himself was eager to obtain.

Essex, indeed, seemed to merit the appointment: he had already established a reputation in his expeditions against the Spaniards, and being the favorite of the queen, the way to the vice-royalty was open to him: but instead of meeting in it the happiness he looked for, it proved fatal to him in the end. He was at length appointed lord-lieutenant, and with privileges more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. Her majesty invested him with the prerogative of pardoning any crime, even that of high treason; besides the power of appointing to offices of trust; of removing those who enjoyed them without a patent; of suspending others from exercising them; also of making military laws, and carrying them into execution; of conferring in fief, according to his pleasure, the confiscated estates of the Catholics, reserving a moderate and yearly revenue from them for the crown; and in absence of the high-admiral of England, he had the command of the fleet, and the privilege of applying the money in the exchequer to any purposes without being accountable for it. A powerful and well-provided army was given to him; it consisted of seventeen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, which was the most powerful that had, up to that period, been sent to Ireland.

All matters being arranged, the earl of Essex, accompanied by three young noblemen who wished to be partakers of his glory in the expedition, set out for Ireland from London, at the end of March, amidst the acclamations of the people. The fleet having sailed, they were overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm, by which many lives were lost. Notwithstanding this misfortune, he landed on the 15th of April in Dublin, where he took the usual oath, and received the sword of justice as lord-lieutenant.

The principal instructions given to Essex were, first, not to confer the honor of knighthood on any but subjects of acknowledged merit; secondly, to block up Tyrone with all his forces, by placing strong garrisons in the forts of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon.* He had scarcely landed in Ireland when his creatures began to publish in foreign countries false accounts of his wonderful exploits; at one time, that his arrival had filled the confederate Catholics with terror, causing them to conceal themselves in woods, and other inaccessible places; at another, that almost every one of them were accepting the offers of pardon offered by him.† The falsehood of these vain boastings was, however, proved by the ill-success of his expedition.

The first act of the jurisdiction of Essex in Ireland was to publish a proclamation in the queen's name, excluding the ancient Irish, her majesty's inveterate enemies, from all hopes of pardon.‡ As to the modern Irish, who had been forced by the tyranny of English governors to have recourse to arms, they were declared capable of receiving forgiveness, provided they would surrender without delay. In other respects, he began his administration with mildness; he knew the difficulty of bringing back to obedience those who had declared against the queen on account of religion, and of preserving the allegiance of those who still adhered to her. The exercise of the Catholic doctrine became less restricted; the holy sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in private families, and the other sacraments administered with more freedom; his policy even induced him to set at liberty some priests who had been confined in dungeons, and to confer the grade of knights of the golden spur on some Catholics with whose opinions he was acquainted.

After making some regulations respecting the civil administration, Essex turned his thoughts to the campaign; but did not follow the plan that was laid down for him in London. The first thing he did was to give the command of the cavalry to the earl of Southampton. Instead of marching with all his forces against O'Neill, and the confederates in Ulster, according to his instructions, he divided them by giving three thousand foot and five hundred horse to Henry Harrington, to watch the movements of the O'Morras, the O'Birnes, and other confederates of Leinster; and sent three thousand more to Clifford, governor of Connaught, to keep the nobles of that province in check

* Cambd. ibid. pp. 734, 735.
† Peter Lombard, ibid. pp. 411, 412.
‡ Peter Lombard, ibid. page 413

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These detachments reduced considerably the forces of the viceroy. Accompanied by three hundred gentlemen, who volunteered in London to accompany him, he set out from Dublin, on the 20th of May, with the remainder of his army, and marched towards Munster. In passing through Leinster, the rear guard of the English was severely handled in a defile, by Owen O'Morra, at the head of five hundred men, who killed several officers and privates; the place where they fought was called after this, "Bearna na Gleti," which signifies the Pass of Plumes, on account of the quantity of them which the English lost in it.

This check did not prevent Essex from continuing his march into Munster. He laid siege to the castle of Cahir, situate on the river Suire, in the county of Tipperary; the place which gave the title of lord-baron to Thomas Butler. The confederate Catholics had in it but a garrison of seven or eight soldiers, without artillery, so that they were unable to maintain a siege against the army of Essex. The earl of Desmond, however, assisted by Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, and his brother William, having appeared in view of the English, fought several skirmishes with them, and by this means afforded to William Burke an opportunity of driving off a detachment that was guarding the bridge, and of throwing into the castle about fifty men, under the command of James Butler, brother to the baron of Cahir. This small force contributed only to prolong the siege; Essex played upon the castle with his artillery; several English nobles wishing to mount the breach, were killed by the musketry of the besieged; but James Butler, finding himself unable to defend the castle, surrendered it to the English general.*

Essex had the castle of Cahir repaired, and leaving a strong garrison in it, with cannon and ammunition, he marched to the relief of Askeaton. His army received a considerable reinforcement by the junction of some national troops, under the earls of Thuomond and Clanriccard, Mac-Pieris, baron, and Henry Norris. On his way back from Askeaton, he was pursued by Daniel Mac-Carty More and the earl of Desmond, at the head of two thousand five hundred men. These chiefs having attacked his rear guard, at a place called Baile en Finitere, the action was very bloody; it lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon: a great number of the English were killed, and Henry Norris, one of their leaders, was found among the slain. The loss on the side of the Catholics was not so great. After this battle, Essex encamped for a few days at Cruomui, to refresh his troops; he then marched to Waterford, and was pursued and harassed during six days by the Catholic army.

General Harrington, in the mean time, received a heavy check in the principality of Leix. This general, who was appointed to restore peace to that district, having surrounded the troops of O'Morra, flattered himself that he would be able to reduce them with little loss to himself; but the bravery of the Catholics snatched the victory from him. He lost in this engagement twelve hundred men, with all their officers, and, among the rest, Adam Loftus, son of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, who was found among the slain. The remainder of his army was put to flight.

Ware, Cox, and others, mistake the circumstances of this victory, or confound them with a similar one gained over Harrington by the O'Birnes, in the glinns of the county of Wicklow; after which, the viceroy, to punish the want of courage among the English, had them decimated. They, however, are all agreed that the English were defeated by the Irish Catholics. Christopher Blanche was sent over at this time to Ireland as lord-marshal. Wishing to distinguish himself by some brilliant achievement, he marched to Offaly, where his army was defeated by the O'Connors, with the loss of five hundred horse, and he himself escaped with difficulty, having had a leg broken in the action. In the mean time the earl of Essex confined himself to the city of Cork. He was deeply affected by the ill-success of his arms, which is ingenuously acknowledged in his letter to the English council; it was intercepted by the Catholics, and contains the following words: "I am confined in Cork, where there is an abundance of warlike stores; but still I have been unsuccessful: my undertakings have been attended with misfortune; I do not know to what this can be attributed, except to an evil star that has led me here." The grief of Essex proceeded from two causes; first, the queen expressed herself displeased with him; secondly, she had conferred the office of master of the court of warden,* to which Essex had aspired, on Robert Cecil the secretary. He, however, concealed his displeasure for the present. Finding the forces diminished, he left Mun-

* Pet. Lombard. p. 415. Hist. Cathol. ibid.

* This court was instituted in the reign of Henry VIII., for the defence and protection of the persons and properties of those who embraced the reformed religion.

ster, without performing one deed worthy of his reputation. Towards the end of July, he returned with the wrecks of his army to Dublin, where he learned that James Butler, brother to the baron, had retaken the castle of Cahir, and put the English garrison to the sword.*

Essex endeavored to remove the impressions which the queen had formed of his administration in Ireland; for which purpose he wrote her a long letter, and informed her of the state of affairs in that country, and the character of its inhabitants. "The Irish," says he, "are stronger, and handle their arms with more skill than our people; they differ from us also in point of discipline. They likewise avoid pitched battles where order must be observed, and prefer skirmishes and petty warfare; they are not adapted either to defend or attack fortified places; and are obstinately opposed to the English government; they endeavor to shake off the yoke, and would efface every vestige of it; they rely confidently on the promises of Spain, and hope that the Spaniards will make a descent upon England, to create a diversion in their favor, or send them assistance, to enable them to oppose your majesty's troops, and retake those places which they possess." The earl then laid down a plan to prevent the loss of Ireland. He proposed "that there should be provision stores along the coasts of England, and ships in readiness to carry them to Ireland in cases of need, and to serve as a check against the Spaniards; the priests and Jesuits," continued he, "must be expelled, and strong garrisons maintained, in order that they might make occasional attacks on the country, and deprive the inhabitants of all means of subsistence." He added, that besides the expense, much time, care, and perseverance, would be required to bring the nation under complete subjection.

Essex now turned his thoughts to Ulster; but as his march to Munster had greatly diminished his numbers, he wrote to the queen, in conjunction with the council, to ask for fresh reinforcements. At the same time, he sent for Clifford, governor of Connaught, to march with the troops under him towards the frontiers of Ulster, in order to create a diversion.† In compliance, Clifford assembled his army at Athlone, on the Shannon; their destination being Belick on the river Erne, between the lake of that name and Ballyshannon, whither they desired to draw O'Neill.‡ The governor thought it necessary to keep the places in the rear free, for the security of his march; and with that object, he determined to rebuild the castle of Sligo, which had been destroyed some time before by O'Donnel, and to give battle to him, if he endeavored to prevent its reconstruction. Clifford sent orders to Theobald Burke, surnamed the Naval, to have cannon and every thing necessary for the execution of his plans brought by sea from Galway to Sligo, while he would lead the army by land. In the mean time, O'Connor Sligo, who supported the queen's cause against his country, scoured the county of Sligo with a body of cavalry, to force the inhabitants to abandon O'Donnel, whose cause they had espoused from a spirit of patriotism and religion, and to favor the designs of Clifford; but meeting with some of O'Donnel's army, they were compelled to take refuge in Killmuiny, at a short distance from Sligo, where they were besieged by O'Donnel.

Clifford being aware of the danger in which O'Connor was of falling into the power of the enemy, reviewed all his troops. His army amounted to two thousand five hundred infantry, both English and their Irish auxiliaries, and a few squadrons of cavalry. The principal chiefs of the auxiliary Irish were O'Connor Don, prince of Magherry Connoght, Melmor Mac-Sweeny, prince of Tueth, who through some displeasure had abandoned O'Donnel, and gone over to the English, and Richard Burke, son of the earl of Clanriccard and baron of Dunkillin. Matters being thus arranged, Clifford set out from Athlone, by forced marches for Boyle. O'Donnel purposed to oppose the enemy: he put a strong garrison of four hundred infantry under the command of Mac-Sweeny Fanid and Mac-william Burke, into Sligo, and left two hundred cavalry to hold on the blockade of Killmuiny; after which he marched with O'Doghearty, prince of Inisowen, and the remainder of the army to Corslieve mountain, where Clifford had to pass into the county of Sligo. Tirconnel possessed himself of the defiles of this mountain, and had trees cut down to obstruct Clifford's passage; he then encamped with his army in an adjoining plain.

In the mean time, Theobald Burke appeared with his little fleet before Sligo, but dared not enter. He thought prudent to await the arrival of Clifford's army. This governor being arrived at Boyle, he left his cavalry under the command of Sir Markham Griffin, since in passing the defiles of Corslieve they could not act. On the eve of Lady-day, O'Donnel was apprized of the movement of the English army. As the cause

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland.
† Cambd. Reg. Elizab. part 4, Hist. p. 736
‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 10.

of this pious prince was that of religion, he commanded, with the approbation of the ecclesiastics who were in his camp, that a fast should be kept on the eve of this festival, and that they should approach the tribunal of penance, in order to be worthy of receiving the communion on the next day, to implore the protection of the mother of God. Scarcely had the Catholics ended their devotion on the day of the assumption, when the English appeared to reconnoitre the plain. The prince of Tirconnel then ordered refreshments to his troops, and addressed them in the following words: "As we have already often defeated the reformers through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, we have reason to hope for similar success this day; yesterday we fasted in honor of the Virgin; this day we celebrate her festival, and thus let us combat her enemies, and we will be the conquerors." The Catholics were greatly animated by this discourse. O'Donnel then sent Owen Mac-Sweeny with Giolla and Tulli O'Gallagher, at the head of six hundred infantry, to stop the enemy, while he himself was preparing to attack them in order of battle. The engagement commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning, and continued for some time with equal slaughter and success, till O'Rorke appeared at the head of a body of infantry, and turned the scale of victory. The terror of the English was so great, that they threw their arms on the ground and fled. The rout now became general; the Catholic troops pursued the fugitives for three miles: Markham, who continued at Boyle with the cavalry, came out to the relief of the English; he attacked and killed some of those who were engaged in the pursuit, but O'Rorke coming up drove him back, and though badly wounded, he got into Boyle. The English lost in this battle fourteen hundred men in killed, with Clifford, the governor of Connaught, and Henry Ratcliffe, a young English nobleman, who were found among the slain. One hundred and forty of the Catholic army were killed and wounded. After this defeat of the English, a great booty was found: and the conquerors became masters of a vast quantity of arms, colors, cannon, dress, and other warlike apparatus. O'Neill, who was on his march to the assistance of O'Donnel, arrived too late, by two days, to share in the glory of this victory. The news of the defeat of the English, and the death of Clifford, being spread, Burke the Naval set sail immediately from Sligo to return to Galway. O'Connor surrendered to O'Donnel, who put him into the possession of his demesne at Sligo, on his promising to assist thereafter against the English. English writers acknowledge that their countrymen were defeated in the Curlew mountains, by the Catholics, whom they style rebels, commanded by O'Rorke. They have candor enough also to allow, that Clifford, Ratcliffe, and others were killed in this action, but they strive to smooth the disaster, by giving mutilated accounts of it. "Though the rebels," say they, "were superior in numbers, still they were repulsed by the English; but for the want of powder, the English were put to the rout."*

The earl of Essex was greatly disconcerted by the defeat of Clifford's army. He waited with anxiety for the arrival of a reinforcement from England; a thousand foot-soldiers at length arrived in Dublin, in September, and all the forces then marched for the frontiers of Ulster. As soon as O'Neill heard of the movement of the viceroy, he put his own army in motion, and proceeded to the town of Louth, where he encamped on the banks of a small river which separated the two armies. The English, says Peter Lombard, seeing the Catholics so well prepared and eager to engage, were so panic-struck, (according to the words of some who were present,) that they were covered with shame, and afraid to hold up their heads.†

The viceroy immediately dispatched a herald to O'Neill, to declare to him that he had not come as an enemy into his province; on the contrary, that he came to offer him terms of peace, or at least a truce, and that he would send commissioners for that purpose, if he would accede to his doing so.‡ The prince of Tyrone having agreed to the proposal, two knights and a counsellor of state were dispatched for that purpose by the earl of Essex. These commissioners being admitted to an audience with O'Neill, they explained to him the purport of their mission. The prince replied, that he would not agree to any truce, nor engage in any treaty in which three specific conditions were not admitted; first, "that there should be no other religion but the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, throughout the kingdom of Ireland;" second, "that the church properties which since the commencement of schism and heresy had been annexed to the king's dominions, should be restored to the church, as well by the queen herself, as by the individuals who possessed them;" third, "that the heirs of the original proprietors, who had been unjustly despoiled of their estates within the

* Cambden, Reign of Elizabeth, p. 736.
† Pet. Lombard, p. 419.
‡ Pet. Lombard, p. 420.

last forty years, should be re-established, to the utter exclusion of the usurpers."

This reply of Tyrone being communicated to the viceroy, the earl dispatched a second herald to the prince, and proposed to meet him at a short distance from their respective armies. The prince accepted the proposal of meeting him, but not apart from his army. Essex, who was eager for an interview on any terms, gave up his stipulation: he sent away the greater part of his army to Drogheda, and proceeded towards the camp of O'Neill, accompanied by a few nobles and a small number of horsemen. The two chiefs being come, went down the river, where they might confer together. The conference lasted for some hours; the viceroy looked for a truce till the month of May; Tyrone answered, that his honor, which was pledged not only to foreign princes, but to the grandees of his own nation, would not allow him to accede to it. Essex reminded O'Neill of the ancient friendship that subsisted between the earl his father, and him, and consequently that he ought to feel some sympathy towards the humbled position of his son. The heart of O'Neill could not resist any longer the repeated solicitations of Essex, and the prince consented to a truce of six weeks, on condition that each should be at liberty to break off by giving a notice of fourteen days. The truce being thus settled on, the two noblemen passed a few hours in mutual compliments and politeness.*

The salutary admonitions of O'Neill to Essex merit the attention of the reader, as they were prophetic of the disasters which subsequently befell him. They were as follows: "Permit me, earl, to obtrude the advice of one advanced in years, upon you who are young, and to forewarn you, for your own safety and peace of mind, of things that may arise in your course. I am not ignorant of the power you possess in your own country, how dear you are to the queen, how pleasing to the English, and how honored and beloved by the army. The instability and fickleness of these advantages in England, are known to you; and you are aware how intolerable is the tyranny of your queen, since no person has as yet lived secure under her power, except such as from their obscurity in life have escaped her attention, or those who are the instruments of her cruelty. Experience proves, how few of those that have been raised by her to the highest offices of trust, have escaped the abyss of ignominy and disgrace. You know likewise (as O'Neill speaks it) that the state of your nation is very vacillating, and that if your old queen were dead, the strongest would be master. Under all these circumstances, it behooves you to take heed against your enemies. Be cautious too, lest the favor, the honor, and authority with which you are invested, be not yet the cause of your ruin. Accommodate yourself to the times, and attach yourself to such as may render you services in the hour of need." The viceroy knew that the reasoning of the prince of Tyrone was true, but the means which he prescribed to avoid the danger, he found impracticable.

Essex, pleased with his negotiations with Tyrone, took leave of that prince, and returned to Dublin, where he received a letter from the queen, dated the 14th of September. Her majesty reproached him and the council with mal-administration, and a contempt for her commands. This reproach was mortifying to Essex. He placed the government of affairs in the hands of Adam Loftus, the chancellor, and George Carey, treasurer of war; committed the command of the troops to the earl of Ormond, and departed for London, September 28th, accompanied by some of his friends; among others, by Southampton, (who resigned his command of the cavalry,) the baron of Dunkell, Christopher St. Laurence, son of the baron of Howth, Henry Danvers, Henry Docwray, and others. The day following he presented himself before the queen, who received him coldly, and ordered him to keep his chamber till he would hear from her; after this he was committed and detained in prison, according to Peter Lombard,* who was a cotemporary writer. The heads of the accusation against Essex were, neglect of the instructions given him respecting the war in Ireland; the favorable truce that he had granted the Irish rebels; and his having left Ireland in despite of the orders of the queen. The history of the tragic end of that nobleman is sufficiently known: it will suffice to observe, that though one of Elizabeth's chief favorites, he was beheaded soon afterwards.

After Essex had left Ulster, a Spanish captain arrived in that province with two ships laden with warlike stores, which his Catholic majesty had sent to the prince of Tyrone. He received the officer, and asked why the king had omitted so long to send the succors which he had promised, and why he did not send all at the same time. The officer answered, that his majesty intended it, but that the report of peace having

* Pet. Lombard, pp. 421, 422, 423, 424.

* Hib. Comment. cap. 426, 427.

been made between the prince of Tyrone and Queen Elizabeth, was the cause; and added, that the king of Spain sent him for the express purpose (with these two ships) of bringing him an account of how affairs stood in Ireland. This reply did not satisfy O'Neill; however, he concealed his disappointment with his accustomed prudence.

Philip II., king of Spain, having died in the month of September of the preceding year, Philip III. succeeded to the throne. This prince, interested in following the plans of his brother in regard to the war in Ireland, sent over two legates, Matthew d' Oviedo, whom the pope appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin, and Don Martin de la Cerda. a Spanish knight. The legates were empowered to grant indulgences to the Irish who fought against the English in defence of their religion.* The sovereign pontiff also sent by the same opportunity, a crown of phœnix feathers to the prince of Tyrone, chief of the league, in imitation of Urban III., who had sent, in the twelfth century, a crown of peacock's plumes to John, son of Henry II., who was styled lord of Ireland. The legates brought twenty-two thousand pieces of gold from the king of Spain, for the payment of the troops.

Encouraged even by this moderate assistance, and hoping for greater from the Spaniards, Tyrone resumed hostilities, after a notice of fourteen days, in pursuance of the truce made with Essex, A. D. 1600.† Having provided for the security of the principality of Tyrone, he marched through the whole of Leinster, at the head of seven thousand men: his motive for doing which was, according to some writers, his devotion for a particle of the true cross, which was preserved in the abbey of Holy-Cross, county of Tipperary. However this was, he advanced towards Cork, where he encamped, and consulted with the earl of Desmond, Florence Mac Carty Reagh, and other chiefs of the province, about the means of supporting the war.‡ He sent deputies to those whose sincerity he doubted, to solicit them to join in the confederacy against the enemies of God, their religion, and their country. As a stronger inducement, he sent them an authentic copy of the sentence of excommunication which Pius V. had pronounced against the queen of England and her adherents. Several were brought over by the reasoning of Tyrone; particularly Finian Mac Carty, a powerful nobleman of the illustrious tribe of the Mac Carthys, who was always remarkable for his attachment to the religion of his ancestors.* Others, influenced by a different policy, though strongly attached to the Catholic faith, replied, that a subject of such moment ought to be suspended for a while, as the opinion of the see of Rome was not well known;† adding, that though excommunication had been pronounced by Pius V. against the adherents of the queen of England, the mitigation of the sentence by his successor, Clement XIII., in favor of Catholic subjects, was well understood, and that they might, with perfect security of conscience, adopt a course of moderation, till the pontiff who then governed the church would lay down other rules for them to follow, in which case they would be ready to obey. This brought forth a bull from Clement XIII., which was addressed to the spiritual and temporal lords and people of Ireland.

Prince O'Neill, who deemed their policy injurious to religion, and their delay hurtful to the Catholic cause, expressed his displeasure at the replies of these noblemen. Some of them he treated with severity, and devastated their lands, in order to deprive the enemy of subsistence; others he compelled to give hostages for their future conduct.‡

During Tyrone's stay in Munster, the queen's troops kept in their garrisons and strong places, not daring to take the field, so that the time passed over without hostilities, except an affair between Hugh Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, who commanded O'Neill's cavalry, and St. Leger, president of Munster, in which both noblemen fell.§* Maguire attended only by Edmond Mac Caffry, his standard-bearer, Niall O'Durnin, and a priest, left the camp one day, either to take an airing or to reconnoitre the country; having advanced too far, he met with St. Leger, at the head of sixty cavalry, notwithstanding this difference in numbers, Maguire's spirit would not permit him to avoid fighting; putting spurs to his horse, he forced his way through the enemy to their commander, who shot him through the body. Though Maguire's wound was mortal, he determined to be revenged; struck St. Leger such a blow with his lance that he cleft his head through the helmet,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 12. Ware, de Annal. cap. 42. Cambd. ibid. p. 743.

† Pet. Lombard, ibid. page 430. Cambd. ibid. page 748.

‡ Peter Lombard, ibid. page 431. Hist. Cathol. ibid.

* Pet. Lombard, ibid. p. 432.

† Ibid. p. 433.

‡ Petr. Lombard, p. 434.

§ Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 12.

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and then opened a passage for himself, sword in hand. Both generals died of their wounds a few days after, greatly regretted by their respective corps.*

The Prince O'Neill, before he left Munster, took the necessary measures for the defence of the province, and the security of the confederates. He placed some veteran troops among them, and returning through Leinster, he left a reinforcement with O'Morra of Leix. Before this, he passed in view of Ormond, who commanded the English army. He arrived safe in Ulster, having honorably fulfilled the designs he had in view.

The earl of Essex having given up the government of Ireland, it was of importance to appoint a successor to him, and a governor of Munster to succeed St. Leger, who was killed by Maguire. Charles Blunt, baron of Mountjoy, was therefore appointed viceroy, and Sir George Carew was named president of Munster. These two noblemen repaired to Dublin about the end of February. Carew waited for his commission to undertake the duties of his appointment In the mean time, the viceroy and supreme council of Ireland† had regulations drawn up for the guidance of the president and council of that province. The members of it were, the earls of Kildare, Ormond, and Thuomond, Viscount Barry, Lord Audley, the Protestant bishops of Cork and Limerick, Sir Nicholas Walsh, the chief-justice Saxey, Sir Francis Barkley, Sir George Thornton, Justice Goold, the queen's advocate-general, Sir Charles Wilmott, Garret Comerford, Esq., Ulick Cuffe, Esq., the bishops of Dublin and Meath, George Cary, Richard Wingfield, Anthony St. Leger, George Bourchier, Geoffry Fenton, and Francis Stafford.

The president of Munster left Dublin on the 7th of April, and took the road that led to his province. The earl of Thuomond, who always sought for opportunities of displaying his zeal for the royal cause, with Lord Audley, Captains Harvey, Browne, Dillon, and a force of seven hundred foot and a hundred horse, accompanied the president on his route. On the first day they arrived at Naas, on the next at Carlow, and on the third at Kilkenny, where they visited the earl of Ormond. Ormond had promised to meet Owen, son of Rory O'Morra, on the borders of Idough, at present the barony of Fessadining, in the county of Kilkenny, at a place called Corronneduffe, and the president proposed to accompany the earl, with his attendants. All arrived, according to appointment, at the place of meeting. The troops of both parties were at a distance, when the conference began between Ormond and O'Morra, which lasted for an hour without any thing being concluded. O'Morra had a Jesuit with him named Archer, who was zealously opposed to the Reformation,* with whom Ormond began a controversy on the score of religion, in the course of which he called the Jesuit a traitor; saying, that under a semblance of religion he was seducing her majesty's subjects from their allegiance, after which he proceeded to abuse the pope and Church of Rome. O'Morra, no longer able to bear with language so indecent, and so foreign to the subject before them, seized the earl, dragged him from his horse, and made him prisoner. The president and Thuomond, with his other friends who were at hand, being alarmed, ran to his assistance and commenced fighting. Some of the English were killed, several wounded, and more made prisoners; while the president and Thuomond took to flight, and owed their safety only to the swiftness of their horses. Thuomond was wounded in the back with a pike, as he complained in a letter to the council of England, wherein the circumstances of his misfortune in this affray are described. As soon as the two noblemen had got out of danger, they talked of revenge; their drums and trumpets were ordered to rally the troops and renew the fight; but the terror of the English was so great that none but Captains Harvey, Browne, Comerford, and some servants, had the courage to move forward; and consequently, they had no alternative but to submit to their misfortune. They then returned to Kilkenny, where they found the countess of Ormond inconsolable for her husband's capture.

The deputy was in Dublin when he heard of this unhappy occurrence, and likewise that the sons of Montgarret and several other noblemen of the Butlers were up in arms. He at once dispatched Sir George Bourchier and Christopher St. Laurence to Kilkenny, with orders to collect the troops, and keep the peace of the city and its neighborhood. The president of Munster, on the arrival of these officers, set out with Thuomond for Waterford, where they arrived on the 16th of April

The O'Connors Faly laid siege at this time to the castle of Crouchan, which was situated in the principality of Offaly,† at the

* Pet. Lomb. p. 435.
† Pacat. Hib. cap. 1, book 1, page 6.

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 8. † Ibid.

foot of a hill called Knock-Crouchan. Thomas Moor, a knight of the golden spur, and Giffard, both Englishmen, commanded the garrison. The besiegers having no artillery, scaled the walls with a hundred foot soldiers, and having entered, put the garrison, which consisted of Englishmen, to the sword, and became masters of the fortress.

O'Neill,* who had begun the war only in consequence of repeated assurances of succor both from the pope and the king of Spain, continued to apply to them for assistance, and sent his son Henry, who was still young, on a mission to his Catholic majesty. He wrote some urgent letters to the pope, representing to his holiness that the war in Ireland was the cause of God, and beseeching him to have public prayers offered in Rome for its success. He also prayed that the holy father would give his decision on the efficacy that the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her partisans, ought to have, which might serve as a guide to the Catholics of Ireland for the conduct they should observe in the present war. In fine, he besought the pope that his holiness would be pleased to send a nuncio to Ireland, who would be active in supporting the Catholics in their faith, and who might allay their uneasiness in the present posture of affairs.† Clement VIII., who was then head of the church, answered his requests with the following bull, dated Rome, April, 1600.‡ "Pope Clement VIII., to all and each of our venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and prelates; also to our dearly beloved sons, the princes, counts, barons, and the people of Ireland: greeting, health and apostolical benediction.

"Having learned that, through the exhortations of the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, and those of the holy see, and ours, you have been encouraged to recover your freedom, and to defend and maintain it against the reformers; also, that you have been, and are united to second and support, with all your means, first, James Fitzgerald of happy memory, who, as long as he lived, made generous efforts to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery which the English, who have deserted the holy Roman church, have imposed upon you; subsequently, John Fitzgerald, cousin-german of the said James, and latterly, our dear and illustrious son, Prince Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, baron of Dungannon, and captain-general of the Catholic army; and that these generals and their troops, aided by the God of armies, have performed many heroic deeds, in fighting valiantly against their enemies, and are determined to persevere in opposing them; in order, therefore, to secure your attachment, and that of your general, and of the said troops to this cause, it is our desire to bestow on you our spiritual favors, as our predecessors have done. Trusting in the mercies of God, and by the authority of his apostles Peter and Paul, we grant to each and every one of you, who follow the said General O'Neill, and his army, for the defence and support of the Catholic faith, to those who furnish him with their aid, in provisions, arms, or other warlike stores, or assist him in any manner whatever, provided you have confessed your sins, and if it be possible, have received the holy communion, the full remission of your sins; and we likewise grant all the indulgences which the Roman pontiffs have been accustomed to bestow on those who fight against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, &c.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the fisherman's ring, on the 16th of April, 1600, in the ninth year of our pontificate."

* Peter Lombard, p. 25.
† Peter Lombard, p. 465
‡ Cambd. ad ann. 1600.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Catholics of Ulster were still in possession of that province, with the exception of a few forts which the English kept, and garrisoned. The deputy was commanded to reduce this province, but a want of energy in his operations excited the suspicions of the court. It was therefore deliberated in council whether he should be recalled, and another deputy appointed, or whether supplies should be sent to continue the war against O'Neill and his allies more vigorously, if he should refuse to make peace.* The latter plan was adopted, and a fresh reinforcement of troops was ordered to Ireland. In consequence of this, the deputy wrote to Tyrone, in April, proposing terms of peace in the name of the queen and council, which, so far as related to religion, and the reparation of the injuries that the Irish Catholics had sustained, appeared reasonable. The prince of Tyrone, however, knew too well the disposition of the English, to place any confidence in their promises; he knew that nothing but the inability of acting otherwise, would influence them to keep faith with him; and besides,

* Pet. Lombard, ibid. p. 445, et seq.

he expected daily the assistance that had been promised to him by the king of Spain, so that he rejected the overtures of the deputy.

Mountjoy felt the necessity of removing the suspicions which were entertained against him by the court; and finding the prince of Tyrone deaf to the proposals he had made, he saw that his only resource to redeem his honor lay in force. He therefore collected his troops to attack Tyrone by sea and land; and in the month of March, a fleet of sixty-seven ships, under Sir Henry Dockwra, was ordered to take possession of a lake in the north of Ireland, called Loughfoyle, between the peninsula of Inisowen and Arachty Cahan, to cause in that quarter a diversion favorable to the expedition of his forces by land. Five thousand infantry and three hundred horse were on board this fleet, well provided with ammunition and warlike stores. The English commander also had constructed, on the borders of Loughfoyle, four forts, from whence he made frequent incursions on the lands of O'Dogharty, and other noblemen.

O'Neill, when informed of the movements of the English, assembled a council of the chief men of the province, to adopt measures against the enemy. It was determined, that prince O'Donnel should oppose the attempts of the garrisons on Loughfoyle, while O'Neill himself would march against the deputy. A detachment of the Catholic army having met a party of the English who were guarding the baggage, attacked and killed a great number of them, and became masters of considerable booty. The deputy, alarmed at this event, returned immediately to Dublin, where he remained for some time.

The earl of Ormond was still a prisoner with O'Morra. His countess applied with eagerness for his liberation; for which purpose she addressed letters to the queen, and to the prince of Tyrone; she reminded the latter of the friendship that subsisted between him and the earl, and begged, that in consideration of the services he had rendered him, he would procure him his freedom. Tyrone paid regard to the entreaties of the countess, and procured her husband's liberty, on condition that he would no longer act against his religion or his country, and that he should give hostages for his fidelity.

Mountjoy, who remained in Dublin since his last expedition to Ulster, proceeded to Kilkenny to visit the earl of Ormond after his liberation. He then marched at the head of some troops into Leix, and brought laborers with him to cut down the corn before it was ripe, in order to deprive the inhabitants of subsistence for the next winter, and thereby prolong the war. The Catholics of Leix ran to arms, and attacked both the reapers and the troops who were guarding them; the lord-deputy was dismounted, and his horse killed under him, so that he saved himself with difficulty, on foot, through a neighboring bog. The advantages to the Catholics from this victory, were not equal to the heavy loss that they sustained by the death of Owen O'Morra, who was killed in the action. This nobleman, illustrious by birth, was still more so from his virtue, and his attachment to the cause of God and his country; he was the soul of the confederacy in Leinster, and his death produced such consternation throughout the province, that the principal leaders, except Raymond O'Morra who succeeded him, were obliged to beg peace from their enemies. The deputy being now freed from this formidable opponent, continued his devastations in Leinster; the estates of Daniel Cavanagh, surnamed the Spaniard, suffered greatly; and the O'Lalors, Redmond Keating, and others, were forced to submit; after which the deputy returned to Dublin.

O'Donnel, who was appointed to watch the motions of the garrisons on Loughfoyle, acted with a prudence and valor worthy of the illustrious house of Tirconnel, of which he was the chief. He pursued several detachments from those places, and killed a great many of them. The forts were also surrounded by O'Neill's army. In the month of August this prince surprised fifteen hundred of their men who were foraging, and put the whole of them to the sword; but the English being masters by sea, and the Irish having no fleet to oppose them, their losses were quickly repaired by fresh arrivals of men and arms from England.

The successes of the English in Munster were more rapid, in consequence of the divisions that prevailed in that province. A kingdom divided must fall. Some of their chiefs had already embraced the reformed religion through interest and an ambition to please Elizabeth; the rest continued attached to the Roman church. Among the latter, however, were some political temporizers who would run no risk, and whose principle was to accommodate themselves to the times. The English government omitted nothing to excite disunion: they strove to reduce the Irish to the most abject wretchedness, by destroying their flocks, and the crops necessary for their support; and also by drawing out of Ireland all its gold and silver, and sending from England in lieu of it a new copper coin which would not pass in any other country, and which soon lost its value there.

Such was the situation of affairs and the position of the people in Munster, when Carew began his campaigns in that province. The president, who was witness to the interview between O'Morra and Ormond, when the latter was made prisoner, as has been observed, arrived at Waterford on the 16th of April.* The army which the council of England intended for Munster, consisted of three thousand infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry. The demonstrations for the war began to spread terror among the inhabitants.† Some noblemen of the county of Waterford dreading the consequences, made their submission to the president; among the number of whom were Thomas, natural son of Sir James Fitzgerald, lord of Desie, and Thomas Power, the near relation of Lord Power.

Carew foresaw two important advantages that must arise to him from the submission of these two nobles; first, it was so much taken from the force of Desmond; secondly, the communication was rendered free between Waterford and Youghal, to which their power extended, and near which their estates lay. The president Carew set out from Waterford, April 20, attended by the earl of Thuomond, Lords Audley and Power, the lord of Desie, Sir Nicholas Walsh, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Richard Masterson; Captains Roger Harvie, William Taaffe, Richard Greame, Fleming, Giffard, Dillon, O'Reilly, and several nobles, with nine hundred foot, and one hundred horse, and arrived the same day at Dungarvan, where he was joined by Sir George Cary's company. The day following he marched for Youghal, from which he set out on the 24th for Cork. Here he learned that Florence Mac-Carty, prince of Carbry, with the O'Driscols, O'Mahonys O'Donnavans, and several of the principal nobility of the country, had taken up arms; he immediately dispatched twelve hundred foot and one hundred horse against them, under Captain Flower, who pillaged and burned the whole country as far as the neighborhood of Ross, without meeting an enemy; on his return, however, he was attacked by Florence Mac-Carty and Dermod O'Connor-Don. The former headed the provincial troops, the latter the Bownoghs, that is, the mercenary forces of Connaught. These chiefs having placed themselves in ambush on the road the enemy had to pass, attacked them so vigorously, that they forced Captain Flower and his men to seek safety in an old castle, at the distance of half a league. The English sustained a heavy loss on this occasion, and had it not been for the skill of Flower, they would all have perished. To protect them, this officer sent Lieutenant Lane with a body of men to conceal themselves in an old ruin, and attack the Catholics in flank, while he himself attacked them in front with the rest of his forces; being thus placed between two fires, they defended themselves bravely for some time, but Carbry O'Connor, Dermod's brother, and some of their other chiefs having fallen, and finding themselves overpowered by the enemy's cavalry, they took flight, and withdrew to the territory of Kinel-Meaky, where they encamped near the bridge of Bally ne Courcie.

While the president was employed in holding a council in Cork, to deliberate on the affairs of the province, several skirmishes took place between the Catholics and the court party. Captain Francis Slingsby, who commanded the English garrison at Kilmallock, laid waste the country as far as the castle of Bruff, three miles from Kilmallock, and carried away large herds of cattle. He was, however, attacked by Peter Lacy, lord of the district, at the head of three hundred foot, and fifty horse. They fought for six hours with equal success, except that Conn O'Neill, natural son of Tyrone, was wounded on the side of the Catholics. About the same time, April 25, John Mac-Thomas, brother to the earl of Desmond, had the command of a small detachment of Catholics, and in order to punish Lord Barry, who had abandoned the cause of his country, he entered upon his estates, where he pillaged his vassals as far as Castle Lyons, and carried away large herds of cattle. Redmond Burke was not so successful in the barony of Kilnemanna; he marched some troops into that quarter against John O'Dwyer, to whom it belonged, and who had received protection from the English; but was repulsed by O'Dwyer, who killed one hundred and twenty of his men. Burke returning soon after with fresh forces, burned and destroyed every thing in the district of Kilnemanna. On the 29th of the same month, Captain Slingsby left Kilmallock, at the head of a detachment, devastating the neighborhood of Loghguire, where he took possession of the castle; a place in itself inconsiderable, but the situation of which on the road rendered it of importance to the English.

Carew, the president, meeting with difficulties in the conquest of Munster, had to resort to stratagem to supply the want of force.* In order to gain over to him some of

* Hist. Pac. cap. 3.
† War. cap. 43.

* Pac. Hib. cap. 5.

the confederates, and thus diminish the number of his enemies, he pretended to prepare an expedition against Limerick, threatening to give up to his soldiers the property of the Catholics on his march; in consequence of which, some lords whose lands lay along the route he was to take, to obviate the threatened calamity, made their submission. The president saw how important it would be to bring about a peace with Florence Mac-Carty of Carbry, who was a powerful prince of the province; knowing that his submission would be followed by that of many others. He was aware that Mac-Carty had, in opposition to Daniel Mac-Carty, natural son to Mac-Carty More, earl of Clancar, applied for the estates of the latter, whose daughter and heiress he had married, in which he obtained the sanction of the queen. To accomplish his purpose, in effecting a reconciliation with the prince of Carbry, the president appointed the earl of Thuomond, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and John Fitz-Edmonds to treat with him. An express was forwarded to Mac-Carty, that they wished to confer with him on matters of great moment. He agreed willingly to a conference, and appointed a certain day and place to meet them. Their present object was to prevail on the prince to come before the president. In this they succeeded; and after a conference of two hours, he consented, under a solemn promise and an oath from Thuomond and Walsh for his safe return; he then accompanied them to Cork, and, on the 3d of May, arrived at the castle of Shandon where the president resided. Carew reproached Mac-Carty for his treason and ingratitude to the queen for all her favors. Thuomond also played his part, and joined with the president to influence the prince to submit. He consented, finally, to observe a strict neutrality on the following conditions: first, that the queen should grant him the territories of Desmond to the same extent as she had done to his father-in-law the earl of Clancar. Second, that she would grant him the title of Mac-Carty More, or earl of Clancar; and lastly, that she would furnish him with three hundred soldiers for his defence. To all these conditions the president refused his assent, and Mac-Carty returned home.

The submission of the white knight, of Barret, Condon, and some others, and the visit that Florence Mac-Carty paid to the president, created jealousy and distrust among the confederates. These were still further heightened by the news of Carew's intended expedition, which made many consult their own safety. Peter Lacy, despairing of being able to defend his castle of Bruff against the president's army, caused it to be demolished; Redmond Burke, who was at the head of five hundred men in the district of Connillo, upon the promise of the president that he would support him in his pretensions to the barony of Leitrim, withdrew from the confederacy, and retired to the district of Ormond. These defections did not, however, prevent the other confederates from meeting in the wood of Kilmore, between Mallow and Kilmallock, to oppose the English army on its route through Ballyhawry; but instead of marching on the 6th, the president remained in Cork until the 21st of May, in order to deceive them; want of provisions, therefore, forced them to decamp and return to their different quarters.

The president being informed of their retreat, set out from Cork on the 21st of May, and passing through Mallow, arrived the next day at Kilmallock; on the 24th he reached Bruff, and on the 25th arrived in Limerick. In the mean time James Butler, brother of Lord Cahir, made himself master of Cahir castle, where there was an English garrison. On the 28th of May the president entered the district of Clanwilliam, burning and destroying all before him. He forced John and Theobald Burke to surrender; after which he became master of the castle of Ballytrasny, which the Catholics had left, and found in it a quantity of corn and other provisions. He next sent five hundred soldiers to attack the patrimony of the O'Moel Ryans, which they pillaged and burned without mercy, and committed unheard-of cruelties. After these expeditions he placed garrisons in Kilmallock, Askeaton, and Likadowne, on the frontiers of Connillo, and returned with the remainder of his army to Limerick. Captain Harvy arrived at the same time with a ship laden with money, warlike stores, provisions, and clothing, to the great joy of the president, who was beginning to be in want of every thing.

The president was not yet satisfied; to get James Fitzthomas, earl of Desmond, into his power, was a feat to be yet accomplished. Promises of reward appeared to him to be the surest means of effecting this, and by means of them he succeeded. James was betrayed by some of his own soldiers into the hands of the president, who confined him under a strong guard in the castle of Connillo, called Castleishin, but he was soon rescued from his imprisonment by Maurice, baron of Lixnaw, Dermod Mac-Carty Reagh, the knight of Kerry, William Burke, Bernard O'Kelly, Peter Lacy, and other chiefs of the con-

federacy, at the head of eight hundred men.

The princes of Ulster were too busy in defending their own province to be able to afford any help to the Munstermen. O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, had to watch the garrisons of Loughfoyle, commanded by Dockwra, with whom he had frequent skirmishes. The English having got the city of Derry into their possession, made a vigorous sortie, but were repulsed with loss. Dockwra, their commander, was dangerously wounded in the head with a pike, by young Hugh O'Donnel, who cut his helmet through. After this battle the English relaxed in their attacks, so that O'Donnel determined to cause a diversion in favor of Munster. To effect this, he left the defence of Tirconnel to John O'Dogherty, prince of Inis-Owen, Niall O'Donnel, surnamed Garve, and Daniel O'Gallagher; after which he marched through Connaught, and in the month of June entered the country of Thuomond. The earl, who was then at Limerick, alarmed at the news of his approach, applied to the president for help to defend his district against him. Captain Flower was immediately dispatched with eight hundred infantry and sixty cavalry, to join the earl in repelling Tirconnel; the two armies had frequent skirmishing, but O'Donnel plundered the country of Thuomond as far as Loophead, and, after taking great booty in cattle, he retired without meeting any disaster.*

The expedition of O'Donnel to Thuomond had no greater effect than to retard the operations of the English in Munster, but it produced a serious change in his own affairs. The lieutenant of General Dockwra, having sailed out of Derry in the absence of the prince of Tirconnel, was killed by O'Dogharty, so that the English would have cause to repent of their conquest of Loughfoyle, if the Catholics had been more united. Arthur O'Neill, following the policy of his father, Turlough Linnagh, left the Catholic party and declared for the English. His example was soon followed by Niall Garve O'Donnel, though otherwise strongly attached to the religion of his ancestors. This nobleman gave up Lifford to the English, the command of which he had been appointed to by the prince of Tirconnel. His treachery caused a divorce between him and his wife Nolla, the sister of Tirconnel.

Niall Garve was brave and expert in war; his ambition made him desire to obtain the title of the O'Donnel, or chief of the tribe, and he had cause to expect it if the English were victorious. They began indeed already to give him the title, and to make him great promises of reward if he would join in their interests. These foreigners knew well how to turn the affairs of this nobleman to their own profit. Niall had formed a private enmity against his chief, O'Donnel, on the ground of his having taken from him, as he said, unjustly, the estate of Lifford, which belonged to his family, and did not feel sufficiently requited by the castle of Caisleanna-Finni, which the prince had given him by way of remuneration. This was the only plea that Niall Garve could advance to palliate his revolt and his attachment to the English.

O'Donnel, who was projec ing a second expedition against the earl of Thuomond, abandoned his design on hearing of the revolt of Niall Garve,* and immediately posted his army near Lifford, in order to watch the enemy's motions. He frequently fought with success both against Niall Garve, who had gained over many adherents, and against the garrisons of Lifford and Derry, which often sallied forth against him. He sustained a heavy loss in the death of O'Dogharty, who was killed in one of these engagements. O'Dogharty having left only an infant son, O'Donnel, according to the custom of the country, created Felim O'Dogharty, his nearest relative, prince of Inisowen; this act, by increasing the number of the discontented in Inisowen, diminished his allies there, and the principal town in the district was given up to the English. All O'Donnel's efforts against the rebels of Inisowen were ineffectual: he besieged them in Binnin, a fort to which they had withdrawn; but from the inactivity of the Connaughtmen whom he had in pay, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. In the mean time, Niall Garve, having collected all the natives belonging to his faction, and some English soldiers belonging to the garrison, seized upon the Franciscan convent of Donegal, and having driven out the friars, made an arsenal of their house, in order to be able to hold out against O'Donnel. This prince surrounded him with his army, and kept him hemmed in for three months; after which, the fortress having taken fire during the night, about one thousand men perished by the flames, the swords of the besiegers, and the falling in of the building, among the number of whom was Conn O'Donnel, brother of

* Hist Cathol. cap. 5.

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid.

Nial Garve. The prince of Tirconnel after marched his troops to Connaught; he was attacked at Elphin by the earl of Clanriccard, at the head of an English corps, and after some skirmishing the earl withdrew, but little satisfied with the success of his arms.

Mountjoy marched in July, at the head of his forces, towards the frontiers of Ulster;* but this expedition was equally unsuccessful as the former. He reconciled the Magennises, O'Hanlon, Ever, son of Colla Mac-Mahon, lord of Fearna, and others, who were subjected to the incursions of the English, from the contiguity of their frontiers—this was a kind of neutrality approved of by O'Neill in favor of these noblemen. The deputy then advanced towards Armagh and Portmor, the garrisons of which he relieved, but was deterred from proceeding farther, as he dreaded O'Neill, who was strongly intrenched, which caused him to return to Dublin.†

The deputy set out from Dublin in the month of August, with five hundred and sixty infantry, sixty horsemen, and some volunteers. He marched first to Naas, in order to join Oliver Lambert, who commanded a body of troops at Philipstown in Offaly. The two commanders having united their forces, carried fire and sword everywhere as they passed, so that every step in their march was marked with cruelty and tyranny.

Mountjoy, wishing to create a diversion in favor of his friends at Loughfoyle, marched in October for Ulster, at the head of six thousand fighting men. He did not proceed far into the province when he met with the prince of Tyrone. The two armies continued in sight of each other for fifteen days without attempting any thing, after which two battles were fought; one near Dundalk, and the other in the neighborhood of Carlingford. These proved fatal to the English; they lost upwards of four thousand men, the deputy was dangerously wounded, and carried to Newry to be cured of his wounds. It was now that the English government set a price upon the head of O'Neill. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of two thousand pounds sterling to any one who would deliver him up alive, or one thousand pounds for his head.

Carew, the president, who was still in Limerick, marched with his troops in the month of June into the district of Connillo, where he made himself master of the castle of Croom, which the garrison had abandoned. After this he marched towards the castle of Glynn, situate on the banks of the Shannon. This castle was the chief place belonging to the knight of the Glynn, a branch of the illustrious house of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, and one of the principal confederate Catholic chiefs. The president laid siege to it, and having effected a breach, it was taken by assault, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence. The president, having placed a garrison in Glynn Castle, under Captain Mordant, determined to lay siege to Carrigofoyle, in Iraghticonnor, but was prevented by the voluntary submission of O'Connor Kerry, to whom it belonged.

In the mean time, the president, in order to occupy the confederates in different places at once, sent fifty men into the county of Kerry, commanded by Maurice Stack, a native of that district, a man of middle stature, but of tried courage.* He surprised the castle of Liscaghan, scaled the walls, and put the garrison to the sword; he also burned Adare, and devastated the neighboring country, where he remained till the arrival of Sir Charles Wilmot, who came to his assistance. War is the scourge of a country which unfortunately becomes the theatre of it. The scarcity of provisions was so severe in Kerry, that the president was constrained to change his quarters; he took possession of the castle of Corgrage, which had been abandoned, and gave the command of it to Oliver Stephenson, whose descendants, says Cox, have degenerated into real Irish; he received the castle of Rathmore by capitulation, and having reinforced the garrisons of Askeaton and Kilmallock, he arrived in Limerick the 16th of July.

During the absence of the president, the confederates made an attempt upon the castle of Liscaghan, of which Maurice Stack was the commander; but their efforts were defeated by the garrison, who killed twenty-seven of their men in a sally. The president being informed at Limerick of the state of things in Kerry, marched on July the 23d, with his troops, amounting to a thousand and fifty infantry, and seventy-five cavalry—whether to avoid the badness of the roads, or the enemy, he took the route for the county Clare, and proceeded to Kilrush, on the right bank of the Shannon, opposite to Carrigofoyle, where the earl of Thuomond took care to have a number of boats constructed to carry the troops and their baggage to the opposite side of the river.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 4.
† Hist. Cathol. cap. 4.

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. cap. 10

The army having reached Carrigofoyle, the president on the 29th July dispatched Wilmot with six hundred infantry, and fifty cavalry, on an expedition into Clanmorris. He took the castles of Lixnaw and Rathowen by surprise, and put garrisons into them, though Lord Fitzmaurice, to whom the castle of Lixnaw belonged, had it undermined some time before, and planks of wood placed so as to set fire to it on the approach of the English army. After this Wilmot advanced upon Tralee, where he surprised a hundred and fifty laborers who were employed by the earl of Desmond to destroy the castle of Sir Edward Denny, in order to prevent the English from taking shelter in it. Wilmot had no great difficulty in defeating these men, whom he took by surprise; after killing some, and dispersing the rest, he returned victorious to Carrigofoyle.

The president received an account, that the provisions which he was expecting would be sent to Cork, had arrived at Carrigofoyle, in the county of Clare, opposite the river Cashin. The boats belonging to the earl of Thuomond served to carry them to Lixnaw.

Patrick Fitzmaurice, who was truly zealous in the Catholic cause, dreading the contiguity of the English, demolished his castle of Beaulieu, situate on the banks of the Shannon, and within two miles of Carrigofoyle. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his son, Thomas Fitzmaurice, who inherited not only his title, but also his attachment to religion.* He married Honora-ni-Brien, sister of the earl of Thuomond. Of these two illustrious personages, English writers give a story equally revolting to humanity, and to the religion which they pretend was the cause of it. Honora-ni-Brien, according to their account, having invited Maurice Stack to dinner at her castle of Beaulieu, had him murdered; and his brother, whom her husband, the baron of Lixnaw, had held as a prisoner for some time, hanged the day following.

Florence MacCarty, who had hoped for some time to be able to remain neuter, began now to appear upon the stage. He contemplated bringing about a marriage between James Fitz-Thomas, earl of Desmond, and the sister of Cormac MacCarty, lord of Muskerry, in order to unite all the branches of the MacCartys, who formed a numerous and powerful tribe. The president, apprehending the consequences of such an alliance, left the government of Kerry to Wilmot, and marched straight to Cork, to counteract the intended connection between Desmond and the chief of Muskerry. To punish Florence MacCarty, he granted protection to Daniel MacCarty, and gave him the title of MacCarty More, to the exclusion of Florence, who had a prior claim to the title, as has been observed.

Wilmot having besieged the castle of Ardart, in the county of Kerry, became master of it, after it had been defended for nine days by a feeble garrison. He strove to estrange several noblemen from the cause of their country, and succeeded with the knight of Kerry, who surrendered to him his castle of Dingle, the October following. The president, on his part, received the submission of the MacMahons and the O'Crowleys of Carbry. MacDonough, MacAuliff, and O'Keefe, also put themselves under his protection, and the castle of Cahir was surrendered by James Butler to the English.

The earl of Desmond caused Castle island, and several strong places in the county of Kerry, to be demolished, in order to prevent the English from increasing the number of their garrisons. This nobleman had but six hundred infantry and a few cavalry, so that he was not able to attack the enemy openly, their numbers being much greater than his. He wrote pressing letters to Florence MacCarty to join him; but being disappointed in this, he left Kerry and marched through Connillo to gain the woods of Arlogh, near Kilmallock, where there was an English garrison, commanded by Sir George Thornton. The officers under Thornton were Slingsby and Arundle, Captains Dillon and O'Reilly commanded the foot, and Greame the horse. Desmond's intended march being known to the English, they made every preparation in their neighborhood to attack him. Greame first, with his cavalry, prevented the earl from getting into the wood, and made himself master of the baggage, while Thornton attacked him with the infantry. The action was briskly fought, but proved fatal to Desmond; he lost two hundred of his men in killed and wounded. Teague and Hugh O'Kelly, who commanded the Connaught troops, were among the slain, and their heads sent the day following to the president. There remained now with Desmond but four hundred men, who got into the wood in spite of the enemy; after which they dispersed. The earl finding himself abandoned, withdrew into the country of Ormond, accompanied by Dermod MacCarty, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, who labored for twenty years to preserve the religion of the country.

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 13.

A. CHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

After the defeat of Desmond, religion began to lose ground in Munster. Fitzmaurice, John Fitzthomas, brother to the earl, Peter Lacy, and other leaders, proceeded to Ulster to join O'Neill.* Several were pardoned, and among the number, MacCarty Riagh, O'Sullevan Beare, John O'Dwyer, James Fitzgerald, Teugue O'Brien, O'Moelryan, O'Sullivan More, the people of Mogelly, and the inhabitants of Kerry and Muskerry. By the defections the whole of the province was opened to the English, the places that had opposed them previously having surrendered; among others, Castlemayn, Clancoyne, and Listoel, opened their gates. Sir Richard Pearcy sent, in the month of December, a detachment from Kinsale into Carbry, to plunder the districts of Kilco and Kinelmeaky. Dermod Moyle MacCarty, brother of Florence, and Moysmo O'Mahony, prince of the O'Mahonys of Kinalmeaky, being informed of the enemy's designs, assembled their vassals, and fought the English for two hours; after which both armies withdrew, and the English returned greatly disconcerted in their designs. About this time some differences sprang up between the MacCartys of Carbry, and the O'Learys of Muskerry;† they led to an action at Ahakery, in the district of Carbry, in which O'Leary, chief of his tribe, and ten of his men were killed on the spot. On the other side, the brother of Finin MacOwen MacCarty was dangerously wounded, and some of his people slain.

The conquest of Munster was not secure while James Fitz-Thomas bore the name of earl of Desmond.‡ It was of the first importance to the English to destroy his influence among the people; to effect which they raised a rival to him, who in fact possessed a higher claim to the title. This rival was James, son of Garret the last earl, who had been detained during a great many years prisoner in the tower of London. The queen now prepared and equipped him for Ireland, with the empty title of "earl of Desmond."§ The name was imposing on the Irish, among whom it was still dear. They received him with a respect becoming his illustrious ancestors, but, finding that he had conformed to the religion of the court, their admiration towards him was abated. Young Desmond was conducted to Ireland by Captain Price; he landed at Youghall the 14th of October, and arrived at Mallow on the 18th,* where he presented a letter from the queen to the president Carew, with her patent, restoring him to the dignity of his ancestors. The young earl expressing a desire to visit Limerick, was indulged by Carew, in order to sound the disposition of the people towards him; he was accompanied by the Protestant archbishop of Cashel, and Boyle, secretary to the council. Having returned to Kilmallock on a Saturday evening, he was received with the acclamations of the people, who were collected in such crowds that he could scarcely get to the governor's house, whither he was going to sup, though the streets through which he passed were lined with troops. Their joy was, however, soon changed into sadness. The earl went the next day, Sunday, to hear the service in the Protestant church. On his return, the people who, the evening before, loaded him with blessings, heaped their imprecations and insults upon him, and even proceeded so far as to spit in his face. Abandoned now by the Catholics and the admirers of his ancestors, he was seen to walk in the streets like any private individual, without one to accompany him. "I give," says an English writer, "this narrative, that the world may perceive how our religion, and the professors of it, are abominated by the rude and ignorant people of Ireland."

The deputy Mountjoy marched in the month of December into the county of Wicklow, to chastise the O'Birnes and O'Tooles, who made frequent attacks upon the lands near Dublin. Having attempted, in vain, to get Felim, son of Fiach, into his power, he carried away with him as prisoners, his wife and eldest son; after which he laid the whole country waste, burning the houses and their haggards as he passed along. He put garrisons into Tullow and Wicklow; then marched to Monastereven, and afterwards visited Trim, Mullingar, Athlone, and Drogheda; from which place he set out for Dublin, on the 26th of April, after distributing the troops among the different garrisons. An order was at this time sent to the deputy by the court of England, to confer on Nial Garve O'Donnel the principality of Tirconnel; and that of Fermanagh, on Connor Roe Maguire, to the exclusion of the lawful princes. It was thus that Maguire was recompensed for having made Cormoc O'Neill, nephew and Tanist of O'Neill, a prisoner. By such means the queen diminished the number of her enemies in Ireland.

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 435.
† Pacat. Hib. cap. 15.
‡ Hist. Girald cap. 25.
§ Hist. Cathol. cap. 3.

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 14.

She supported the collateral branches against their chiefs; she caused divisions among them by exciting a thirst for riches, and found many degenerate enough to answer her purposes. Those who were so, were called her "protégés," and designated as *the queen's* O'Donnel, *the queen's* Maguire, to distinguish them from the lawful chiefs.

Morrison, governor of Dundalk, made some attempts upon the territory of Fews, whence he carried off as prisoner Turlogh, son of Henry O'Neill, chief of the Fews, and brother to Tyrone. The submission of Turlogh procured him the protection of the deputy, and a similar favor was granted to Ever Mac-Colla, to Mac-Mahon, lord of Fearny, to Hanlon, and the inhabitants of Brenny.

The forces of the Irish were continually diminished by their frequent battles, and by their having no succors sent them from abroad, while those of the English were receiving constant reinforcements from their own country. Information was sent by the lords of the English council, to Carew, that six hundred infantry had embarked for Cork. A complaint was also forwarded that several soldiers were passing from Ireland to England on a mere leave from their captains. The president was therefore enjoined to send his orders to the seaports to permit no soldier to embark for England without a passport signed by himself.

Dermod O'Connor Don, prince of Connaught, learned that the young earl of Desmond had arrived in Munster by orders of the court of England.* He wished greatly to see this young nobleman whose sister he had married, and to manifest to the queen by his services, how grateful he was for the favors conferred upon his brother-in-law. The president being informed of the wishes of O'Connor, sent him a guard to escort him and his attendants; one from Sir Arthur Savage, a commissioner of Connaught, and another from the earl of Clanriccard, being likewise appointed to protect him in his march through their estates. The president sent a hundred men to the frontiers of Thuomond to receive and conduct him safe to his destination. But all these precautions were not able to save O'Connor's life. Having passed through Clanriccard without meeting any opposition, he was attacked upon the estate of O'Seaghnassy, by Theobald Burke, the *Naval*, who commanded a hundred men in the pay of the queen. Theobald, having killed forty of O'Connor's men, made that prince prisoner, and had his head cut off the day following, without any trial. This act of hostility drew upon Burke the censures of his friends at court, and he was in consequence of it deprived of his company. "Theobald Burke," says an English author, "did no injury to O'Connor while he was a rebel, but seeing him attach himself to the English government and likely to become very useful, he caused him to be shamefully murdered."

The earl of Ormond had continued inactive since he got his liberty from O'Morra. To ingratiate himself with the president, he now offered his services against Redmond Burke and his companions who had retired into the territory of Ormond. The earl frequently, but in vain, endeavored to drive them from it; at length, he employed Lord Dunboyne, Sir Walter Butler his nephew, and Captain Marberry, to undertake it with all the troops they could muster. They accordingly made great preparations against a handful of men scattered in the woods, and bereft of every thing; a victory over whom could not be very glorious to the earl, nor add much to the laurels of his house. They fell upon the unhappy wanderers, and killed forty of them, among whom was Thomas Burke, brother of Redmond; the rest were chased into the river Nore, which at that time, it being the month of January, overflowed its banks: many of them perished with their arms and baggage, and several were made prisoners; among the rest, John Burke, also brother of Redmond, who was immediately afterwards put to death in Kilkenny.

The president Carew, wishing to put the laws in operation, and let justice (which had been suspended on account of the war) take its course, held the assizes at Limerick, Cashel, and Clonmel; the members who composed the tribunals in question were commanded to punish all those who were denominated rebels. When an enemy sits in judgment, innocence will not escape. The president also gave orders to the sheriffs to visit the counties, both to discover the malefactors who disturbed the government, and to procure provisions for the garrisons.* In compliance with this mandate, John Barry, sheriff of the county of Cork, attended by his retinue, entered that part of Desmond which belonged to Florence Mac-Carty, but was immediately repulsed by that nobleman's vassals, and forced to fly, leaving several of his attendants dead upon the spot. A detachment from the garrison of Kerry, intent upon plunder, crossed the river Mang, and

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 17.

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. cap. 18. Ibidem, cap. 19.

entered that district sword in hand, where they shared the fate of the sheriff's followers. These acts of violence rendered the conduct of Florence suspicious in the eyes of the president, but finding it necessary to dissemble for a while, he passed over all that nobleman's acts in silence.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Catholics of Ireland had, to the close of this campaign, made the most noble exertions in defence of their religion and country. They had to contend, not only against the English, but also against domestic enemies, without any hope of assistance, so that the country was devastated and exhausted of men and provisions, particularly Munster, which had been for a long time the theatre of the war. Most of the noblemen in that province were obliged to submit to their enemies. Florence Mac-Carty seeing the necessity of yielding to the times, followed the example of the rest. Their submission, however, was but a sort of truce, while waiting for the arrival of the Spaniards.

Don Martin Lerda was sent to Ireland by the king of Spain, in the beginning of the year 1601. He brought two vessels laden with arms, ammunition, and money.* This small succor, which seemed to give omen of greater, was sent to O'Neill; and his Catholic majesty sent word to this prince, that he would immediately furnish him with troops, and every thing necessary to carry on the war. The vessels being arrived in the bay of Kilbeg, near Donegal, O'Neill divided the resources he received with the confederates, particularly with those of Munster. A gleam of hope seemed to revive the fallen spirits of the Catholics. They met, and deliberated together; and the earl of Clanriccard, who was at that time the only nobleman in Connaught attached to the queen's cause, began to espouse the interest of the confederates.

That which caused such joy to the Catholics of Ireland, produced great alarm in the minds of the English Protestants. The president of Munster wrote urgent letters to the lords of the English council, informing them hat Ireland would be soon invaded by the Spaniards, of which he received positive assurances from every quarter. "Many priests and monks of the Roman church," added he, "have already arrived in this country, who are precursors of misfortune to Ireland, by their endeavors to estrange her majesty's subjects from their allegiance." After thus apprizing the court of the danger, he demanded the means of averting it. The council attended to his representations, and gave orders how he should act; lenient measures were adopted, at the same time, to conciliate the Catholics of Munster. As a specimen of the queen's disposition at the time, she wrote to the president, authorizing him to grant a general amnesty to all who would seek his clemency; from it, however, James Fitz-Thomas, having the title of earl of Desmond, his brother John, Peter Lacy, knight of the Glynn, Thomas Fitz-Maurice, baron of Lixnaw, the O'Morras, and O'Connors Faly, were exempted.

The English still kept up hostilities in Ulster; Dockwra, governor of Lough Foyle, made himself master of Inisowen, the patrimony of O'Dogharty; and also pillaged the lands of Mac-Hugh Duff, from which he carried away a thousand head of cattle. He devastated too the possessions of the Mac-Sweenys, O'Boyle, Shane, son of Manus Ogue, O'Donnel, and O'Cahan, leaving everywhere traces of his cruelty. In this conduct he was ably seconded by Nial Garve O'Donnel, who forced feigned submission from most of those noblemen, who wished to escape his tyranny.

The deputy left Dublin in May, for Drogheda, where he arrived on the 23d of that month; on the 25th he proceeded to Dundalk, and on the 8th of June, passed through Moyri, where he had a fort built, which he garrisoned; having left his camp at Fagher, on the 14th, he passed through Newry, and on the 15th entered Iveagh, the country of the Magennises. While Sir Richard Morrison was taking the city of Down, the deputy entered Dundrum, which was given up to him by Felim Mac-Evir, to whom it belonged. This nobleman having made his submission, his example was followed by Mac-Cartane of Dufferin, and Mac-Roy of Killiwarlin. The deputy having ended his tour through Iveagh, where he took some castles without meeting any resistance, returned to Newry, from whence he sent orders to Sir Henry Danvers, commander of Mount Norris, to seize upon the abbey of Armagh, and put an English garrison into it; but Danvers failed in the attempt He was repulsed by the garrison, and forced to abandon his enterprise.

On hearing of Danvers' ill-success in his expedition against Armagh, the deputy marched towards Mount Norris, where he

* Pet. Lombard, ibid. pp. 452. 453.

was joined by the garrison. He then directed his march towards the river Blackwater, leaving Armagh on the right; visited the neighborhood of that river, particularly the spot in which marshal Bagnal's army had been defeated a few years before by O'Neill, and proceeded towards Armagh, which was abandoned by its feeble garrison on the approach of his powerful army. He therefore became master of it without opposition. The deputy left an English force in Armagh, consisting of one hundred horse and seven hundred and fifty foot, under Danvers; he then returned with the remainder of his army to Mount Norris, and encamped between that place and Newry, in expectation of a reinforcement from the English province.

The garrison of Armagh committed dreadful excesses through the surrounding country.* The detachments which sallied from it, pillaged and laid waste the lands of Brian Mac-Art, Magennis, Patrick Mac-Mahon, carrying away their cattle, forcing these noblemen to submit, in order to save their properties. The deputy having abandoned the neighborhood of Newry, marched his army towards Armagh. On the 13th July he arrived on the banks of the Blackwater, which he crossed the day following, unopposed by Tyrone, who had his army posted in a wood near the river. It was his design to avoid an engagement, and remain on the defensive, till the succors which he expected from Spain would arrive. On the 16th of the same month, the deputy sent Sir Christopher St. Laurence's regiment to the castle of Benburb, where it was attacked by the advanced guard of O'Neill; they fought briskly for three hours, within view of the English camp, though St. Laurence having received fresh assistance from that quarter, was superior in force. According to Cox, the English lost nearly a hundred men, and the Irish about two hundred: he adds, that it cannot be cause of wonder that the loss sustained by both was so unequal, as the English being better provided with ammunition, the fire of their musketry was more closely kept up than that of the Irish. After this combat, the deputy had a new fort built on the river Blackwater, near the old one which was destroyed, and garrisoned it with a company commanded by Captain Williams. At this time, the deputy issued a proclamation from the queen that her majesty would not grant any terms to O'Neill, and that whosoever would take him alive should receive two thousand pounds reward, or one thousand for his head.

Cox, Hist. of Ireland, ibid. p. 438.

In the beginning of April, eight hundred Catholics collected in Connaught, with the intention of marching into Munster, to raise a diversion in that quarter. They were headed by a portion of the Burkes, Hugh Mostian, and Peter Lacy; and the lord of Kerry, Teugue Reagh MacMahon, and others, prepared to join them by sea. Carew, the president of Munster, was greatly alarmed at this. He knew that Sir John Barkly, governor of Connaught, in the absence of Sir Arthur Savage, was not able to oppose the enemy; to avert, therefore, the danger which threatened his province, he dispatched Major-general Flower at the head of a thousand infantry, to dispute the passage with the Connaught troops. Flower marched into the county of Clare, where he was joined by the company of the earl of Thuomond; he next proceeded towards Quinn, and having met the enemy, who were marching carelessly and in separate bodies, he fought them with success, killed some of their leaders, and dispersed the remainder. Teugue, son of Torlogh O'Brien, a near relative to the earl of Thuomond, who had joined the Catholic army a few days before, fell on this occasion by the sword of the English, fighting nobly for his country's cause Ware and Cox, by whom this revolt of the Catholics of Connaught is mentioned, says they had fifteen hundred fighting men, including seven hundred from the north of Ireland, who were to act with them in the intended expedition. It is true the princes of Ulster, O'Neill and O'Donnel, at the request of Donagh MacCarty, prince of Alla, had sent seven hundred men towards Munster, under Teugue O'Rourke, and Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, to renew hostilities in that province, and revive the fallen courage of Desmond; but it does not, however, appear that they joined the Connaught forces. The Ulstermen having lost the prince of Alla on their march, who was killed by a ball from some English that lay in ambush, and having heard that the Connaught army was defeated, and that Desmond was taken prisoner, returned towards their own province. They were harassed on their march by the earl of Clanriccard, who received a wound in a skirmish with them, of which he died a fortnight afterwards.

The Catholic cause suffered considerably at this time, by the arrest of James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, commonly called earl of Desmond, and Florence MacCarty, of the illustrious house of MacCarty Riagh, who had married the daughter and heiress of MacCarty More, baron of Valentia, and earl

of Clancar. Desmond was taken about the end of May, in a cavern in the mountain of Slevegrot, by Fitzgibbon, chief of the Clangibbons, generally known as the White Knight, who gave him up to Carew in Cork. The knight had the baseness to accept of a thousand pounds from the president, as a reward for this infamous act. Florence MacCarty, who had become MacCarty More by the death of his father-in-law, in which dignity he had been confirmed by O'Neill, was arrested in Cork by orders of the president. These noblemen were sent, in the August following, under a strong guard, to the tower of London, where Desmond died after a confinement of seven years.* His brother John Fitzthomas fled to Spain after the battle of Kinsale, where he died, leaving a son called Garret, or Gerald, on whom his Catholic majesty conferred the title of count. James, son of Garret, the real heir to the title and estates of Desmond, remained for some time in Ireland, but not finding that his affairs were making much progress, he returned to England, where he died soon afterwards, not without suspicion of his having been poisoned Thus ended the illustrious family of Desmond who fell a sacrifice to their zeal in the cause of religion. There remain, however, still in Munster, many noble families of the name of Fitzgerald, who are descended from that house. The apprehensions of the president of Munster were not removed by the imprisonment of Desmond and Florence MacCarty; he knew that several noblemen of the province only waited the arrival of the Spaniards, to declare openly against the government. In order to defeat them in their hopes, he appointed the assizes to be held in Cork on the 28th of July, under pretence of trying civil and criminal causes, and clearing the prisons. In the mean time he sent circulars to all the nobility and landholders, requesting their attendance:† those whom he had principally in view, and whose allegiance he doubted, were, Dermod, son of Owen MacCarty, otherwise MacDonagh, Teugue, son of Dermod MacCarty, and brother to Cormac MacCarty, lord of Muskerry, Moilmo O'Maghon, (O'Mahony,) chief of the tribe of the O'Mahonys of Kinel-Meaky, and Dermod Moil MacCarty, brother to Florence MacCarty, already mentioned. The three first having repaired to the assizes, were immediately arrested and thrown into prison by orders of the president; the fourth, Dermod Moil MacCarty, more cautious than the others, refused to enter the city; his brother's fate was still present to his mind, and distrusting the English, he resolved to preserve his liberty, whatever might be the result. On hearing of the fate of his countrymen, he withdrew to his friends in Ulster.

The deputy crossed the Blackwater in the beginning of August, and proceeded towards Dungannon; but the badness of the road, and the frequent skirmishes he had to maintain against the troops of O'Neill, forced him to direct his march towards Armagh. Danvers was ordered with three hundred men to burn a village that lay in their march, but was driven back by O'Neill's troops, and pursued to the English camp in spite of the succors that were sent to him. Some days after this, the Irish advanced with a design of attacking the enemy in their camp, but the deputy being apprized of it, placed four hundred men in ambush, who falling on them in flank killed several of them, and among the number, Peter Lacy, lord of Bruff, in the county of Limerick. This nobleman was descended from a noble family who had come over under Henry II., in the twelfth century, and settled in Ireland; he was equally illustrious by his virtue as by his birth, and was, in the troubles of Ireland, one of the most zealous defenders of Catholicity. His memory ought to be dear to the Irish church, and the loss it sustained from his death was most severe. After this expedition, the deputy placed his troops in garrison, and returned to Newry.

During the stay of the deputy at Newry, Lord Plunket of Dunsany, who commanded a company in the queen's pay, set out from the fort of Liscannon, and proceeded to attack the estates of MacMahon, from which he was driving away sixteen hundred head of cattle, but MacMahon pursued him with a hundred and forty men, and obliged him to give up his booty, after a loss of about fifty men on each side.* Dockwra pushed his conquests into Ulster;† retook the castle of Derry, and made himself master of Donegal. He maintained a siege for some days against O'Donnel, who, however, raised it to relieve Kinsale. Edward Digges, who commanded two companies at Asherow, took Ballyshannon by surprise. The deputy came at the end of August to Trim, in the county of Meath, and brought the privy council from Dublin, to deliberate together on the general

* Pacat. Hib. lib. 2, cap. 3, page 135. Relat. Girald. cap 25.

† Pacat. Hib. cap. 7.

* The Count de Lacy in the service of the empress queen, and so well known for his military exploits, is descended from this illustrious house

† Cambd. Elizab. part 4, page 826.

state of affairs; particularly in order to counteract the intentions of Captain Tirrell, who was planning an attack upon Munster.

Such was the state of things about the end of August, 1601, between the Catholics of Ireland and the English. Munster had no longer any leaders after the imprisonment of Florence MacCarty and James Fitz'Thomas, who were the centre of their union and were now banished. The people of Leinster were broken down; Connaught was unable to attempt anything, and the only resources of the country lay in O'Neill and O'Donnel, whose forces were too few to stand against the English, and the unfaithful sons of Ireland. In a word, the country was exhausted of men and means, from having sustained for many years the burden of a war while waiting for assistance that came too late, while she herself was too weak to succeed.

Reports were spread at this time, that a Spanish fleet, with troops for Ireland, was at sea; which becoming known to the council of England,* reinforcements were immediately ordered for Ireland, and two thousand men were in consequence sent and landed, in September, at Cork and Waterford, while others were expected from England. The lord-deputy of Ireland and president of Munster, were not less alarmed than the council of England. On the 19th of September they met together at Leighlin, to deliberate on what measures they should adopt. From that they went to Kilkenny, and on the 23d they received an express from Sir Charles Wilmot at Cork, that the Spaniards had landed at Kinsale. Upon this news, Wingfield, the lord-marshal, was commanded to collect the troops in Leinster, and prepare ammunition and provisions for the army Sir Henry Danvers and Sir —— Berkly, were sent to Navan and Armagh, to lead the garrisons of these two places to Munster: and the deputy and president set out for Cork, which was the rendezvous. They arrived there on the 27th, and made the necessary preparations to besiege the Spaniards in Kinsale.

Philip III., king of Spain, was eager to perform the promises that were held out to the princes O'Neill and O'Donnel,† to relieve the oppressed Catholics of Ireland. For this object, he assembled what troops were necessary for the expedition, and gave the command of them to Dom Juan Del Aquila, a man well experienced in war. The fleet intended to convey the troops, was sent in the mean time to the islands of Terceira, for the protection of the galleons from America, which it was feared might be taken by an English fleet which had sailed for these islands also. This circumstance retarded the expedition to Ireland, and lessened both by desertion and sickness the army of Dom Juan. The fleet which was commanded by Dom Diego de Brochero, having returned from Terceira, the rest of the army embarked, and set sail for Ireland. As soon as the fleet had got into the open sea, it was dispersed and separated by a violent storm. One part of it, consisting of seven ships, laden principally with artillery and other warlike stores and provisions, was forced with the vice-admiral, Dom Pedro de Zubiaur, to take shelter in the port of Corunna, in Gallicia. The other portion, with Dom Juan and two thousand five hundred infantry, (a small force for so great an enterprise,) arrived with difficulty in the harbor of Kinsale, on the 23d of September. As soon as the Spaniards had landed, Captain William Saxeys, who commanded the English troops, withdrew to Cork. The inhabitants of Kinsale immediately after opened their gates to Dom Juan, who entered and took possession of the town.

Kinsale is a seaport situated in the county of Cork, on the shores of the river Bandon It is not a place of much strength; the entrance to the harbor is protected by two castles; that upon the left is called Casianne-Park, and on the right the castle of Rincharrain which signifies the point of a scythe, from its being built on the extremity of a tongue of land similar in form to that instrument. The Spanish general put a garrison into it with cannon taken from one of the ships, since the artillery intended for the invasion was on board that part of the fleet that had taken shelter at Corunna with Zubiaur.

Dom Juan was not secure at Kinsale, where he was, in fact, in need of everything: so he wrote to Spain by the fleet that was returning, and gave an account to the king, his master, of his voyage, and of the supplies he wanted. The Spanish general found none (except O'Sullevan) among the Catholics of Munster inclined to assist him. Some had been imprisoned, others gave hostages as a guarantee for their loyalty, and others opposed the cause of their country; so that there was none but O'Sullevan, prince of Bearre and Bantry, who could make any attempt in favor of the Spaniards. This prince sent an express to Dom Juan, that he and his friends would furnish him with a thousand armed men, and that they would procure further aid if that general could

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 10.
† Hist. Cathol vol. 3, book 6, cap. 7.



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supply them with arms; with which force he would be able to prevent the English from besieging Kinsale, while waiting for the aid from O'Neill and O'Donnel. The Spaniard answered prince O'Sullevan, that he could not supply them with arms, in consequence of his artillery being on board the vessels which Zubiaur had with him at Corunna, and that he was expecting to hear from the princes of Ulster. The general and Fra Matheo, titular archbishop of Dublin, who accompanied him from Spain, wrote to the princes of Ulster many letters after their arrival at Kinsale. The latter were eagerly solicited by the archbishop and the general, to march to their assistance with all expedition, and to bring horses, of which they were in extreme need.

The deputy waited in Cork for the return of the officers who had been sent to Leinster, Connaught, and the garrisons in Ulster, to collect the government forces; and at length Sir Benjamin Berry, Richard Wingfield, John Barkly, and Henry Danvers, arrived with their divisions. These troops amounted to about seven thousand six hundred men, comprising those of Munster. The English general marched with his army towards Kinsale, having changed his camp two or three times. The third time he encamped on Spittle hill, where he intrenched himself, within a musket-shot of that place; while at the same time, Button, the captain of a man-of-war, who had just escorted a vessel from Dublin laden with provisions, received orders to prevent any succors by sea from entering Kinsale.

Every thing being prepared, the English laid siege to Rinncharrain and Caslan-ne-Park successively; the former of which castles surrendered on the 1st, and the other on the 20th of November. The months of October and November were spent in skirmishing, the Spaniards making frequent sallies, and the English driving them back; the latter, if we can credit their historians, being always successful. The account, however, of a cotemporary writer is different.* According to him, the Spaniards fought valiantly during the day, in defending their walls, and by night they sallied forth, killing the sentinels and advanced guards of the English, and carrying off their cannon; by which means, continues he, the loss of the English always exceeded that of the Spaniards. Even could we suppose that the English had the advantage, the great disproportion in numbers between the besieged and besiegers would tend to lessen their boasted advantages considerably. There were but two thousand five hundred Spaniards in Kinsale, but we will admit even that there were four thousand; the principal strength of the place was from a wall with towers at certain distances: they had but three pieces of cannon, one which had been brought from one of their own vessels, and two were already in the town. The English appeared before Kinsale with seven thousand six hundred men; their army was increased soon after to eight thousand, a reinforcement having been brought from England by the loyal earl of Thuomond.* The English artillery was numerous, and skilfully worked; their camp abounded with provisions; Captain Button guarded the mouth of the harbor till the arrival of an English squadron of ten vessels under Admiral Richard Levison and Sir Amias Preston, vice-admiral, who were incessantly pouring broadsides on the town, while the army attacked it by land; and still the siege of Kinsale lasted from the 17th October, to the 9th of January following.

Vice-Admiral Dom Pedro Zubiaur, who was forced by a storm to touch with his seven ships at Corunna, in Gallicia, arrived on the coast of Ireland, December 3d. This officer entered a harbor called Cuan-an-caislan, in English Castle Haven, in Carbry, about twenty miles from Kinsale, where they were kindly received by five brothers of the O'Driscols, to whom the country belonged, and who gave him up one of their castles.†

The news of the Spaniards having arrived at Castle Haven being spread, the deputy commanded Admiral Levison to engage them. Without losing a moment he sailed with six ships and some troops on board; having reached Castle Haven he found the Spanish vessels unguarded by their crews, who were sleeping, and fatigued after a long voyage. The Spaniards being roused by the cannon of the English, which began to play upon their ships and upon the castle, returned, though in a confused manner, the fire with their artillery, and supported an engagement during two days, in which the English lost five hundred and seventy-five men.

The English admiral not succeeding to his wishes in his attack upon their vessels, was about to land his troops and attack the Spaniards who were on shore; but from this he was deterred by seeing them reinforced by the prince of Bearre with five hundred men, all ready to oppose him. He immediately sailed from Castle Haven, for Kinsale, where

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid. c. 8.

he vainly boasted of having been successful in his expedition.

Many of the surrounding nobility took up arms to join the Spaniards; the principal among whom were Finin O'Driscol and several others of the same name: the Mac-Cartys of Carbry; Domnal O'Sullevan Bearre; the eldest son of O'Sullevan More; Domnal Mac-Carty, son of the earl of Glancar, and other branches of the Mac-Cartys of Desmond; the O'Donavans and O'Mahonys of Carbry; John O'Connor Kierry; the knight of Kerry, and others.

The number of Spanish troops that landed at Castle Haven did not exceed seven hundred men, but a hope of further aid sustained the Catholics and made them anticipate the moments of their freedom. To convince the Spaniards of their sincerity, the Irish delivered up to them the strong places along the coast for garrisons. Donagh O'Driscol had already given them his castle of Castle Haven; Finin O'Driscol gave them the castle of Donneshed at Baltimore, and that of Donnelong on the island of Innisherkan, which commanded the entrance to the harbor. Domnal O'Sullevan surrendered them the strong castle of Duin Buith, otherwise Dunboy, which protected the harbor of Beerhaven. Among these castles were distributed, by orders of Dom Juan Del Aquila, the artillery and the seven hundred Spaniards who had landed at Castle Haven.

During the expedition of Levison at Castle Haven, a Scotch vessel entered the harbor of Kinsale; this ship was separated at sea from the Spanish fleet, and had eighty Spanish soldiers on board. The commander, who was a Scotchman, informed Vice-Admiral Preston and treacherously surrendered to him his cargo.

The princes of Ulster did not forget their promises to Dom Juan Del Aquila. They used every exertion to march to the relief of Kinsale. The distance was about eighty leagues, and the roads very bad from the continued rains. O'Donnel marched first with his army, amounting to two thousand six hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry. The leaders of this force were* O'Rourke, Mac-Sweeny Tueth, O'Dogharty, O'Boyle, Mac-Dermot, the two Mac-Donaghs, O'Kelly, the two sons of O'Connor Roe, Domnal, brother of O'Connor Sligoe, Raymond Burke, baron, and his brother William, the two brothers of O'Donnel, the two O'Flahertys, Hugh Moystian, Fitz-Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, John Fitz-Thomas, brother to the pretended earl of Desmond, Fitz-Gerald, knight of the Glynn, Dermod Moyle Mac-Carty, brother of Laurence, who was sent prisoner to the tower, and several others.

The news of O'Donnel's march alarmed the English. The lord-deputy summoned a council to deliberate on measures for intercepting this prince's communication with Munster: and the president Carew was appointed to this trust. He set out accordingly with four thousand five hundred infantry and five hundred cavalry, and advanced towards Ormond, where O'Donnel was to pass. After a march of a few days he stopped at Ardmail, to the north of Cashel. O'Donnel had already entered the county of Tipperary, through Ikerin, the country of the O'Meaghers, and encamped at Holy-Cross, not far from Ardmail, where the president was stationed. The prince of Tirconnel wished to avoid fighting, and to deceive the enemy, he lighted a number of fires in the camp, and began his march before day. He took his route through Slieve Phelim, along the side of the Shannon, and got into the county of Limerick through the defiles of the abbey of Owney, and from thence to the districts of the O'Moel Ryans, and reached the castle of Crome, which was twelve miles farther on, so that, on a calculation, he marched in one day thirty-two miles, a very arduous exploit for an army followed by their baggage. The president being informed of O'Donnel's movement, marched with his forces the same day, and crossed the country as far as the abbey of Owney, for the purpose of intercepting him, but understanding that he had passed the defiles of Connillo, he gave up the pursuit and returned to the camp at Kinsale, taking a shorter route, in order to be before O'Donnel, to prevent any communication between whom and the Spanish garrison he likewise drew to the camp the earls of Clanriccard and Thuomond, who were sent by the deputy, one with his regiment, the other with a troop of horse, to his assistance.

Prince O'Neill set out from Tyrone, in the month of November, at the head of about three thousand men, to assist the Spaniards. The nobles who accompanied him were Mac-Mahon of Monaghan; Coconaght Maguire of Fermanagh, whose eldest brother had been killed some time before in the county of Cork, in a skirmish with St. Leger; Raynald Mac-Donnel, prince of Gline, Captain Richard Tirrell, Magennis of Iveagh, and some others. O'Neill, on his march through the county of Meath, met some opposition from the Anglo-Irish; Darcy, the lord of Plattin, being killed in the skirmish

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 9.

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He continued his march, however, and on the 8th of December he arrived in the county of Cork, within a few leagues of the English camp. O'Donnel was expecting him in the district of Kinel Meaky, and these two princes encamped together on the 21st, between Cork and Kinsale, within a league of the English army.

The united forces of O'Neill and O'Donnel amounted to six thousand Irish, besides three hundred Spaniards, who had come from Castle Haven, under the command of O'Sullevan of Bearre and Dom Alphonso de la Campo. Their object was not to attack the English army, who were fifteen or sixteen thousand strong, a disproportion in numbers far too great; they only proposed to themselves to throw in succor to the Spaniards, and enable them to hold out till the inclemency of the season must of course force the English to raise the siege, whereby the Spanish general would have the opportunity to await further reinforcements from Spain. This was the subject of several letters from Dom Juan to the princes O'Neill and O'Donnel. They were advised by him to draw near the English camp, the Spanish general proposing to make a sortie on a day appointed, and by this means facilitate the above plan. Some of the letters, however, being intercepted by the English, the deputy ordered the guards to be doubled, and every thing to be put into a more secure state of defence.

O'Neill, according to the plans fixed upon, made a movement on the night of the 23d of December. On approaching the part occupied by the English, he heard a noise of arms and warlike instruments, as if a battle were going on; and proceeding immediately to the place that had been named by Dom Juan for making his sally against the English, he found to his surprise that the enemy had returned into camp. At break of day he advanced a little to view their position more closely, but discovered that all was quiet, and no attack made by the garrison. Judging from this that what he heard was for the purpose of inducing him to an assault, he ordered his men to return, postponing his plans to another day. O'Donnel was engaged at the same time with a body of English horse that had crossed the river; he forced them to retreat, but intending to surround them, he left the pass unguarded, and the English pretending to give way, returned quickly to charge his infantry, which threw them into a sudden panic; so that their ranks being broken and beginning to fly, their leader found it impossible to rally them. The English horse pursued those that were flying; but an apprehension of falling into an ambuscade, prevented them from continuing the pursuit. They, however, boasted having gained a complete victory over the rebels; but the only advantage that they obtained was that they prevented the Irish from joining with the Spanish garrison, which, indeed, arose not from English valor, but a want of order among the Irish troops.

O'Neill lost in the expedition about two hundred men. According to the English historians his loss amounted to twelve hundred in killed, eight hundred wounded, and a number of prisoners, among whom was Alfonso del Campo, who commanded the Spaniards. The prince of Tyrone having failed in his plans, and seeing the season too advanced to continue the campaign, returned to his own province to await a more favorable opportunity. Roderick, to whom his brother O'Donnel gave the command of his army, marched for Tirconnel. He was attacked in West Meath by the English of Ballimore Loch-Sindil, who thought to prevent him passing; but this militia of citizens was cut to pieces, and two hundred of them slain by O'Donnel's cavalry. O'Rourke being informed that his brother Thadeus intended, in his absence, to make himself master of Brefny, hastened to support his right against the usurper. Other chiefs of the Irish forces following the example, the Catholic army in Munster was reduced to a small body of Munstermen and Spaniards, commanded by O'Sullevan prince of Bearre, who kept with him Captain Richard Tirrell, William Burke, and a few other officers.

The English having nothing more to fear from the Catholic army, returned to their camp before Kinsale, and made great rejoicings for their victory. The noise of their firing induced Dom Juan to march a part of the garrison to assist (as he thought) the reinforcement he was expecting, and which he imagined was engaged with the English. Seeing his error, however, he marched back into the town. It is worthy of remark, that the Spanish commander of Kinsale, whether from his having a knowledge of an action being fought near the town, or not, did not lead out his troops as had been previously agreed upon between him and O'Neill. The author of the "*Pacata Hibernia*"* mentions, on the authority of the earl of Thuomond, a singular prophecy respecting the battle of Kinsale. "There is no one less credulous than I am in this sort of prediction, which

* Book 2, cap. 21, p. 235.

is generally forged after things alluded to occur; but as this has been verified by the event, I think the mention of it may be admitted. I have frequently heard the earl of Thuomond say to the lord-deputy and others, that he read, in an old Irish book, a prophecy which marked the day and place, near Kinsale, where a battle would be fought between the English and Irish, in which the former would be victorious." If this prophecy were not forged by the earl of Thuomond, it proved at least to be in accordance with his desires, and he cannot be reproached with any endeavor to counteract its fulfilment.

While the English were vigorously pushing forward the siege of Kinsale, Hugh O'Donnel, after giving the command of his troops to his brother Roderick, embarked for Spain with Redmond Burke, Hugh Mostian, and others. Dom Juan not finding himself equal to hold out any longer, sent, on the last day of December, a letter, by his drum-major, offering to capitulate, which proposal was accepted by the English general, who immediately dispatched Sir William Godolphin to treat with the Spanish commander upon the articles of surrender; the principal of which were, that Dom Juan should give up to the deputy every place which he was in possession of in the province of Munster, viz., Kinsale, Castle Haven, Baltimore, Bearehaven, and Dunboy, and that the deputy should furnish transport vessels to convey Dom Juan to Spain, together with his forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, &c., and with colors flying. This capitulation was signed on one part by Dom Juan, and on the other by the deputy, the president of Munster, the earls of Thuomond and Clanriccard, Richard Wingfield, Robert Gardiner, George Bourchier, and Richard Levison.

The surrender of Kinsale had different effects on the Irish Catholics and the English. The latter were disgusted with the siege; independently of the inclemency of the season, it being the month of January, they had provisions for only six days; their treasury was exhausted, their warlike stores worn out, and their artillery not fit for effecting a breach.* Nearly half of the English army—which, in the beginning of the siege, amounted to sixteen thousand men—had fallen, either by the sword of the enemy, or disease. The English fleet in the bay had suffered as much as the army on land. The deputy, therefore, having consulted with his council, considered the capitulation proposed by the Spanish general as the only means of saving the remainder of his army, and avoiding the disgrace of raising a siege which had been already so fatal to him.

On the other hand, the possession of Kinsale was of the first importance to the Catholic cause in Ireland; the garrison under Dom Juan amounted to two thousand five hundred men, well provided with ammunition and provisions, and supported by the garrisons of Baltimore, Castle Haven, and Bearhaven; so that from the state of the English, he might have held out till the arrival of succors from Spain, which would also have given time to O'Neill and the other Irish princes to assemble in the spring. The surrender, therefore, of Kinsale and its dependencies, by shutting out all foreign aid, would necessarily injure the cause they wished to defend. O'Sullevan Bearre, apprehensive of these consequences, took possession of the castle of Dunboy, which belonged to him, but which he had given up as a garrison for the Spaniards on their arrival in the country. Being determined, therefore, that this fortress should not be surrendered to the enemy, he got Thomas Fitzmaurice, lord of Lixnaw, Domnal Mac-Carty, Captain Richard Tirrell, and William Burke, with some troops, into the castle by night, and took possession of the gates, without committing any hostility towards the Spaniards. He immediately dispatched Dermod O'Driscol to the king of Spain, entreating of his majesty to be convinced that his motives were honorable in the taking of Dunboy; and complained vehemently in his letter of the capitulation which Dom Juan had entered into with the English, calling it wretched, execrable, and inhuman.

O'Donnel, who had sailed for Spain after the battle of Kinsale, was received on his arrival at Corunna, in Gallicia, with every mark of distinction, by the Count de Caracena, governor of the province, who brought him to his palace, and gave him precedence at all his assemblies, an honor he would not concede in his governorship, to any duke or peer of the realm.* The king of Spain, when informed of O'Donnel's arrival, wrote instructions to the Count de Caracena, respecting the reception he was to receive; and alluded, in the same letter, to the affairs of Ireland, affirming that he would support the Catholics of that country at the risk even of his crown O'Donnel having recovered from his fatigues, took leave of his host, who presented him with a thousand ducats; he then continued his route for Compostella, where he was honorably received by the archbishop and

* Pacat. Hib ibid. cap. 23, p. 244. Hist. Cathol. ibid.

* Pac. Hib. ibid. cap. 28, p. 268, et seq. Pacat. Hib. ibid c. 27, p. 266.

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citizens; on the 29th of January, the prelate offered up a solemn high mass, at which the prince of Tirconnel was present, and received the holy communion, after which the prelate entertained him at a magnificent banquet, and gave him a thousand ducats to continue his journey. O'Donnel having arrived at court, was received by the king and all his courtiers: his majesty gave the necessary orders for an expedition to Ireland, and the troops intended for it began to march towards Corunna

Dom Juan de Aquila, the Spanish general, was still in Ireland;* he sailed, however, with the remainder of his forces from Kinsale for Spain, on the 16th of March, with a fair wind. On arriving at Corunna, being suspected of having acted dishonorably in Ireland, he was arrested by order of the king, and confined to his own house, where he soon afterwards died of grief. The suspicions formed against Dom Juan were founded on the facility with which he surrendered to the English Kinsale, and the other towns in which the Spaniards were: also on the friendliness of a correspondence which he kept up with the deputy and Carew, and the reciprocal presents that were made between them, and finally, upon his having furnished passports to the English, who went from Ireland to Spain under pretence of trading, but who, in reality, were spies that brought home an account of all that was passing in Spain, relative to the affairs of Ireland: on proof of which an English officer, called Walter Edney, was arrested at Corunna. He had freighted a vessel at Cork, for Spain, and was provided with a letter of introduction and presents from the deputy to Dom Juan; but the latter having already fallen into disgrace, the deputy's plan was defeated; the Count de Caracena profited by the presents that were sent, and his letters, passports, and papers were forwarded to the Spanish court.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Pope Clement VIII. wrote a letter at this time to Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, complimenting him on the confederacy which he had established among the Irish princes, for the defence of the Catholic religion against the reformers.

The lord-deputy having ended his campaign in Munster, set out for Dublin, having appointed Sir Richard Percy counsellor for that province. He left Cork on the 9th of March, accompanied by the president Carew, slept at Clone with John FitzEdmonds, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood; and then proceeded to Waterford, where he created Edward Gough and Richard Aylward knights; both of whom were noble, and old inhabitants of that city. The deputy arrived at Kilkenny on the 24th of March, (which at that time was the last day of the year,) slept at the earl of Ormond's, and arranged matters of government with the president. He fell sick here, and had himself carried to Dublin in a litter, in which city he arrived on the 28th of the same month.

The English troops in Ireland, A. D. 1602, amounted, notwithstanding their losses in the late campaign, to sixteen thousand nine hundred and fifty infantry, and a thousand four hundred and eighty-seven cavalry. The deputy, after having reviewed them, put them into convenient garrisons till the next campaign.

In the beginning of June the deputy assembled his forces and marched into Ulster, where he got a bridge built over the Blackwater, with a fort which he called Charlemont, after his own name, and in which he placed Captain Caulfield with a garrison of a hundred and fifty men. He sent the regiment of Sir Richard Morison to make themselves masters of Dungannon, but the inhabitants of the place, on the approach of the English, set fire to it and reduced it to ashes, together with the beautiful castle of Tyrone. The deputy repaired thither with the remainder of his army, where he was joined by Dockwra.

The prince of Tyrone withdrew to Castle Roe, on the river Bann. The English laid the whole country waste as far as Inniskillen; they made themselves masters of Magherlowny isle, where O'Neill had a magazine, and took another island, in which they found three pieces of English cannon. Dockwra, who commanded a garrison at Ony, received orders to harass O'Neill in Dungeven in Araghty Cahan; while Chichester, who led the troops from the garrison of Carrickfergus, brought the regiment of Morrison to occupy Toome, and the deputy himself guarded the road to Killetro; but in spite of these plans, and the great superiority of the enemy, O'Neill, with six hundred foot and sixty horse, marched from Castle Roe, and reached Lough Earne unmolested. Being incapable of resisting the enemy openly, he remained on the defensive; for which pur

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. c. 30. p 278.

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pose he chose an inaccessible spot, called Gleannchonkein, near Lough Earne, where he intrenched himself in a manner that left him nothing to fear. The deputy hearing of this, contented himself with ravaging the surrounding country, and with breaking, at Talloghoge, the stone which was used as the inauguration seat of O'Neill.*

The lord-deputy, satisfied with his exploits in the north, repaired to Newry on the 11th September, whence he set out for Dublin, leaving Ulster to the care of Dockwra, Danvers, and Chichester.† In November he undertook an expedition to Connaught, to quell the disturbances that agitated that province. Sir Oliver Lambert had already expelled the Burkes, with MacWilliam, their chief, from the county of Mayo.‡ The deputy now granted protection to O'Connor Sligoe, Rory O'Donnel, the O'Flahertys, MacDermots, O'Connor Roe, and others. The only chieftains that remained steadfastly attached to the cause of Tyrone, were O'Rourke, Maguire, and Captain Tirrell. The deputy had the fort of Galway completed, and gave orders to send three different bodies of troops in pursuit of O'Rourke; he then returned to Dublin, whence he dispatched succor to Chichester, to enable him to oppose Brian MacArt, who had entered Killulta at the head of five hundred men. Chichester executed his commission with such cruelty, that a famine was the consequence. Cox says, "children were seen to feed upon the flesh and entrails of their mothers, who died of hunger," and adds, that "the famine in Jerusalem was not more severe than what the rebels suffered on this occasion."§

Notwithstanding that Dom Juan Del Aquila surrendered to the English the towns which he held in Munster, the inhabitants did not give up their arms, holding still the hope of receiving new succors from Spain. Those English authors who never let pass any opportunity of inspiring their readers with contempt for a people that wish to escape from their tyranny, have filled their writings with such injurious and insulting statements as should destroy, in the mind of the discerning and impartial reader, all respect for them.‖ Their language on this occasion is as follows: "the rebels spread themselves everywhere, particularly through the districts of Carbry, Bearre, Desmond, and Kerry. No place escapes them; they have become desperate from their crimes; they look upon themselves as children of perdition, and unworthy of her majesty's pardon." These are phrases in accordance with the imperious character of the English, who imagine that the world should obey them. The Irish whom they thus describe as rebels and children of perdition, did not seek the clemency of Elizabeth; they, on the contrary, took up arms to defend their country against her tyranny and usurpation.

Daniel O'Sullevan, prince of Bearre, became chief of the Catholic league in Munster after the surrender of Kinsale and the retreat of the princes of Ulster. This prince, illustrious for his virtue and his birth, was in possession of Dunboy, and omitted nothing to put that fortress into a state of defence. The nobles who espoused with him the common cause, were Daniel MacCarty, son of the earl of Clancar; Daniel, son of O'Sullevan More; Cornelius and Dermod O'Driscol; Dermod O'Sullevan; Dermod, Donagh, and Florence MacCarty, of the family of MacCarty Riagh; MacSweeny, Donagh O'Driscol, and his brothers. The prince of Bearre was also joined by O'Connor Kerry, MacMaurice, baron of Lixnaw the knight of Kerry, the knight of Glynn John Fitzgerald, brother of the earl, James Butler, brother to the baron of Cahir, William Burke, Captains Richard MacGeoghegan and Richard Tirrell. The former was appointed to command the fortress of Dunboy, the latter to lead the army of observation.

This confederacy caused great alarm to the English; the president Carew ordered her majesty's troops to assemble at Cork; and the old and modern Irish who were loyal to the court party, were also commanded to meet. The principal among these were O'Brien, earl of Thuomond; MacCarty Riagh, prince of Carbry; MacCarty of Muskerry; Barry, Viscount Buttevant; O'Donovan; Fitzgibbon, called the White Knight; Owen O'Sullevan, the cousin, but inveterate enemy of O'Sullevan, prince of Bearre; Dermod, brother of O'Sullevan More; and Donagh and Florence MacCarty, who deserted O'Sullevan Bearre. These auxiliaries and the English troops amounted to more than four thousand men. In March a detachment of two thousand five hundred infantry and fifty cavalry, was sent under the command of the earl of Thuomond, who was commanded by the deputy to scour the countries of Carbry, Bearre, and Bantry; to burn all the corn, to take away the cattle,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 12
† Ware, ibid. cap. 45.
‡ Cox, ibid. page 448.
§ Cox, page 449.
‖ Facat Hib. book 3, cap. 1

and commit every species of hostility upon the rebellious inhabitants, but to spare those who surrendered, among whom were O'Driscol, O'Donovan, and the sons of Sir Owen MacCarty. The earl likewise had orders to attack the castle of Dunboy; to reinforce the corps of Captains Flower and Harvy, and to pursue O'Sullevan Bearre, Tirrell, Dermod Moyle MacCarty, and the O'Crowlies. Thuomond being unable to act against Dunboy, in consequence of Captain Tirrell's light troops having possession of the mountains of Bearre, took post temporarily with Captain Flower, in an island called Fuidi or Whiddy, in the bay of Bantry. He left with him his own company, and those of Sir John Dowdal, Lord Barry, and Captains Kingsmill, Bostock, and Bradbury, making in the whole seven hundred men; after which he returned to Cork, to give the president an account of his expedition. After Thuomond's departure, Captain Flower intrenched himself in Whiddy Island, but fearing an attack from O'Sullevan, who cut off the communication, the English captain withdrew from it, after guarding it for two months. In his retreat he was pursued by O'Sullevan, who killed several of his men.

The lord-president determined to besiege Dunboy, and set out the 23d of April from Cork, with more than 5000 men, besides the body of troops that was under Wilmot, in the county of Kerry. He arrived on the last day of the month, near Bantry, and encamped for a while on the plain of Gurtin-Rua, both to keep the enemy in check, and to await the arrival of eighteen ships of war and some transport vessels that were expected from Cork and England, and were to meet in Bantry bay. These were destined to carry troops and artillery to the island of Bearre, where Dunboy was situated, and which the English general intended to be iege. Richard MacGeoghegan, descended from the ancient and noble house of Moycashel, was appointed by the prince of Bearre to the command of this castle; he had under him but one hundred and twenty infantry. The English assert that the garrison consisted of one hundred and forty chosen men. By their valiant defence of Dunboy, they have well merited the name and character of heroes.

In the mean time Wilmot was successful in Kerry; after Kinsale had surrendered, he was sent with seventeen hundred infantry and a troop of horse, into that part of the country, and surprised, between Askeaton and Glynn, Hugh MacSweeny with two hundred men, of whom he killed twelve, and put the rest to flight. He advanced towards Carrygfoyle, which he found deserted, and took possession, giving the command of it to Captain Collum. Wilmot afterwards crossed the river Cashin, in spite of John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, the young Captain Tirrell, Hugh MacSweeny, Owen O'Maily, Rory and Phelim O'Connor, and Gerald Fitzmaurice, brother of the baron. They assembled at Lixnaw with five hundred infantry and some horse, to dispute his passage. The English captain laid siege to the castle of Lixnaw, which was garrisoned by forty-five men, who were determined to defend it, but want of water obliged them to capitulate. The forts of Ballyhow, castle Gregory, and Rahane, which belonged to the knight of Kerry, surrendered to Wilmot; after which he marched into Desmond, as far as the castle of Listre, where he encamped, being unable to proceed from the badness of the roads. Wilmot received an order here, to arrange his affairs in Kerry, and march to join the president on a certain day.

The fleet which was expected from Cork, arrived on the 11th of May,* in the bay of Bantry, freighted with all kinds of ammunition and provisions. This event caused universal joy to the English, who were beginning to be in need of everything. Wilmot's corps joined the grand army on the same day. On the 14th, the president assembled his principal officers, to concert measures for leading the army to Beerhaven;† when it was unanimously determined to carry the troops first to the great island in the bay, and from thence to Bearre.

In consequence of this decision of the council, they struck their tents on the 31st May, and after putting their sick, who were numerous, into hospital, the army marched to Kilnamenoghe upon the sea-shore, in the district of Muintirvarry, where they encamped. On the 1st of June, the earl of Thuomond and General Wilmot embarked with their regiments for the great island; on the 2d, the regiment of Piercy embarked, which was followed by the president and the rest of the army; after which the artillery was sent. The president proceeded with caution, and before he began the siege of Dunboy, resolved to secure the places in his rear. The Catholics had left some soldiers in the castle of Dunmanus, whom it was deemed prudent for this purpose to dislodge. Owen O'Sullevan was appointed by the English general to effect the dislodgment,

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 4.
† Pacat. Hib. cap. 5.

and the two brothers, traitors to their country, marched with a detachment to Dunmanus, surprised the castle, and after killing four of the garrison, and making themselves masters of it, gave it up to plunder.

Richard MacGeoghegan, commander of the castle of Dunboy, is represented by an English writer as having had an interview on the great island where the English troops were then posted, with the earl of Thuomond. After speaking on the subject in a mysterious manner, he has this passage, "But of this I am sure, that the earl's meeting with him was not without the president's knowledge and allowance; all the eloquence and artifice which the earl could use, however, availed nothing, for MacGeoghegan was resolved to persevere in his conduct."

It appears that the president was in the habit of resorting to dishonorable means for seducing those whom he had to fear most among his enemies. He met among the Irish themselves agents obsequious to his wishes. He had already sent, through Owen O'Sullevan, a pressing letter to the cannoniers of Dunboy. These were three in number, two Spaniards and an Italian, whom O'Sullevan Bearre, when he became master of the castle, took into his pay. The deputy proposed to reward them liberally if they would spike the cannon and break the carriages when the siege would have commenced; but they proved themselves honorable to their trust, and incapable of being influenced by his bribes.

The president having failed in the overtures made to the governor of Dunboy, sent his troops from the great to the lesser island, which was within about a hundred paces of Bearre, a position that afforded him the opportunity of viewing more closely the movements of the enemy. The Catholics were too few to be able to guard the entire coast; they therefore confined themselves to one point, and intrenched themselves where they thought the landing would be attempted. To deceive them as to the place where this would be tried, the president encamped on the opposite side to them, with his own regiment and that of the earl of Thuomond. At the same time the regiments of Percy and Wilmot were sent to the extreme end of the island, and landed between two rocks near Castledermot; having done which, they formed themselves in order of battle. The Catholics having discovered their error, immediately left their intrenchment, and proceeded to where the landing was effected; but being retarded by the winding of the coast, the English had time to pass over their artillery. The Catholics charged the enemy with great bravery; the battle lasted for some time, but being overpowered with numbers, and galled by the enemy's cannon, they lost twenty-eight of their men killed, while Captain Tirrell and a few more were wounded. The English rested upon their arms that night in the field of battle.

A vessel was sent in the mean time by the court of Spain, to Kilmokillock, near Ardea, to discover if the castle of Dunboy still held out for his Catholic majesty. There were some passengers on board; among whom was a friar named James Nelanus, and Owen MacEggan, who was appointed by the pope, bishop of Ross and apostolical vicar of Ireland. This friar brought with him twelve thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among the chiefs of the confederacy, and some warlike stores. He was sent by the Spanish court to assure the Catholics that the reinforcements intended for Ireland would be speedily forwarded, and that two thousand troops had already assembled at Corunna for that purpose. The confederates, trusting to the promises given them, formed the resolution of supporting the siege of Dunboy against the English, and forwarded dispatches to the king of Spain, to assure his majesty of their determination. Brien O'Kelly, and Donogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, sailed on the 15th of June, 1603, for Spain, with these dispatches of the confederates. After this O'Sullevan Bearre sent part of the ammunition that had come from Spain, to strengthen the garrison of Dunboy.

Owen MacEggan, the apostolical vicar, at this time wrote a letter to Richard MacGeoghegan, commander of the castle of Dunboy, couched in the following words:—"The high character which you sustain gives me delight, and I have great confidence, with the assistance of the Lord, in the just cause which you defend. I would be particularly anxious to confer with you and your companions, and inform you of the state of things in Spain. Be assured, that nothing in this world is more acceptable to the king than your proceedings; you know how pleasing they are to God, and how important to our country. You will have, in a few days, fresh succors from Spain—the grand army, consisting of fourteen thousand men, is ready to march. You all will be well rewarded by his Catholic majesty, while waiting the reward which God prepares for you in heaven. I came from Rome to the court of Spain with a father of the society, who has been appointed the pope's nuncio; and who will

arrive in that quality with the Spanish army."

The deputy knew how important it would be to reduce the castle of Dunboy. It was the only place of moment which the Catholics of Munster still retained : it served them as an arsenal and a depôt, and secured the means of holding a communication with Spain.* He marched, therefore, to within a mile of Dunboy, where his army encamped. Accompanied by Wilmot and a corps of infantry, he proceeded to reconnoitre the castle, and to seek a platform on which to erect a battery; but the musketry of the castle forced him and his attendants to return to their camp.

The English general, anxious to shelter his troops, and to make the artillery advance against the castle, caused a trench to be opened. The work was frequently interrupted by the besieged, who continually sallied out and kept up a constant fire from the castle. The English at length established their trench within a hundred and forty paces of the place. A battery of five pieces of cannon was then raised, which played upon the castle, while two falconets, placed on a point of land, destroyed the outworks. The president, in the mean time, sent Captain John Bostock, Owen O'Sullevan, and Lieutenant Downings, with a hundred and sixty men to attack Dorsies Island. There was a small fort in it belonging to the Catholics, and garrisoned by forty men. After a vigorous defence from the besieged, the English made themselves masters of this fort, and found in it a few barrels of powder, three pieces of cannon, and some warlike stores. Four of the besieged were killed in the action, two were wounded, and the rest made prisoners. These latter were executed immediately afterwards, though they had surrendered. The cruelty of the English was not confined to the defenders of the castle ; they massacred, without distinction, all the inhabitants of the island. A mother and the infant on her breast were murdered ; the children were barbarously stabbed, and raised half dead on pikes, for a spectacle ; others were tied, hand and foot, and thrown from the top of lofty rocks into the sea. This is but a faint description of the cruelties exercised by the English upon the inhabitants of Ireland—a specimen of the way in which they reformed the morals of the people.

The English battery played incessantly upon the castle of Dunboy Part of it had already fallen, and the besiegers supposing that the breach was effected, an attack was ordered. They were repulsed, however, with vigor; several were killed on both sides, and the English were forced to retire. The fire from the battery was still kept up, by which a part of the vault fell in, and drew those that surrounded it into the ruins. The besiegers entered in crowds upon the breach, and renewed the battle, but, as before, without success ; they were driven off with heavy loss, and hurled from the top of the breach : a third attack was equally unsuccessful as the two first ; for after gaining the hall of the castle, the English were forced to abandon it. It will be admitted that the garrison of Dunboy, which consisted of but one hundred and forty-three fighting men, must have been considerably weakened from the continued assaults of the enemy. It might, indeed, be supposed, that they would easily have been crushed by the overwhelming force of five thousand men with a powerful artillery ; and though the efforts of the brave Captain Tirrell, with his flying camp, frequently alarmed the English, they were not sufficient to save the garrison from the unhappy lot that awaited them

The president, Carew, seeing the obstinate and determined defence the castle of Dunboy maintained, ordered a fourth attack, better planned than the preceding ones. For this purpose a body of fresh troops was chosen, taken by lot from the regiment of the lord-president ; this body was to be supported by the remainder of the same regiment, and that of the earl of Thuomond, while those of Percy and Wilmot had orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, both to protect the camp, and to act with the others if necessary. The English artillery continued to play upon the castle from five in the morning until nine, when a turret of the castle, in which there was a falconet which greatly annoyed the English battery, was seen to fall. However, the firing was kept up still against one of the fronts of the castle till one in the afternoon, when the breach being effected, and the plan of assault fixed upon, the detachment which was to begin the attack advanced ; the Catholics disputed the entrance by the breach for a long time, but were at length forced to yield to the overwhelming numbers of the English, who planted their standards on one of the turrets. Roused by despair, the besieged renewed the battle, and fought with desperation until night, sometimes in the vaults of the castle, sometimes in the great hall, the cellars, and on the stairs, so that blood flowed in every quarter : several of the besieged fell during the attack, among whom was Mac-Geoghegan, their commander, whose

* Pac. Hib. cap. 8.

valor equalled the greatness of his mind and high birth.* The castle was not yet in the possession of the English ; they returned to the assault the day following, and pretending a desire to spare the further effusion of blood, terms were proposed to the besieged. The few belonging to the garrison who escaped the preceding day having lost their chief, and being unequal to defend the castle, accepted the proposed conditions of having their lives spared. Richard Mac-Geoghegan, the commander, however, although mortally wounded, would not listen to any terms ;† and seeing the English enter in crowds, he rose up, though already struggling with death, and snatching a lighted match, made an effort to fire a barrel of powder which was placed near him ; his intention being to blow up both himself and the enemy, rather than surrender. He was prevented, however, by a Captain Power, in whose arms he was basely and inhumanly stabbed by the English soldiers. Mac-Geoghegan knew that no confidence could be placed in any treaty with the English, and preferred to die fighting, rather than surrender to men in whose honor he could repose no trust. "*The whole number of the ward consisting of one hundred and forty-three chosen fighting men, being the best of all their forces, of the which no man escaped, but were either slain, executed, or buried in the ruins.*" This garrison was not composed of mere mercenary soldiers, taken by lot, but of men of honor and principle, who willingly laid down their lives in defence of their religion and country : the English themselves admit, *that so obstinate and resolved a defence hath not been seen within this kingdom.*‡ They were worthy to have been citizens of ancient Sparta, from the mode in which they sacrificed themselves for the good of their country ; and if their example has not been followed by others, it will be at least a subject of reproach and self-confusion to those of their countrymen who took up arms against them. The siege of Dunboy lasted for fifteen days. It cost the English, according to some authors, a loss of six hundred men, more or less. Authors differ on it, and also respecting the time of this event ; some say it was in June, others in September ; the castle, however, was, by orders of the president, razed to the ground after four days, and not a vestige of it suffered to remain.§

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

† Pacat. Hib. ibid. p. 316. Hist. Cathol. ibid. page 184.

‡ Pacat. Hib. ibid. Cox, Hist. of Ireland, pp. 450, 451.

§ Hist. Cathol. ibid.

The Spanish army which was intended for the expedition to Ireland, amounted to fourteen thousand men ; they had assembled at Corunna, and were ready to sail, when intelligence was received of the fall of Dunboy ; on which the Spanish court sent orders to the Count de Caracena, governor of Corunna, to countermand for the present the sailing of the troops.* The queen of England had her emissaries in Spain, who informed her of all that had occurred : she therefore ordered her fleets that were cruising on the coasts of Spain to be revictualled, and to continue to watch the motions of the Spaniards till the end of September ; she also sent two thousand more troops to Ireland, to reinforce the president's army in Munster.

CHAPTER L.

The fall of Dunboy did not prevent the prince of Bearre from still acting a brave and noble part.† Dermod O'Driscol having returned from Spain, Cornelius, son of O'Driscol More, was sent in his stead to solicit speedy assistance. In the mean time the prince and Captain Tirrell marched with a thousand men into Muskerry, and made themselves masters of Carraig-na-Chori, Duin Dearaire, and Macrumpe, where they placed a garrison ; after which he prevailed upon O'Donoghoe of the Glinne to join in the confederacy. He then made incursions into the district of Cork, and returned laden with booty.

Cormack, son of Diarmuid Mac-Carty prince of Muskerry, had adopted the base policy of the earls of Ormond, Thuomond, and others. He was descended from Heber by Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster‡ in the second century, and by Diarmuid More Mac-Carty, prince of Muskerry, who was killed in 1367 by the O'Mahonys of Carbry, who were from the same stock of ancestors. The politic conduct of Cormac did not secure him against suspicions of his loyalty, and he was accused of holding secret intrigues with O'Neill, O'Donnel, Florence Mac-Carty, James Fitz-Thomas, O'Sullevan Bearre, and other enemies of the English. His accuser was Tegue, son of Cormac Mac-Teugue Mac-Carty, his near relative. This man was first in the service of the queen's troops ; but he left this service during the siege of Kinsale, and joined the Catholic cause. After receiving part of

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. cap. 11

† Hist. Cathol. cap. 4.

‡ Keat. Genealogy.



the money that was sent from Spain for the Catholics of Ireland, he changed sides again and sought to be reconciled to the president; while to make his submission the more important, he turned informer against his own relation, in whose conduct he had been previously a partaker.

The president, after consulting with the council, caused Cormac Mac-Carty of Muskerry to be arrested. He wished also to take possession of his castle of Blarney, which design Wilmot and Harvey were appointed to carry into effect. While proceedings were going on against Cormac Mac-Carty, Captain Taaffe, who possessed his confidence, was sent to propose to him to surrender the castle to the English. The proposal was a critical one: Mac-Carty was a prisoner; his wife and children were also arrested, and his eldest son was pursuing his studies at Oxford. He was of course averse to surrender his castle, which was an asylum in cases of emergency, and the sacrifice seemed great, but his circumstances appeared to make it imperative. Every thing being maturely weighed, he sent a communication to the governor of the castle, to surrender it to Captain Taaffe. The abbey of Kilcrey and the castle were given up, at the same time, to the president, of which he gave the command to Captain F. Slingsby. Macrumpe was a strong place in the centre of Muskerry, and maintained a siege against Captain Flower, and subsequently against Wilmot.

O'Donnel continued still in Spain, where he was actively employed at court in behalf of his country. He wrote at this time the following letter, dated Corunna, to O'Connor Kerry: "The doctor and Dermod O'Driscol will give you an account of every thing that is passing here. The king sends you money and stores. Believe me, that his majesty will omit no opportunity to gain Ireland, were it to cost him even the greatest part of his kingdom. Endeavor to secure this monarch's good opinion by your services. I beg that you will inform me of the news in Ireland, and against whom the queen's forces are now employed."*

Cormac Mac-Carty was still a prisoner in Cork. The witnesses against him were examined, and his life was in danger. It was of course natural that he should have wished to recover his liberty. His design was communicated by several to the deputy; the Protestant bishop of Cork, and Dominick Sarsfield, the queen's advocate in Munster, being the leading informers. The president caused the keeper of the prison, who had Mac-Carty in his charge, to be brought to him, and gave him fresh instructions for securing him: his precautions, however, were disappointed. The prince of Muskerry was rescued by a young nobleman named Owen Mac-Sweeny, who got in by night to his chamber, and having cut with a file the irons that bound his legs, let him down through a window, while six companions received him with their mantles before he touched the ground. The conspirators then got him over the wall of the city, notwithstanding that the sentinels went in pursuit of him. He very soon after this arrived in Muskerry, where he met O'Sullevan Bearre at the head of a small detachment, and both princes entered immediately into an alliance against the common enemy. O'Sullevan then besieged Carrig-an-phouca, which was guarded by the sons of Teugue Mac-Carty, who obtained terms from the English by his treachery against the prince of Muskerry, whose relative he was. O'Sullevan reduced it, and two more places in Muskerry, which he gave up to be garrisoned by his ally, and returned to his own country of Bearre.

The escape of Cormac Mac-Carty greatly alarmed the president Carew. He knew that he was very dear to the inhabitants of Muskerry, most of whom were his vassals and ready to follow his fortune, and that, if an alliance were made between him, O'Sullevan Bearre, and Captain Tirrell, it might cause Wilmot's communication with Cork (who was then besieging Macrumpe) to be cut off. The president, therefore, immediately forwarded an express to Wilmot, saying, that if he should not be master of Macrumpe castle in twenty-four hours, he must raise the siege, and withdraw the troops from before it; orders being sent likewise to Lords Barry and Roche, to keep a close watch in their districts, which were strongly attached to the cause of Cormac Mac-Carty.

The president's letter brought sad news to Wilmot; that general being eager to reduce Macrumpe, and thinking it dishonorable to raise the siege. An unforeseen occurrence, however, proved favorable to his views. The castle having taken fire, and it being impossible to subdue the flames, the garrison was obliged for their safety to rush into an adjoining yard, which exposed them to the fire of the besiegers. Their twofold danger now roused the besieged into despair, and opening a way through the enemy, sword in hand, they effected their escape with a small loss on their side. The fire of the castle being extinguished, Wilmot left a few com-

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 13.

panies in it in garrison, and took, the day following, the road to Cork with the remainder of his army.

The liberty which Mac-Carty enjoyed since his escape from prison, was not sufficient to allay his apprehensions ; his eldest son was imprisoned in England ; his wife and younger son were prisoners in Cork ; his castles of Blarney, of Kilcrey, and Macrumpe, were in the hands of the English, and the whole of Muskerry was laid waste ; so that he had in his favor at least the appearance of necessity for surrendering to the English, notwithstanding the alliance concluded between him and O'Sullevan Bearre.

If the submission of Mac-Carty of Muskerry was fatal to the Catholic cause in Munster, the news of the death of Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, was still more disastrous. After the battle of Kinsale, that prince passed into Spain, where he attended ably to the interests of his country, arrived at high favor at court, and was (on the eve of his death) about to reap the fruits of his zeal. The confederates of Munster, upon receiving the sad news, saw themselves deprived of all hope on the side of Spain ; their courage was broken down ; Daniel Mac-Carty the knight of Kerry, Daniel, son of O'Sullevan More, and others, sought to be reconciled to the English government. Captain Tirrell led his troops into Connaught, which raised the courage of the English ; five thousand of whom were collected, and the command given to Wilmot, with the title of governor of Bearre. He accordingly led the army to that part of the province, and encamped at Gort-na-cailli, in a valley called Gleaunn Garaibh, where he published a proclamation in the queen's name, promising pardon to all who would abandon O'Sullevan Bearre's standard. This prince was now forsaken by his allies ; and his Connaught troops having left him, with their commander Thomas Burke, to return to their province, he deemed it more prudent to follow them with the few that remained, than yield to an inhuman enemy.*

On the last day of December, O'Sullevan Bearre, with O'Connor Kerry, and a few other noblemen, having joined his troops with those of Connaught, the whole amounting to scarcely four hundred men, set out upon their march,† intending to take refuge with Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone. Though his shortest route would have been through Leinster, still, that province being in the power of the English, who had their garrisons in every quarter, he determined to gain the Shannon, in order to reach O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, through Connaught. The badness of the roads, and scarcity of provisions, were not the only difficulties the prince of Bearre had to encounter. He was continually obliged to fight his way with the enemy ; on the frontiers of Muskerry he was pursued by the Mac-Cartys ; after this by the people of Duhallow ; again at Slieve Louchra by the garrison of Captain Cuff, the Barrys, and Clan-Gibbons ; and lastly, at Slieve Feilim, in the country of the O'Carrols, by a detachment sent by the earl of Ormond. We read nothing in history which more resembles the expedition of young Cyrus and the ten thousand Greeks, than this retreat of O'Sullevan Bearre.*

The prince having overcome the difficulties of a long and painful march, arrived on the 7th of January in the forest of Brosnach, above Limerick, near the Shannon, where he encamped with his little army. He here convened a council of war, to deliberate on the means of crossing the river ; in which it was decided that a number of boats made of osier and the branches of trees, should be constructed for the troops ; while in order to prevent them from sinking, they were covered with skins of horses, provided for the purpose. These boats were used by the ancient Irish, and were called Curraghs, or Nevogues. The boats being completed, they were brought during the night to Portlaughan, on the banks of the Shannon, opposite to Portumny, and commenced crossing the river. O'Maily, who went by the first, was upset with ten soldiers, but the rest reached the opposite shore in safety. On reviewing his men, O'Sullevan found them reduced to two hundred. He marched, however, through Galway to Mainech, the country of the O'Kellys, where he had to contend with fresh enemies.† Having met Captain Malby, an Englishman, Sir Thomas Burke, brother to the earl of Clanriccard, and other chiefs, near Aughrim, at the head of a body of troops superior in number to his own, a battle began between them with equal animosity ; but Malby, the English general, having been killed, victory declared in favor of the Catholics. O'Sullevan continued his march to Brefny, where he was honorably received by O'Rourke.

Wilmot commanded the Munster troops in the absence of the president, who had been called on affairs of business to Galway. Immediately after the retreat of O'Sullevan,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 6. Paca Hib. cap. 26.
† Hist. Cathol. cap. 8.

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 9.
† Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 10, 11, 12.

he sent four hundred men from Cork, under the White Knight and Captain Taaffe, to lay waste the districts of Bearre and Bantry. They took possession of the castles of Ardea and Caraignesse. Captain Fleming was dispatched with his vessel and a few soldiers to the isle of Dorsie, where he pillaged O'Sullevan's magazines, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

The people of Carbry, alarmed by the cruelties which the English were committing in their neighborhood, took up arms, headed by the MacCartys of that district, Dermod, son of O'Driscol, Thadeus, son of O'Mahony of Carbry, and the MacSweenys. They set out on their march, and meeting the English army at Cladach, several days were spent in skirmishing, with equal success. Teugue O'Mahony, who had the glory of beginning the action, repulsed those who opposed him; the cavalry of MacCarty and MacSweeny performed a distinguished part; but a detachment of MacCarty's infantry was surrounded by a body of English horse, and cut to pieces. Teugue O'Howley, who commanded part of the Catholic army, signalized himself in a combat with the White Knight. Owen MacEggan, apostolical vicar from the pope, who had been appointed bishop of Ross by his holiness, was shot in the skirmishing. He was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, which was considered a crime by the English. In order to disparage his character, their writers allege that he was killed fighting at the head of a body of troops, with a sword in one hand and a breviary in the other: less prejudiced authors mention his having a breviary and beads. A holy priest called Dermod MacCarty, endeavoring, through charity, to exercise the duties of his ministry, by exhorting and preparing the wounded for death, was taken by the English and brought to Cork. Great rewards were offered him to embrace the reformed religion; but his refusal gained him the glory of martyrdom. He was tied to the tail of a mad horse, and after being dragged through the city, was hung on a gibbet; when half dead, he was quartered, his entrails were torn out, and his limbs exposed in the public streets. It was thus these reformers preached their gospel

This struggle of the inhabitants of Carbry was the last during this reign that was made in the province of Munster, in favor of religion and liberty. It was too weak to have succeeded. The MacCartys having failed, solicited pardon from the president, through Captain Taaffe, and obtained it; but Tegue O'Mahony, less politic, was surprised by the English, and beheaded. Fitzmaurice, with a body of light troops, defended himself for a long time in Slieve-Luachra against the English; and was afterwards so fortunate as to redeem his property and title of baron of Lixnaw, by his surrender. Thus ended the war in Munster.

O'Sullevan was not the only unfortunate prince who sought safety with O'Rourke;* on his arrival there he met the son of William Burke, chief of the noble family of the MacWilliams of Connaught, and Connanacht Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, who had been dispossessed by the English. In order to justify their conduct, they raised a rival against him, in his cousin, Connor Rua Maguire, who had espoused their cause and was under their protection, and placed garrisons in the neighborhood of lake Erne, to favor his pretensions. On account of his attachment to the interests of the court, the Irish called this chief Maguire *Galda*, or English Maguire. The same fate having brought O'Sullevan Bearre and Maguire together, they determined to have recourse to O'Neill, and induce him to renew the war against the English. Having, therefore, taken leave of the prince of Brefny, they set out, attended by Captain Tirrell and a few cohorts of armed men, and notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the badness of the roads, they proceeded as far as the banks of lake Erne. They were then obliged to force the several posts belonging to the English, in which they were successful. Maguire afterwards got possession of his principality of Fermanagh.

While the princes of Bearre and Fermanagh continued victorious on the banks of lake Erne, Lord Mountjoy, the deputy, received intelligence from England, of the queen's approaching dissolution.† The deputy was alarmed; he knew the instability of human affairs, particularly among a haughty and seditious people like the English; and apprehending a change of government, he wished particularly to put an end to the war in Ireland. Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, was the great obstacle to a general peace: he still kept up his troops in Ulster, and continued on the defensive for some time, expecting foreign aid; the deputy, therefore, considered it of importance to gain him over, and made, through his friends, proposals to him. The terms were flattering; a general amnesty was offered to him, and to his allies, with the free exercise of their religion, and the peaceful enjoyment of their estates, on

* Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, lib. 8, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4.
† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid. cap. 5.

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condition that they would lay down their arms. Tyrone and his friends having accepted the terms that were offered, entered again into the possession of their inheritances, and enjoyed them for some years in peace.

A celebrated patent of Queen Elizabeth, addressed to Rory O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, is stated to have been granted about this time: from the tenor of it, it appears to have been given by the advice of the lord-deputy Mountjoy, and the council of Ireland. It was written in the Latin tongue, and in Gothic characters. In this patent the queen offers to O'Donnel, and a great many noblemen, proprietors of estates which were held under that prince, a general amnesty and forgiveness of their crimes. After the different branches of the Donnels, the chief noblemen who are named in the act are, the O'Boyles, the O'Cahans, the O'Kellys, the O'Galtowes, the O'Crinanes, the O'Carwels, the MacNenys, the O'Kennidies, the O'Mulrenins, the O'Rowartys, the O'Tiernans, the O'Creanes, the O'Dwyers, the O'Kierans, the O'Moyleganes, the O'Ruddies, the MacAwardes, the O'Dunnegânes, the O'Meallanes, the O'Murrys, the O'Doghartys, the O'Miaghans, the O'Clerys, the MacGlaghlins, the O'Sheridans, the O'Cassidys, the O'Cashedians, and many others. This patent, which is in my possession, is dated Dublin, 26th February, about a month before the death of the queen—it is sealed with the great seal of England, and signed Philip. O'Neill, O'Donnel, O'Sullevan Bearre, and some other Irish chiefs, went the next summer to England, to make their submission to James I., who had just succeeded Elizabeth, and to compliment him upon his accession to the throne of England. O'Sullevan being unable to obtain his pardon, sailed for Spain, and was well received by Philip III., who created him knight of the military order of St. Jago, and afterwards earl of Beerhaven. There is at present in Spain a count of Beerhaven, heir to the name and title of that prince.

The king of England confirmed to O'Neill the title of earl of Tyrone.* Rory, or Roderick, who had become head of the illustrious house of O'Donnel, by the death of his brother Hugh, which occurred some time before in Spain, was created earl of Tirconnel.† Niall Garve O'Donnel, the near relation of O'Donnel and his rival for the principality of Tirconnel, was one of those who went to pay homage to the new king. While he and some other Irish noblemen were at the court of England, they received an order to return to Ireland and to be content with their ancient patrimonies and titles of baron; this title Niall indignantly refused, and on his return to Dublin, he presented himself before the council, and inveighed against the perfidy of the English who requited him thus for his services.*

The whole of Ireland became subject to the sway of the English, A. D. 1603. They boast of the conquest of Ireland after a war of four hundred years, while they will not admit that England was conquered in a single day at Hastings, by William the Conqueror. The Irish fought for their freedom till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign—some of their chiefs still kept troops on foot; new succors from Spain were expected; and the people did not lay down their arms until they received terms which were favorable.† Such was the conquest of Ireland of which the English vainly boast.

Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, the last day of the year, old style.‡ She lived sixty-nine years, six months, and seven days; and reigned forty-four years, four months, and seven days. Symptoms of rage and heavy affliction,§ preceded her death. English writers represent the infirmities which accompanied the last days of Elizabeth, as the effects of melancholy and sadness.‖ The winter of life had already come upon her; she saw herself abandoned by her courtiers, who were proceeding by crowds into Scotland to worship the rising sun; nothing more was necessary to afflict an aged woman whose ruling principle was, to her last sigh, ambition. She now looked upon herself as abandoned, and was heard to say with anguish, "they have bound me by the neck, there is none in whom I can any longer confide; how sad is the change in my affairs!"

Robert Naughton, an English writer, gives in his "Regalia Fragmenta," a true picture of Elizabeth, and ascribes her last afflictions to the ill-success of her arms in Ireland. This Englishman was created Sir Robert Naughton, secretary of state, and master of the court of wardens, under James I. He lived about the period of her reign, and was deeply conversant in political secrets.

"The war in Ireland, which he says may be styled the distemper of the reign of Eliza-

* Cox's Reign of James I., page 8.

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. book 3, cap. 11, book 6.

* Ibid. book 8, cap. 5.

† English writers, according to their usual tone, represent the terms entered into between Prince O'Neill and the deputy, as a conquest.

‡ Baker's Chronicles on Elizabeth.

§ Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, book 8, cap. 4.

‖ Cambd. part 4, Hist. of Elizab. ad an. 1603

beth, having continued to the end of her life, proved such an expenditure, as affected and disorganized the health and constitution of the princess, for, in her last days, she became sorrowful, melancholy, and depressed. Her arms which had been accustomed to conquer, meeting with opposition from the Irish, and the success of the war for so long a time becoming not only doubtful but unfortunate, afflicted her to distraction. On her accession to the crown of England, she encouraged, for the purpose of causing a diversion in her own favor, the rebellion of the states of Holland against the king of Spain, who, by way of reprisal, favored and encouraged the Irish to oppose Elizabeth.

"It may be imagined that England was at the time equal to undertake and maintain by her resources the war against the Irish. If we take a close view of the state of things at the period, and the number of troops in Ireland, as also the defeat at Black Water,* and the expenditure attending the attempts of the earl of Essex, the reduction of Kinsale under General Mountjoy, and of a short time subsequently, we will discover, that in horse and foot the troops amounted to twenty thousand men; independently of the naval armaments connected with them. The queen was obliged to keep up a constant and powerful fleet, to watch the coasts of Spain and blockade its harbors, in order to prevent the succors which were intended for Ireland from being forwarded. The expenses therefore attending the wars of Elizabeth against the Irish, amounted at least to three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, which was not half her expenditure in other quarters; an expense which could not be longer supported without the aid of the public. The frequent letters of the queen, and the constant requests to General Mountjoy to disband the forces as speedily as possible, furnish an irrefragable proof to what an extremity this princess saw herself reduced."

Opinion is divided upon the character of Elizabeth; every writer speaks as he feels affected. The partisans of the reformation consider her the founder of their religion, and call her the divine Elizabeth; the king of Scotland himself, son of Mary Stuart, has published her praises; what a subject of edification; what a triumph to the queen's party!

As to political government, it cannot be denied that Elizabeth possessed great talents; in her education she was well cultivated and had a knowledge of several languages, particularly the Latin, which she spoke fluently: she was fond of reading the Scriptures, which she frequently quoted in controversy, in accordance with her principles. Conversing one day in Latin, it is said that she hastily made use of *faminilem sexum*, instead of *fœmineum*, and perceiving her mistake, she added, "we have made, by our royal authority, Latin of this unusual word."*

Elizabeth had able ministers, who shared her cares in government, and contributed to render her reign brilliant. These were, Leicester, Sussex, Burleigh, Sidney, Walsingham, Willoughby, Bacon, Norris, Knowles, Perrot, Effingham, Packington, Hunsdon, Rawleigh, Crevil, Essex, Sackvil, Blunt, Cecil, Vere, Worcester, &c. The court of this princess was a theatre in which each played his part with skill; and though their object appeared to be the public welfare, and the glory of their nation, there never was a court more devoted to intrigue, so that Higgins, an impartial writer, says *it was the most wicked ministry that ever was known in any reign.*†

The talents of Elizabeth were obscured by the wickedness of her disposition, which was a compound of ingratitude, jealousy, cruelty, and duplicity, of which her treatment towards Essex and some other favorites affords ample proofs. The desire of being admired by men, was her predominant passion, which was heightened by the flattery of her courtiers. Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and dowager of France, (whom she considered a rival,) gave her most uneasiness; Mary was witty and accomplished, and surpassed Elizabeth in beauty, which was the cause of her tragical end. Melvin and Higgins mention an absurd trait of Elizabeth, which will lessen the notions that English historians put forward concerning the magnanimity and strength of mind of this princess. Melvin being asked one day by Elizabeth, if her sister of Scotland danced well, replied, "except your majesty, the queen of Scots is the best dancer in the world." Elizabeth feeling how untrue the compliment was, changed countenance, and withdrew to her closet, where she wept bitterly for two hours.

An extract from the tragical history of the queen of Scots, will suffice to expose the jealous and cruel heart of Elizabeth.

On the death of Francis II., his queen, Mary Stuart, returned from France to Scot-

* This is a river in Ulster: by the defeat of Black Water is understood a signal victory gained by Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, over the English at Benburb, on the borders of that river.

* Relat. Girald. cap. 26, p. 197.
† Short View, p. 218.

land. After having been brought up at the most polished court in Europe, she was forced to live among her fanatic subjects. The Scotch Puritans wishing to alter the reformation of the church of England, afforded by their religious disputes an opportunity to Elizabeth of exciting a faction against Mary, and fomenting a rebellion against legal authority. "We leave it to casuists and lawyers," says Higgins, "to decide whether a prince ought to assist the rebellious subjects of a neighboring power, with whom he is at war; but exciting those subjects to rebel, at a time he is on good terms with their king, is a violation of the laws of nations and all that is sacred among men."*

The queen of Scotland being too young to remain a widow, chose Henry Darnly from among the many matches that were proposed for her. He was son of Matthew Steward or Stuart, earl of Lenox, and Margaret Dowglas, niece of Henry VIII., by Margaret, that monarch's eldest sister, who was first married to James IV., king of Scotland, by whom she had James V., and secondly, to Archibald Dowglas, earl of Angus, by whom she became mother to the countess of Lenox.† Mary had sound motives for marrying Lord Darnly; as her near relative, she considered him heir to the crown of England, after herself, and thought an alliance with him necessary to render her claim to that throne incontestable. Elizabeth was opposed to this marriage, as she wished Mary to marry the earl of Leicester. The queen of Scots persevering in her first resolution, created Darnly a knight, and conferred on him successively, the titles of Lord Armanack, earl of Rosse, and duke of Rothsay, (this was the title of the eldest son of the kings of Scotland;) she then married him, and had him declared king, with the consent of most of the peers of Scotland.

The earl of Murray, the queen's natural brother, was the first to rebel against that princess. Having collected his adherents, he proposed the following seditious questions: "Whether a popish king could be chosen? whether the queen of Scots might choose a husband, according to her own will? and whether the lords ought not to nominate one for her, by their own authority?" At last he took up arms against his sovereign; but the rebels being soon put down by the royalists, and having taken refuge in England, received protection from Elizabeth. The queen of Scots had a son by her second marriage, who was afterwards James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England.

Murray not being able to succeed by open force, endeavored to sow discord between the king and his queen.* He attacked the queen's fidelity, of which accusation David Rizzio, an Italian, and secretary to that princess, was the victim, being stabbed by the king himself. Darnly repented afterwards of his rashness, and resolved to take revenge on Murray, who had instigated him to commit the horrid act. Murray, however, having discovered his design,† averted the blow, by having the king strangled in his bed, and the body being thrown into the garden, the house was immediately blown up.

The news of the king's murder having spread, the public ascribed it to the earls of Murray, Morton, and their associates; while they, in order to exculpate themselves, laid it to the charge of the queen. Buchanan, to ingratiate himself with Murray, wrote a dialogue, entitled "De jure regni apud Scotos," in which he sounded the alarm-bell of sedition. By this he endeavored to prove that the people have a power to choose or to depose their sovereign, and then launched into scandalous attacks upon the queen, which he afterwards, when dying, retracted. Mary finding her situation precarious, married Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, at the solicitations of Murray, Morton, and their friends, who rose up in arms afterwards against her. Bothwell was forced to fly into Denmark, where he died of grief; the queen was then seized by the fanatics, and thrown into prison at Lochlevin. The mother of Murray was appointed her keeper—this woman called herself the wife of James V., though she was but his concubine, and represented her son as heir to the crown of Scotland.

The cruel policy of Elizabeth was the cause of Mary Stuart's misfortunes;‡ she secretly and often openly abetted Murray and his adherents in their rebellion. To conceal, however, her wicked intentions under the veil of kindness and pity, she sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton§ into Scotland, to upbraid the confederates with the cruelty they exercised against their sovereign, and to devise means of restoring her to liberty. The knight witnessed the fury of the fanatics, who were divided in their opinions, as to the

* Ibid. p. 210.
† Cambd. Elizab. part 1, Hist. ad an. 1564. Baker, Chron. of England on the reign of Elizab. p. 334, et seq. Cambd. ibid. ad an. 1565.

* Cambd. ibid. ad an. 1567.
† Cambd. ibid.
‡ Higgins' Short View, page 210.
§ Cambd. ibid.

treatment of Mary Stuart. Some were disposed to have her banished for life; others wished to have her brought and examined before the judges, that she might be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to have her son proclaimed king; others, still more inhuman, were eager to have her stripped of all royal authority, and put to death. The celebrated Knox, a violent enthusiast, was for adopting this last mode of punishment: he was eager to evince his gratitude for the protection which Murray afforded him in his efforts to establish the doctrine of the Puritans on the ruin of the old religion: for which purpose he preached in public against the authority of princes and the hierarchy of the church, and maintained that the nobles possessed the power to suppress idolatry, and to compel the prince to observe what the laws prescribed.

Throgmorton applied his eloquence in vain to bring these fanatics to reason. He quoted passages from Scripture in support of the obedience due to princes, and observed, "the queen is subject to no tribunal but God, she is not accountable to any power on earth; on the contrary, all authority in Scotland has emanated from her, and could be revoked at her will."

These remonstrances tended only to make her persecutors more furious; her imprisonment was more rigidly enforced, and she would not be permitted to see her child. An accusation containing three heads, viz., incontinence, tyranny, and the murder of the king, was threatened against her, if she did not abdicate the crown. The fear of death made Mary sign the act of abdication in favor of her son, who was scarcely thirteen months old, constituting, at the same time, her opponent Murray regent during the minority. Five days after this compulsory measure against Mary Stuart, her son James VI. was crowned, and Murray put into possession of the regency. The regent's first care was to have some persons who were attached to the earl of Bothwell put to death, under pretence that they had been concerned in the murder of the king, but they asserted to the last moment, that Morton and Murray were the authors of it, and that the queen was perfectly innocent.*

After a confinement of eleven months in the castle of Lochlevin, the queen of Scots recovered her liberty, by the contrivance of George Dowglas.† Several of the nobles then met, and published a manifesto, declaring that the abdication which had been forced from her during her imprisonment was null and void. Six thousand of her faithful subjects crowded to the standard of their sovereign, but were soon defeated by the superior forces of the regent.

Mary Stuart no longer found herself secure in her native land, and determined to seek an asylum in another quarter.* England seemed to her the most secure retreat, as she believed that honor, conscience, and consanguinity would induce Elizabeth to protect her; but in this she was mistaken. The unfortunate princess, after escaping from her faithless subjects, gave herself up to an ungenerous and implacable enemy; she sailed with Lord Heris and Fleming, for England, and arrived on 17th May at Wickinton, in Cumberland, from which she immediately wrote to Elizabeth, and sent her a diamond ring which she had formerly given her as a pledge of mutual friendship, imploring her protection against her rebellious subjects; while at the same time she solicited an audience, in order to clear herself of the calumnies of her adversaries. Elizabeth returned an apparently kind and consolatory answer to the queen of Scots, promising to assist her against her enemies; but refusing her permission to appear at court. She was jealous of the beauty of so illustrious a rival, and feared it would make her appear to still more advantage if they were seen together. These base and unworthy sentiments made her condemn Mary Stuart to be imprisoned in the castle of Carlisle, under pretence of securing her from the insults of her enemies.

Though Elizabeth expressed compassion for Mary Stuart, she still kept her in confinement, and concealed her malice under an appearance of clemency. She frequently appointed commissioners to try the unhappy princess, and often held assemblies, hoping to have her found guilty.

Elizabeth at length demanded from the most determined of the Scotch malecontents, why they had deposed their sovereign.† Murray, the regent, having been assassinated some time before, the fanatics were now headed by James Dowglas, earl of Morton, Pernare, abbot of Dumfermelin, and James MacGrey, who sent a long document, by way of answer, to the queen of England, to the purport, that "according to the ancient liberties of Scotland, the people were above the king; that the magistrates of the people were, according to Calvin, intended as a check upon princes, and that they possessed not only the power of imprisoning bad kings,

* Baker, ibid. page 337. † Ibid. 338.

* Higgins' Short View, page 212.
† Cambd. Elizabeth, part 2. Hist. ad an. 1571

but likewise of dethroning them." An appeal to the magistrates was the general resource of these Scotch fanatics against legal authority, knowing, that when corruption reached that body, it was perpetuated by the same spirit which united the members. Elizabeth received the remonstrances of the rebels with a show of indignation.

These proceedings, however, forboded evil to the queen of Scots, as it had been already determined that she should perish. Matthew, earl of Lenox, who succeeded Murray in the regency, had been likewise murdered; he was succeeded by John Erskine, earl of Mar, who lived but thirteen months. This office having remained vacant for some time, was filled through the interference of Queen Elizabeth, by James Dowglas, earl of Morton, Mary's avowed enemy, and who was suspected of having been concerned in the death of Lord Darnly, the young king's father.* It seems that this suspicion was well founded; he was accused soon afterwards of high treason, at the instigation of the earl of Arran, put into confinement, convicted of having been an accomplice in the murder of Darnly, and condemned to be beheaded; when he avowed his crime on the scaffold. Elizabeth exerted her influence to save this nobleman's life, and the interest she took to preserve from the scaffold a man who had been condemned for so heinous an offence, gave rise to an opinion that she was not innocent of participating in the crime for which he was condemned.† At all events, from the concern she manifested for the murderers of the king, she shared in the infamy of their conduct.

Mary Stuart was continually soliciting her liberty from Elizabeth, and was supported in her solicitations by the French and Spanish ambassadors, but in vain. Truth, however, prevailed over calumny, in favor of Mary's innocence, through the declarations made by Morton, Bothwell, and many others, in their last moments, when every man is believed to speak truly. There was no longer any ground of accusation against this innocent victim in Scotland, but conspiracies were plotted in England against Elizabeth, of which, though in prison, she was accused.‡ Walsingham succeeded by his emissaries in engaging a few Catholics in a plot to rescue the queen of Scots by open force. of which Babington and a few nobles became the victims. Commissioners having been appointed to examine into the affair, they repaired in October to Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, where Mary was confined: that princess appealed against their authority, as being a sovereign, and independent of any earthly tribunal: but, on the threat that she would be condemned for contumacy, she submitted, declaring, at the same time, "that despairing of her freedom, she had endeavored to escape, in doing which she considered herself justified by the laws of nature and self-preservation; but, that as to any attempts against the person of the queen, or her authority, she was wholly innocent." Nevertheless the commissioners assembled, who having put the questions, and read to Queen Mary the charges which had been brought against her, she still maintained that she was a sovereign, and not subject to a law made in England for her destruction; and demanded to be heard in open parliament, in presence of Elizabeth. The commissioners had not sufficient authority to concede this request, and repaired immediately to Westminster, when an infamous verdict was pronounced in the Star Chamber against the unhappy princess. In the decision which was signed and sealed by the commissioners, it was set forth, that since the 1st of June, Anthony Babington and others had, with the consent of Mary queen of Scots, heiress to the crown of England, engaged in a conspiracy tending to the ruin and death of Queen Elizabeth.

To give the efficacy of law to the sentence passed by the commissioners, it was necessary to convene the parliament;* the whole nation was to be made partaker of this great and infamous crime,† and Elizabeth was to be appealed to by the parliament to consent to the death of Mary Stuart. The peers distinguished themselves on this occasion; they presented a petition to Elizabeth to cause the sentence of the commissioners to be carried into effect against the queen of Scotland, and to strengthen their appeal, they instanced the judgments of God against Saul and Ahab,‡ for having spared Agag and Benhadad. . It was thus they perverted the Scriptures to the destruction of an innocent woman. This extraordinary appeal, which was more suited to fanatics than to men of honor and principle, must give us a strange opinion of English nobility at the time.§

Elizabeth eagerly sought for the death of Mary, without wishing it to appear that she was the cause of it. She was ashamed to

* Higgins, pages 219, 220. Cambd. ad an. 1580.
† Baker, ibid. page 358. Higgins, ibid.
‡ Higgins, ibid. pp. 220, 221 Baker, ibid. pages 367, 368.

* Cambd. ad ann. 1586.
† Baker, page 360.
‡ Higgins, page 222.
§ Higgins, ibid. page 222, et seq.

admit in public what she secretly desired. She appeared at one time to reject the memorial of the peers; at another to suspend her decision; but she was too wicked to be sincere, and inherited too much of the cruel and ferocious temper of her father, Henry VIII., to show either humanity or feeling. Wearied, as she said, by the repeated solicitations of her people, she consented to the death of Mary, queen of Scots. Having thus acted her part, she gave Davison, the secretary, a letter signed with her own hand, and sealed with her seal, authorizing the death of that princess:* the commission was sent to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, with orders to have the sentence of the law executed on the unfortunate queen.

The earl of Leicester was not more conscientious than the others, but was more prudent; he besought Elizabeth not to commit so barbarous a deed, which would eventually recoil upon herself, and which was unworthy the majesty of a monarch.† The queen then asked him how she ought to act. "Send an apothecary, madam, rather than an executioner; if she must die, let decency be regarded."

We have now arrived at the close of the tragedy of the queen of Scots.‡ The noblemen who had been appointed by the court to attend to her execution, arrived at Fotheringay; on appearing before the princess they informed her of the object of their journey, and having read the warrant, told her that she should be prepared to die on the following day. Without any appearance of dismay, she returned the following reply: "I did not think that my sister of England would have consented to the death of a person who was not amenable to her laws; but since it is her pleasure, death will be welcome to me." She then asked for permission to converse with her spiritual father, and Melvin, her steward, but the commissioners carried their barbarous cruelty so far as to deny her what would have been granted to the meanest criminal, "which was looked upon," says Baker, "as a species of tyranny unheard of."

The noblemen having retired, the queen of Scots gave orders to prepare supper, of which she partook moderately, as usual. She then retired to rest at the accustomed time; and after taking a few hours repose, she spent the remainder of the night in prayer. On the 8th of February, the fatal day of her execution being arrived, the princess dressed herself and withdrew to her closet, where she continued to implore with abundant tears the mercies of God, until the sheriff, Thomas Andrews, came to announce to her that the fatal moment was arrived. She left her closet, and advanced with a majestic and sprightly step, having a veil upon her head, and in her hand an ivory crucifix. She was received in a gallery by the nobles who had been appointed to superintend her execution; and who led her into a hall where the sad instruments for her death—namely, an arm-chair, cushion, and block covered with black cloth, were prepared. The princess having recited a prayer, and the psalm, "In te, Domine, speravi," her head was cut off in a most barbarous and indecent manner; and even after her death, her maids of honor were not suffered to attend in order to take charge of her body.

Such was the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and dowager of France, at the age of forty-six years; nineteen of which she spent in prison.*

If the manner of the death of this princess, her greatness of soul, and resignation to the will of God, have filled the world with veneration for her memory, so are the authors of her barbarous and cruel death covered with infamy and disgrace. "It was reserved," says Higgins, "for the English nation to give this example of cruelty."† "Queen Mary," says Baker, "possessed in an eminent degree all the fine qualities of mind and body, so that were she a private woman, or the queen of Scotland only, she would, perhaps, have been happy; but her right as heiress to the crown of England, and a jealousy towards her person, were the fatal causes of her destruction."‡

As soon as the news of Mary Stuart's execution and death was known, Elizabeth fell into a state of alarming melancholy;§ she appeared inconsolable, and avoided all society. This, however, was mere pretence. She wrote also to James VI. of Scotland, in order to remove the stigma of having borne a part in the murder of the princess his mother. Every artifice and deceit was made use of to remove from herself, and to fix upon her ministers, the odium of the foul deed, as if they could have effected it without her approval.‖ The king of Scotland was justly and deeply affected for the execution and death of his mother. at first he refused

* Baker, ibid. page 371.
† Higgins, ibid. 223.
‡ Baker, ibid. pages 370, 371.

* Higgins, pages 224, 225.
† Baker, page 372.
‡ Baker, ibid.
§ Cambd. page 494.
‖ Higgins, pages 225, 226

to admit into his presence the messenger who brought the letter from Elizabeth. He, however, relaxed in his determination, and from a weakness of principle inherent in his family, and which afterwards proved fatal to his posterity, he even formed a sincere and solid friendship for the queen of England.

The subversion of the ancient religion, and establishment of the reformation in her states, formed the most remarkable feature in the reign of Elizabeth. The character of this princess will be more or less affected by the impression which that change produces in different minds. The incredulous, no doubt, look upon the pretended reformation in religion as a matter of indifference, since they do not believe in any creed; the reformers give to the event a pre-eminent place among the virtues of Elizabeth; while others, after weighing well the nature and circumstances of the enterprise, tell us, that the memory of this queen will be for ever, from that occurrence alone, covered with infamy.

It is not the part of our history to decide this controversy, nor to give an opinion whether religion required to be reformed, or whether the reformation were a meritorious act. The character of Elizabeth is the matter now before us; according to that, therefore, our opinion must be shaped. The means which she made use of to effect that reformation, must be weighed with those of honor, conscience, and other qualities which render us pleasing before God and man.

If we review closely the opinions of Elizabeth, an indifference will be discovered in her as to the choice of a religion. Brought up in her first years in the court of her father, Henry VIII., of which debauchery, sacrilege, and tyranny formed the prevailing characteristics, nothing less than a miracle could have saved the young princess from the contagion. Whatever was in conformity with her interest, constituted the religion of Elizabeth. In the reign of her brother Edward, she was a Calvinist; during the reign of her sister Mary, the mass, confession, and other tenets of the Catholic doctrine accorded with her ideas. Such was her conduct until she ascended the throne. She then began by declaring herself favorable to the reformation—the motives for which choice can be inferred from circumstances. She was informed, that an attachment to the ancient religion would be a ground to dispute her right to the crown; as the nobles who had accumulated fortunes at the expense of church property, feared for their possessions, while others dreaded the ancient and rigid discipline of the church. These, united to other human motives, caused the balance to incline in favor of the reformation. Upon the topic of religion, the necessity of temporizing and of managing the two parties, was plain to Elizabeth: her grand principle was, that "to know how to reign, she must know how to dissemble;" "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare." For this object, her privy council was a mixed body; at the same time that she had her cabinet council, which consisted of men who were partial to reformation, and who sapped, imperceptibly, the foundations of the Catholic faith. To conceal more efficiently her double motives, she amused Spain, France, and other powers, with entertaining the overtures of marriage which were made to her; by which mode she succeeded in having the cause of religion neglected for the prospects of so flattering an alliance.

An attempt to make men change their manner of thinking, under pain of death or confiscation of property, gives a true idea of tyranny; for no power upon earth can accomplish such a change. The will, say the philosophers, cannot be coerced in its acts: of this the greatest conquerors have been so convinced, that they were content with the submission of those whom they conquered, without seeking to interfere with their right of conscience.

Elizabeth thinking herself competent to undertake any thing, began the great work of reform. She abolished a religion that had subsisted since the first ages of Christianity, and substituted in its place one of a new fabric. The dogmas of the latter received their shape from a parliament which refused to the bishops that power which was given them by Jesus Christ to guide his church in its doctrine and spiritual concerns.* Collier,† in his Ecclesiastical History, says, "*When secular men prescribe to the church, when those who are strangers to antiquity give laws for discipline, 'tis no wonder if they mistake in their devotion.*"‡

Queen Elizabeth caused, by the authority of parliament, some volumes of penal laws to be published against those who refused to submit to the reformation. Under these laws no one was secure in his life or freedom; it was in the power of any profligate to accuse his neighbor before a judge, when the informer was certain of being attended to, and the innocent party oppressed. To these were

* Baker's Chron. Reign of Elizabeth.

† He was an English Protestant. Collier's Hist Ecclesiast. vol. 2, 558.

‡ Dodd's Hist. of the Church of England, vol 2, part 4, book 1, art. 6. Dodd, ibid.

added other laws equally barbarours and inhuman: to refuse to acknowled ge Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy, to take holy orders in a foreign country, to afford an asylum to the clergy, to be reconciled to the old religion, or to be present at such reconciliation of another, was deemed high treason; while, at the same time, every method was resorted to to bring the unhappy Catholics within the range of this sentence. The prisons were continually crowded with supposed culprits, many of whom suffered upon the scaffold. According to the most correct calculations, the number, even of the English, that were put to death, amounted to two hundred and twenty-seven; among whom were one hundred and ninety-seven ecclesiastics, comprising four Jesuits and a Franciscan friar.*

The preceding reign, indeed, affords examples of the same kind; several partisans of the opposite sect having been put to death during it, who are considered martyrs of the reformation. The case, however, was very different: he who defends his own right is less criminal than he who encroaches upon that of his neighbor: the English had, for many centuries, professed the Catholic doctrine, which Queen Mary wished to uphold; for which purpose she was constrained to have some innovators, who were disturbing the old religion and everywhere publishing new doctrines, put to death.† Elizabeth, on the contrary, was desirous of abolishing the ancient religion, the profession of which had been authorized by so many kings her predecessors, and substituting one that flattered her ambition. On Mary's accession to the throne, she rejected the absurd title of head of the church, which had been usurped by her father, Henry VIII. Elizabeth considered this title as the brightest gem in her crown, and had several condemned to death for having denied her that dignity. If, therefore, we judge of the merits of an act by the motives that produce it, we will discover a great difference between Mary and Elizabeth.

The reformers in Ireland did not yield to their brethren in England, in cruelty; they caused as many to suffer martyrdom, besides the thousands of men, women, and children, who suffered death for their religion, either by war or famine.* To judge of the disposition of Elizabeth by her propensities and caprices, she was violent in the extreme; the ferocity of her father, who could not bear to be controlled, was discoverable in the daughter: when any thing went contrary to her wishes, she gave vent to her rage in transports of phrensy, and swore in a manner little suited to her sex—her general oath being "*God's death.*"†

If political motives prevented Elizabeth from marrying, the occurrences of her life are far from sustaining a predilection for virginity: she had many favorites whom she selected from their appearance, and with whom her familiarity furnished cause for doubting her virtue; her inconstancy proved sometimes fatal to them. It was thus Elizabeth amused the nobles of her court, while she was forwarding the reformation: she had always the advantage of skilful ministers to guide her government; but as to religion, and the general rights of mankind, Dodd says, "never was a nation more unfortunate than England during her reign."

The praises which panegyrists have bestowed upon Elizabeth, with respect to her pretended wisdom in government, and which have been implicitly believed by foreigners, are known to us. It is true that the length of her reign was favorable to great undertakings; she participated largely in the formation of the republic of Holland, and was persevering in her efforts to succor the Huguenots in France; but the civil war which she fomented in Scotland, and the murder of the queen of that country, tarnished the glory of her reign. She gained many advantages over the Spaniards in the war which she carried on against them; this, however, was a war of plunder, by which a few individuals were enriched, but from which England reaped no solid advantages. The war in Ireland cost her, for some years, half of her revenues, without her witnessing the Irish people reduced to obedience.

From the above slight sketches of matters which characterized Queen Elizabeth's reign, we leave it for the impartial reader to

* Dodd, ibid. lib. 3, art. 7.

† This position is certainly bad. If the persecutions under Mary had been dictated by a determination to suppress the doctrine of the reformation, they would be just as culpable as those of Elizabeth. Interference with freedom of conscience is, in all cases, unjustifiable; and quite as much so when the object is to coerce people to retain an old religion, as when it is to make them adopt a new one. The recent researches of historians seem to show that the executions in the reign of Mary arose wholly from political causes, and can be defended on this ground. Had they been the result of religious bigotry, they would have fully merited for her the title of "Bloody Mary," so frequently (but, as it now appears, improperly) bestowed on her.—*Note by Editor.*

* Analecta Sacra de Process. Mart. part 3.

† Nauton fragment. Regalia, Dodde, ibid. lib. 1, art. 6. Dodde, ibid.

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determine whether an advantageous opinion of her merit can be entertained, or whether the means which she made use of for the attainment of her designs were conformable to honorable and upright principles. She ended her career in despair; and God, in his justice, allowed her who had caused so much sorrow to others, to die without one to console her.

CHAPTER LI.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1603, James VI., king of Scotland, inherited the throne of England, as descendant of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. He was son of Mary Stuart, who was beheaded under Elizabeth; her father, James V., was son of James IV., king of Scotland, and Margaret of England above mentioned. The father of James VI. was Lord Darnly, son of the earl of Lenox, who was descended from Robert Stuart, the successor of David Bruce, king of Scotland, about the middle of the fourteenth century. We have given, in our account of the preceding reign, the misfortunes and tragical end of Lord Darnly, who had married Mary Stuart.

The right of all the British kings, descended either from the Saxons, Danes, or Normans, was united in the person of James I., so that no prince in Europe had a more incontestable claim to royalty, than this prince had to the crown of England.

By the accession of James to the throne of England, the two rival nations, England and Scotland, which had been divided for so many centuriês, became united under one king, and from that period the English monarchs took the title of kings of Great Britain and Ireland. Clement VIII. filled the papal chair at the time of James's accession; Rodolphus II. was emperor of Germany; Henry the Great ruled in France, and Philip III. was king of Spain.

James was proclaimed in London on the 14th March, with every demonstration of joy. The same ceremony took place in Dublin on the 6th April, by order of Lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland, in obedience to letters which he had received from the council in England to that effect. The same loyalty was not manifested in other cities and towns of Ireland; as many wished to understand the king's disposition towards the Catholic religion, before they would acknowledge him for their sovereign. Captain Morgan was sent to Cork to have him proclaimed in that city as in Dublin, under the title of James I Morgan was joined in Cork by Sir George Thornton, one of the commissioners for Munster, who presented his orders to Thomas Sarsfield, who was then mayor. That magistrate answered, that "according to the charters of the city, time was permitted to deliberate on the subject." Thornton answered, that "as the king's right was incontestable, and as he had been already proclaimed in Dublin, the smallest hesitation on their part might be displeasing." "Perkin Warbeck," said Sarsfield, "was proclaimed in Dublin, and the country suffered by its precipitancy." Saxy, chief-justice for Munster, being present, desired to support Thornton, and said, "that whosoever would refuse to have the king proclaimed, ought to be arrested." To this Mead, the constable, replied, "that none present possessed an authority to arrest them."

The example of Cork was followed by Waterford, Clonmel, Wexford, Limerick and Kilkenny. The Catholics began by taking possession of the churches, and by having the divine mysteries performed in them; but these attempts could not be supported—the law of the strongest prevailed. The lord-deputy marched some troops, and subdued the commotions, by having some of the most turbulent put to death. In the mean time Thornton and Lord Roche, at the head of eight hundred soldiers, proclaimed the king in the vicinity of Cork.

The ancient Irish revered the Milesian blood which ran in the veins of James VI., and looked upon him as a prince descended from themselves; they knew, likewise, that Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, from whom James was descended, had been chosen in the 14th century, by their ancestors, to be their sovereign; it was well known, too, that Edward had been actually crowned king of Ireland. These things, added to their submission to James, appeared to them to be a good title to the crown of Ireland; at least it was equal to the right he derived through the kings of England, his predecessors, who were never universally acknowledged by the ancient Irish.*

The modern Irish looked upon James as rightful heir to the crown of England, and consequently to that of Ireland, in virtue of his descent from Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.; so that the two races who inhabited Ireland at this time, forgetting their former animosities, submitted with one

* Analect. Sacra. de reb. Cathol. in Hib. pp. 220, 276. Ogyg. epist. dedicat. Walsh, prosp. epist dedicat. Kennedy on the house of Stuart.

accord to the new king. These were the causes of the general submission of the Irish at this time to the crown of England.

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, who had destroyed so many of the English, went to England the summer following to make his submission to James. The king received him with honor, and issued a proclamation that all his subjects should treat him with reverence and respect. Rory O'Donnel, brother to Hugh, who died in Spain after the siege of Kinsale, as we have already mentioned, accompanied O'Neill to England; he was received with distinction at court, and created earl of Tirconnel by the king.* The Latin patent of this creation is written in Gothic characters, dated Dublin, February 10th, in the first year of the reign of James I. of England, and has the great seal of Ireland affixed to it. Modesty prevents Count O'Donnel, an officer in the service of her Imperial Majesty, from assuming the title of earl of Tirconnel; but he is the direct heir of the title and extensive possessions of the house of Tirconnel.

Mountjoy, the deputy, was appointed at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and member of the privy council in England. His deputies in Ireland were, Sir George Carey, treasurer at war, and afterwards Sir Francis Chichester, who was sworn in, February, 1604.

The Irish were sanguine in their hopes that the king would protect them in their religion and liberty. Previous to his ascending the throne of England, he gave cause to the Catholics of the three kingdoms to expect special protection; he had written a letter, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his seal, to Clement VIII., assuring that pontiff of his intentions on that head, and his wish of embracing the Catholic religion, as soon as he would be established on the British throne; however, all this proved to be of no avail, through the artifice of Cecil, secretary of state,† which minister found means to withdraw the letter from the pope, and to estrange the king from his Catholic subjects.

From the moment the inhabitants of England and Scotland separated from that unity which characterizes the true church, every sort of sectarians found partisans in those countries, and became formed into societies. There were, however, two principal sects, denominated Protestant and Episcopalian. The first constituted the Church of England, and formed a compound of all the errors that appeared in the reign of Elizabeth. That princess took something from every innovator of her day, to construct this new religion, in which she still allowed the authority of bishops, and the hierarchy which belonged to the Catholic church to remain. From thence arose the name of Episcopalian.

The latter, namely, the Presbyterians, are so called from their having no bishops, and being governed in religious matters by the elders of their sect, who have no mission but the choice which is made among them for this duty; they are also called Puritans, either from the affected purity of their manners and morality, or from having, as they say, purified Christianity from the superstition which they ascribed to the Roman Church.

James had been brought up in Presbyterian principles, which he professed in Scotland, but on coming to England he adopted the Episcopalian. He had some inclination to embrace the Catholic tenets, but the fancied consequences of adopting that religion alarmed this weak prince.* His repose, however, was disturbed by two conspiracies. The object of the first was the total overthrow of the government, and the placing of Arabella Stuart, the king's near relative, and, like him, descended from Henry VII., upon the throne.† Two priests, namely, William Watson and William Clerk, Lord Cobham, and his brother George Brook, Lord Grey, Sir William Rawleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, were accused of being the leading conspirators. The plot being soon discovered, the Catholics were immediately accused of it. If any were concerned they were priests, whose only share in it was an accusation (without any proof) of their having known it by means of confession; the others, it is believed, were but a few who had been bribed by Cecil and his emissaries. There were also Episcopalians and Puritans engaged in this conspiracy. In general, conspirators are of the same mind, but we have here an odd mixture of clergy, laity, Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and nobles of every rank. The world beheld with surprise men of such opposite interests united in the same cause. Several members of the con-

* Baker, Chron. of Eng. Reign of James I., p. 404. Ireland's Case briefly stated, p. 9, et seq. Cox, Hist. of Ireland, Reign of James I.

† Ireland's Case, ibid.

* Ireland's Case, ibid.

† Baker's Chron. Reign of James I., p. 404, et seq.

spiracy were arrested, and some of them put to death; among the latter were the two priests and George Brook; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned at the foot of the scaffold, and brought back to the tower, where Lord Grey died; Cobham and Markham were liberated shortly afterwards; the former was deprived of his property, and the latter died abroad, in great distress: Rawleigh was never pardoned; he continued in prison, and afterwards terminated his career upon the scaffold.

The second conspiracy, called the gunpowder plot, was more dangerous than the first; the king and parliament were to be blown up at the same time, A. D. 1605.* Though this nefarious plot was projected by the Puritans, whose principles are opposed to monarchy, it was a fatal blow to the interests of Catholicity in England, and suited to the views of Cecil, the secretary.† This minister was small in person and deformed; but nature indemnified him for these defects by his talents; he was considered in England one of the ablest ministers of the day, and well fitted for conducting any intrigue. England abounded at that time with men of his kind; Burleigh, Walsingham, Cromwell, and Shaftesbury, were always ready to assist in the formation of any design.‡ Cecil was a deadly foe to the Catholics; he intended to exterminate them altogether, in order to confiscate their estates; and to render them odious to the king and the people of England, he accused them of a conspiracy, of which he himself is supposed to have been the principal.§ The Catholics denied the charge, as appears by many tracts which were written at that time, in vindication of their innocence. However, the discovery of the plot procured for Cecil the order of the garter, and the office of high-treasurer. The chief sufferers for the gunpowder-plot were, Catesby, Piercy, Thomas Winter, Fawkes, Keyes, Bates, Robert Winter, Grant, Rookwood, Digby, and Tresham, all men of rank. Tresham died in the tower. Garnet was among those who suffered: according to Baker, his crime was his having concealed his knowledge of the plot.‖

Cecil, flushed with his success against the British Catholics, and wishing to obtain new favors, turned his machinations towards Ireland, which he now designed to involve in some treason. The instrument he chose to effect his wicked purpose was Christopher St. Laurence, baron of Howth, generally called the *One-Eyed;* who received instructions to invite to a secret conference the leaders of the Catholics, in order to entrap them. The earls of Tyrone, Tirconnel, baron of Delvin, and some other Catholics of distinction, appeared at this mysterious meeting; St. Laurence made them swear not to divulge what he would communicate to them for their own safety. He then said, that he had information through a channel which admitted of no doubt, that the court of England was determined to eradicate the Catholic religion out of Ireland, and force them to become Protestants; that he himself, from a concern for their safety, advised them to defend themselves against the threat, until positive assurances would be obtained that no change would be attempted against their religion. The noblemen present, however, struck with alarm, unanimously replied, that nothing would shake their loyalty to the prince, in whose royal word they reposed every trust, he being their legitimate sovereign.

These protestations of loyalty were not sufficient to protect them against St. Laurence; he accused them to the king as capable of forming secret designs against his majesty and the state, though destitute of means to attempt any thing, having neither troops on foot nor a hope of receiving succors from Spain. Tyrone and others were summoned before the council. The Catholics declared that the accusation was a calumny; but seeing themselves confronted by St. Laurence, they acknowledged that they attended the meeting, much less for the purpose of entering into any plot against the king, than to hear what this treacherous man, who had brought them together, intended to propose; whose infamy they had unanimously condemned on sufficient causes, of which the present is an illustration. Having been severally examined, and only one witness produced against them, the council did not think prudent to put them under an arrest; but ordered them to appear on the day following. During this short interval, some false friends who were of the council advised them underhand to consult their own safety; stating, that one more witness only, who might be easily suborned, was necessary to convict them. The perfidious advice was but too readily followed by the

* Ireland's Case, ibid.

† Higgins' Short View, pp. 235, 236. Hume, Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. 1.

‡ Sanderson's Life of King James. Lond. edit. in 1655.

§ Apol. of the Cathol. printed in 1674, p. 399. Osborn, Hist. Mem. of the year 1658, pp. 26, 37, 38.

‖ Chron. page 509.

earls of Tyrone and Tirconnel.* Upon this they were proclaimed rebels, and not only their individual estates, but six whole counties in the province of Ulster, were confiscated for the benefit of the crown, without examination or trial. These counties were divided between several English and Scotch Protestants, under such regulations as were obviously intended to produce ruin both to the people and their religion. Besides the pecuniary fines that were inflicted, and the other penalties that were enacted against Catholics, it was specifically inserted in the patents, that no portion of these lands should be sold, transferred, or farmed, except to and by Protestants exclusively. St. Laurence himself, who had hitherto affected a tendency in favor of the Catholic religion, declared himself a Protestant, and by doing so became a partaker of the spoils.†

This iniquitous proceeding being ended, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, Rory O'Donnel, earl of Tirconnel, Maguire of Fermanagh, and some other noblemen, crossed over into France.‡ The English ambassador of that court demanded of Henry IV. that these fugitives should be sent back to the king his master. The French king, however, generously replied, that it was beneath the dignity of a monarch to arrest a stranger who seeks to save himself by flight; upon this the earls took their departure for Flanders, where they were received with distinction by the archduke and archduchess, viz., Albert and Elizabeth, who governed the Low Countries. Thence they proceeded to Rome, where his Catholic Majesty provided abundantly for their support, by pensions proportioned to their rank. O'Donnel and Maguire died after some time, the one at Rome, the other at Geneva, on his way to Spain. Nugent, baron of Delvin, was thrown into prison in Ireland. However, through the intercession of his friends and the influence of money, he obtained his liberty, and was restored to favor. Charles O'Neill and O'Cahan were summoned to appear in Dublin, whence they were sent to England, and confined in the tower of London.

Persecution was becoming more and more violent against the Catholics; and new proclamations were issued against the bishops, Jesuits, and seminarians. James was as tenacious of the title of head of the church as any of his predecessors who had usurped it; to deny it being made a capital crime. His oppressive tyranny at length drove Cahir O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, to take up arms in defence of the Catholics, A. D. 1608. He was a young nobleman, aged about twenty years, and the most powerful in the north of Ireland, after the earls of Tyrone, Tirconnel, and Maguire had left the country. He raised what forces he was able, and attacked by night the city of Derry, which he took, and put the garrison, together with the commander, George Palet, to the sword, after setting the Catholics at liberty. He then marched against Culmor, which was a strong castle built on the borders of Lough Foyle, adjoining the sea. Of this he also became master, and found in it twelve pieces of cannon—he put a garrison into it, and gave the command to Felim MacDavet; after which he ravaged the lands of the English, over whom he gained several battles, and spread terror through the whole province.

O'Dogherty kept up the war for some months; his object was to create a diversion, and occupy the English till the return of O'Neill and O'Donnel, and the arrival of succors which were expected from some of the Catholic princes. In the mean time, Winkel, an English field-marshal, appeared with four thousand men before Culmor, to lay siege to it; MacDavet, the commander, seeing his own inferiority in numbers, and that the place was defenceless, and being without any hope of aid from O'Dogherty, set fire to the castle. He then sailed with his little garrison on board two transport vessels, which he loaded with corn and other provisions, for Derry. He also carried off some of the cannon of Culmor castle, and had the rest thrown into the sea.

Winkel finding the castle of Culmor demolished, marched against the castle of Beart, with the intention of besieging it. Mary Preston, the wife of O'Dogherty, and daughter of Viscount Gormanston, was in the place. A monk who had the command of it, either from distrust in its strength, or to save the lady from the frightful effects of a siege, surrendered the castle on condition of the garrison being spared, and suffered to retire: but the English, regardless of the treaty, put every soul to the sword, except those who had means of purchasing their liberty. The wife of O'Dogherty was sent to her brother the viscount, who belonged to the English faction. The taking of this place was of importance to Winkel; it served him for a retreat, from which he made occasional incursions upon the districts of Inishowen, spreading desolation everywhere as he passed.

* Ireland's Case, p. 17.
† Ireland's Case, p. 18.
‡ Hist. Cathol. Hibern book 1, k. 4.

The destruction committed by the English caused O'Dogherty to come to the relief of Inishowen, which was, for many centuries, the principality of his house. This nobleman had but fifteen hundred men; he fought several skirmishes with the English, in which he behaved valiantly; but his rashness at length cost him his life and the victory. His troops seeing themselves without their chief, fled, and some of them surrendered to the conquerors. Thus ended this war, which lasted for almost five months, and excited great alarm to the English.

We must in this place introduce the history of a young heroine of the house of O'Donnel.* When Rory O'Donnel, earl of Tirconnel, had been obliged to fly his country in 1605, on account of a conspiracy of which he was falsely accused, his wife, the countess, was in a state of pregnancy. Wishing to accompany her husband to foreign countries, whither he had fled, she strove to leave Ireland secretly, but was prevented by the viceroy, who had her sent to England under a strong guard, where she lay-in of a daughter, who received the name of Mary at her baptism. The king being informed of the circumstances, though he had persecuted the earl of Tirconnel, wished to honor the father in the person of the child, and having taken her under his royal protection, commanded that she should be called Mary Stuart, instead of Mary O'Donnel, which was her real name.

The earl of Tirconnel having died at Rome, the countess, his wife, obtained permission of the court to return to Ireland with her daughter. This virtuous mother took care to give her child a Christian education, and had her well instructed in the religion of her ancestors. She often represented to her that the misfortunes which arose to her father, were produced by his attachment to that religion for which the grandeur of this world must be sacrificed. Mary was twelve years old when she was invited to England by her grandmother, the countess of Kildare, who presented her to the king. This monarch gave her a large sum, intended as her marriage portion, and the countess of Kildare, who was very rich, made her heiress to her fortune, so that the protection of the king towards the young princess, her illustrious birth, and her brilliant fortune, caused many noblemen in England, of the first distinction, to seek her in marriage. Among those who sought the hand of Mary, there was one who had been particularly attentive, and had applied to her relative and guardian, the countess of Kildare; but his being of the reformed religion, made a deep impression upon the mind of the young princess, and estranged her affections from him. Finding herself persecuted by the countess and her other relations in favor of an alliance that she thought incompatible with her honor and religion, this illustrious heroine formed the noble resolution to escape from them, and an unexpected occurrence favored her design.

A violent persecution was in progress against the Catholics of Ireland. O'Dogherty was up in arms to defend them; some Catholic leaders who were suspected of being concerned, were arrested and brought prisoners to England, to prevent them from joining in the cause of O'Dogherty. Constantine O'Donnel and Hugh O'Rorke, relatives of Mary Stuart, were of the number. In spite of their keepers, these two noblemen escaped, and found means to get over to Flanders. Suspicions were immediately set afloat that Mary Stuart assisted in effecting the escape of her friends; a nobleman at court informed her that the only mode of safety for her, was to marry one of those who professed the religion of the state; and also to conform to it herself, as this alone would satisfy the king and her grandmother the countess of Kildare. After this Mary was summoned before the council to account for her conduct.

Mary saw now that it was time to provide for her safety. She communicated her intentions to a young Catholic lady, who was her companion and attendant, and in whose fidelity and prudence she could confide. Her purpose was to go to Flanders to seek her brother, the young earl of Tirconnel, who was at the court of Isabella, the infanta of Spain, by whom the Low Countries were then governed, and by whom an asylum was afforded to all who were persecuted for their religion. Being obliged to change her apparel, in order to conceal her sex, Mary procured the clothes necessary for herself and the young lady who was to accompany her; she then took the name of Rodolphus Huntly, her companion that of James Hues, and their servant they called Richard Stratsi, by which names they were known during their voyage.

Every thing being prepared, and horses provided, they set out from London before day, and after many adventures, as related

* This history was written by Dom Albert Henriques, in the Spanish language, and printed at Brussels; it was subsequently translated into French by Abbé MacGeoghegan.

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by the author of this account, Mary and her companions sailed from Bristol; after a long and dangerous voyage they arrived at Rochelle, where being refreshed from her fatigues, she continued her journey through Paris to Brussels, at which place she met her brother, who presented her to the infanta, who received her with all possible marks of distinction. The report of the intrepid conduct of Mary Stuart was soon spread throughout Europe: she was compared to Euphrosine of Alexandria, Aldegonde, and other Christian virgins of antiquity; and Urban VIII., who was then pope, addressed to her the following letter:

"Urban VIII., to our dear daughter in Christ, Mary Stuart, countess of Tirconnel, greeting, health, and apostolical benediction.

"The sacrilegious mouth must be at length silenced, which has dared to affirm that the inspirations of Christianity enervate the soul and check the generous emotions of the heart. You, our dear daughter, have given to the world a proof of the contrary, and have shown what strength and courage are imparted by the true faith—how superior to all dangers, and to the very efforts of hell itself. This heroic courage is worthy the protection of Rome, and the praises which fame confers. Your horrors of an alliance with a Protestant have been nobly displayed, and resemble that terror which an apprehension of fire produces. The allurements of a court, and menaces of its sovereign, have tended only to excite your abhorrence for both. The sea, and its accompanying terrors, have produced no obstacle to your flight, the honor of which is more glorious than a triumph; even though mountains were overwhelmed and buried in the deep, your confidence in the mercies of the Lord would be still unshaken, that country being yours where religion sits triumphant. You have succeeded in escaping from the persecution of English inquisitors, and, protected by angels, you have been preserved from every accident throughout your journey; accompanied by our paternal regards, you have arrived at the court of the infanta, where religion hath received you into its bosom. We therefore implore the Lord who has been your support, to reward you as your virtues have merited. We write with a hope of dispelling the remembrance of your fatigues and suffering, which are worthy to be envied, since they have earned for you a crown of glory. Receive our most tender benedictions, and, as you have abandoned both relatives and country in obedience to a love for Jesus Christ and us, receive also our assurance that, instead of exile, you have found a mother that loves you tenderly—you yourself know that such is the name and character of the Roman church; she will cherish you as her worthy daughter, who does honor to the British isles. Given at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's ring, on the 13th February, 1627, the fourth year of our pontificate."

Hume, an author less esteemed at Oxford than in Paris, says in his history of Great Britain, that "James I. considered his government of Ireland a masterpiece of policy." If we examine the subject closely, it will appear, on that head, that his vanity was unfounded.

Hume's assertions may obtain belief among foreigners, but cannot make the same impressions on those who are acquainted with the history of the times; to the Irish, in particular, his history is a paradox.

The king of Scotland, before his accession to the throne of England, encouraged the Irish to rebel, and furnished them secretly with aid against Queen Elizabeth, either for the purpose of securing to himself (by reducing her power) the succession to the crown of England, or to be revenged for the cruelties that had been inflicted upon his mother, Mary Stuart. When seated upon the British throne, he viewed things in an altered position. The revolt of the Irish, which appeared to him in Scotland an act of heroic bravery, seemed to him now, when king of England, an act of aggression. The most solemn submission of the Irish, particularly of their leaders in Ulster, was not able to avert the thunder which was ready to crush them. This prince, without any other trial or investigation than the testimony of a vile and obscure character named Lenane, confiscated to the use of the crown six counties in Ulster, as has been observed, under a pretext of a conspiracy, evidently fabricated by his own ministers. He sent over a body of English and Scotch fanatics, among whom he divided the confiscated estates. He liberally bestowed on indigent favorites the lands which had belonged, during many centuries, to the O'Neills, O'Donnels, Maguires, MacMahons, O'Reillys, O'Doghartys, O'Cahans, O'Hanlons, Mac-Canns, Mac-Sweenys, O'Boyles, Mac-Bradys, Mac-Caffrys, O'Flannegans, O'Haghertys, and several other ancient nobles of Ulster. James had the misfortune of conferring estates on ungrateful men, who were afterwards the most inveterate enemies of his family. It was thus that God, whose ways are inscrutable, made these favorites the instruments of his vengeance for oppressed innocence.

"The whole province of Ulster," continues Hume, "having fallen to the crown by an act of proscription against the rebels, a new company was established in London, for sending over fresh colonies of English and Scotch to that fertile province. The Irish were removed to the flat country, from the mountains and places that could be defended; they were instructed in agriculture and the arts, and provided with settled habitations. Thus, from being the wildest and most rebellious province in the kingdom, Ulster soon became the most civilized and best cultivated."

This parade does not tell much for the glory of the English monarch; his zealous panegyrist endeavors to make the most flagrant injustice appear a meritorious act, and the ruin of a whole province to have been a glorious performance. Under pretext of civilizing the inhabitants of Ulster, James I. reduced them to beggary, depopulated their country, and dispossessed men of high birth, to enrich needy courtiers whose origin was scarcely known. A certain author says, that "had the mountains in Scotland been more populous, it is probable a pretext would have been discovered for confiscating six or seven more counties, to enlarge the Scotch colonies in Ireland."*

May we not ask, what good has James done for the Irish, and what gratitude can he claim from them? It will be answered, that James introduced agriculture and the arts; and that he brought them from mountains and places where they would have been able to defend themselves, to inhabit a flat country. What good would a knowledge of arts and agriculture be to men who had no land to cultivate? Were the descendants of noble families to become artisans, laborers, and servants, to cultivate what had been their own estates, for the benefit of adventurers on whom they were conferred by James I.? He boasted of his administration in Ireland; but, in spite of all that Hume can advance, his vanity was groundless; and if gratitude be measured by kindness, the Irish have cause to detest the memory of this prince.

"James I.," says Hume, "introduced humanity and justice among a people who had previously been buried in the most profound barbarism." Similar phrases are frequently repeated in the works of this learned historian; but a close examination is needed to form a just opinion of them; let us first refer to what has been frequently observed in the course of this history, and remember what has been admitted by all reasonable men, that a lettered and Christian people have never been considered barbarous.

According to the English themselves, the Irish were celebrated in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, for their love of religion and literature. "The Irish," says the venerable Bede, "received with kindness strangers who came from every country, at these periods, to be instructed among them; and supplied them with every thing, even with books, gratis."*

The Anglo Saxons, says a celebrated author, went to Ireland at this time, as if to purchase science. "The disciples of St. Patrick," continues he, "made so rapid a progress in Christianity, that in the succeeding age Ireland was called the island of saints."†

According to Usher, Ireland took precedence of every nation in Europe in religion and learning.‡ Every discerning man will give credit to such historical testimony. They were Englishmen who have given these accounts, so opposite to Hume, who pretends that the Irish had remained in a state of barbarism till the reign of James I.

In continuation of this subject, let us examine into the state in which Ireland was in those ages which immediately preceded the arrival of the English. Religion and literature suffered greatly in the ninth and tenth centuries by the frequent invasions of the Danes; but after the total overthrow of these barbarians, in the beginning of the eleventh century, they flourished anew in all their former lustre, and Ireland produced men of the first order for piety and learning; among whom were St. Celsus, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland in the beginning of the twelfth century,§ who was acknowledged, even by the English cotemporary writers, to have been a man of universal learning; St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, so well known from his life written by St. Bernard; St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, who was canonized by Pope Honorius III; Christian, bishop of Lismore; Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate; and Maurice, or Mathew, archbishop of Cashel, who, according to Cambrensis,‖ was a learned and discreet man. We might here mention many others, both prelates and holy persons, who studied in Ireland, without being indebted to a foreign country for their education; they all flourished in the century

* Ancient and modern state of Ireland, page 58.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 17.
† Cambd. Britan. page 730.
‡ Usser. Primord. Eccles. 17, page 899.
§ War. de Archiepis. Ardmach.
‖ Topograph. Hib. cap. 32.

immediately preceding the invasion of the English, and some of them lived till the coming of these strangers. The Irish were a literary people from the time they received the gospel in the fifth century, till the twelfth: they were consequently polished; as it is allowed that religion and learning are the source of cultivated manners, and that the nation which enjoys this double advantage is considered civilized, and not barbarous.

Hume has not given the period in which the gross barbarism commenced, from which, according to him, the Irish were rescued by James I. If he were candid he would acknowledge that such a state must be dated from the time of the English invasion. The cruelties practised during four hundred years, particularly throughout the fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, were sufficient to make the most civilized sink into a state of barbarism and ferocity. The force of truth draws from Hume himself, in spite of his prejudices, a justification of the Irish; the following are his words: "The English carry their ill-judged tyranny too far; instead of inviting the Irish to participate in the most polished custom of the conquerors, they deny them the privileges of the laws, and treat them altogether as strangers and enemies: unprotected on the side of justice, the wretched inhabitants see no security but in force; flying from the vicinity of their towns, which they dare not enter with safety, they seek in the woods and bogs an asylum against the insolence and tyranny of their masters, who have changed them into wild beasts."

The denial of the protection of the laws to the Irish, was productive of the most frightful consequences; from this arose usurpation, rapine, murder, and a violation of all law, human and divine. To kill a mere Irishman, or a wild animal, were crimes of equal import; the murderer was acquitted by saying, "the person killed was a mere Irishman, and not of free blood;" consequently the judge pronounced according to the law, and the criminal was freed. Of this many examples have been extracted from the archives in the castle of Dublin, by Davis, who was himself an Englishman. In the most polished nations there are barbarians and monsters that disgrace humanity by their crimes; but these are individuals only, whom the law visits with a severe punishment according to their guilt. But here is a case in which the most inconceivable cruelties are sanctioned by the law against a whole nation. Such has been for many centuries the conduct of the English towards the people of Ireland; they have the hardened audacity to treat as barbarous, men whose only crime has been to defend their religion and properties against the criminal attempts of usurpers. If the deeds of the two people be weighed in the scale of reason, the English will be found to be the more barbarous.

While the Irish groaned beneath the yoke of English tyranny, they were no longer free. Surrounded on every side by a merciless enemy, who kept them in continual alarm, they lost all hopes of being able to cultivate the fine arts. Hostilities and the devastation inseparable from war—with their concomitant attendants, misery, poverty, and famine—have certainly helped to make the Irish people less civilized, without, however, falling into that depth of barbarism which Hume ascribes to them.

Our author says that "Ulster was at this period the wildest province in Ireland." This is the style of the English; they framed their opinion of the Irish according to the opposition they met with from them. The people of Ulster were free and warlike, and would not bend to slavery; they distinguished themselves against the English, particularly during the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign; consequently these usurpers considered them more wild and savage than the rest of the kingdom. "But thanks to James I.," says Hume, "Ulster soon became civilized, and was the most highly cultivated part of Ireland."

On account of some of their customs, our author deems the Irish barbarous; "according to the law which they called Brehon, no crime, not even the most enormous, was punished with death; the culprit escaped by paying a fine. As murder itself was liable to no other punishment, every person had a price set on his person, in proportion to his rank. Whoever was inclined to pay the fine, had nothing to fear for assassinating his enemy. The price of each Irishman was called his Eric."

How absurd it is to tax a nation with barbarity, for customs which prevailed among the most polished nations. That with which the Irish are reproached, was formerly in use among the Franks, examples of which are to be met with in the Salic law. Athelstan, a Saxon king of England in the tenth century, one of the legislators and great princes who governed that kingdom, enacted a law by which he fixed the price of homicide, according to the different ranks of the clergy and laity, which they called *Weregild;* it was the same as the Eric of the Irish.*

* Seld. tit. Honor, part 11, cap. 5, page 342.

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"Gavelkinde and Tainistry," continues Hume, "two other customs relating to property, were equally absurd." Gavelkinde prevailed in the county of Kent, and in other parts of England;* instead of the eldest alone inheriting, the lands were equally divided between the brothers, which custom was confirmed by William the Conqueror, in imitation of his predecessors. France, under the first race, was divided into as many kingdoms as there were princes.

The reign of James was considered peaceful, from his having been engaged in no war with his neighbors. His prodigality left him in a state of continual indigence. The court was always the scene of the intrigues of favorites, and of luxury, masquerading, balls, and other similar amusements, so that his love of pleasure, his effeminacy, and perhaps a want of courage, inspired him with that aversion for war, which he was desirous might be thought the result of his talents, prudence, and refined policy. Opinions vary as to this prince's character; some load him with praise, others with abuse; according to some, he was an accomplished, wise, and just king, the friend of his people, and comparable only to Solomon; while others maintain that he was a monster of impiety and tyranny. The ideas of James respecting religion and government were extraordinary; he thought his own power should be without bounds, and had adopted the system of an indifference in doctrine; he was neither a good Protestant nor a good Catholic, but looked upon any religion to be good which inculcated implicit obedience to the sovereign. His principal object was the establishment of his despotic authority: he had scarcely ascended the throne of England, when his acts proved the servitude that he intended to establish, whereby he lost the confidence and good will of his new subjects; and so tyrannous was his reign, that his people detested, and foreigners despised him.

James was violent in his persecution of the Catholics; he caused many severe laws to be enacted against them, and made them feel their full force. His weakness was known to the Puritans, who were, in principle, enemies to monarchy; he suffered them to multiply, and this indolence proved fatal to his family. This prince received but a moderate education, little suited to his rank; and what he did know, savored so much of pedantry, that it was said he was better adapted to be employed at Oxford than to govern a kingdom.

* Bak. Chron. Reign of William I., p. 21.

James died on the 27th March, 1625, aged 59 years, 22 of which he reigned in England. He was married to Anne, daughter of Frederick II., king of Denmark, by whom he had two sons, Henry and Charles; the former died before his father, and the latter succeeded him upon the throne of England; he had likewise a daughter named Elizabeth, who was married to Frederick V., count-palatine of the Rhine. He had several other children by the same marriage; among the rest was Sophia, who was married to Ernest of Brunswick, duke of Hanover, from whom is descended the present king of England.

Charles I., only son of James I., succeeded him on the throne of England, A. D. 1625. In May following, he married Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. The high endowments of Charles I. portended a happier reign than that in which this unhappy prince terminated his career; but all his misfortunes arose from the fanaticism of his subjects.

Puritanism, which was a reformation of the English Church, and which produced the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart, made rapid strides in Scotland during the minority of her son James, who, when he became king of Great Britain, endeavored to check the increase of the sectarians, and unite his English and Scotch subjects in one religion.* For this purpose he composed a liturgy or form of common prayer, with the consent of the general assembly of Aberdeen, which he sent to Scotland to be used in the churches there; but his death, which took place in the interval, prevented the execution of his design.

In imitation of his father, Charles I. ordered the English liturgy to be adopted in his chapel at Edinburgh, and took measures to establish it throughout the kingdom of Scotland. The bishops and nobles of the king's council in Edinburgh ordered it to be read in the principal church on the 23d of July, and to have it announced to the people on the preceding Sunday. The congregation was immense; the dean of Edinburgh, who was to read the liturgy, ascended the pulpit, but had scarcely opened the book, when he was interrupted by the cries and hisses of the multitude; an old woman called Jane Gaddis got up in the crowd, and threw the stool upon which she had been sitting at the preacher, crying out, *Begone, perfidious thief! are you going to say mass for us?* The bishop of Edinburgh then mounted the pulpit, to appease the tumult

* Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the year 1637.

by reminding them of the sanctity of the place; but he too met with similar insults. All his remonstrances were in vain; the populace became more outrageous, and threw every thing they could meet with at the prelate, whose life would have been in danger but for the provost and town officers, who succeeded in driving the mob away, after the windows of the church had been broken.

We have now come to the decline of regal authority in England and in Scotland, A. D. 1638. The Scotch openly resisted the king's mandates, and held meetings, in which, under the mask of religion, they shook off the yoke and prepared for war. They applied to the neighboring states for assistance, and sent to Sweden and Holland some Scotch generals to take command of their armies. They made themselves masters of the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and other fortifications. Arms and ammunition were taken from the king's arsenal at Dalkeith, and the command of the Scotch army given to Alexander Lesly, a man of some experience in war.

Charles I., having collected a considerable army, marched towards Berwick, to punish the insolence of his Scotch subjects, and encamped about two miles from that town, A. D. 1639. General Lesly and his forces were at a short distance, but being badly prepared for battle, they sent proposals to the king, which he had the weakness to accept of, on condition of laying down their arms. This pretended peace did not extinguish the rebellion; it broke out anew with increased violence in 1640. The fanatics entered England, defeated the king's troops at Newburn, and seized upon Newcastle.

"The king," says Lord Castlehaven,* "alarmed by this success of the rebels, repaired to York, where he held a council composed of all the peers of the kingdom; a conference was held at Rippon, to treat for a suspension of hostilities, which was concluded, to the disgrace of the English nation, on condition of paying to the Scotch twenty-five thousand pounds sterling a month."

The Scotch fanatics had friends in England, even among the lords of the council, who turned every thing to their advantage.† They carried their insolence so far as to publish an edict at the head of the army, expressive of their determination not to lay down their arms till the reformed religion (Puritanism) should be established on a firm footing in both nations, and the Protestant bishops and lords who had been opposed to it punished according to the laws, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Strafford. This seditious declaration was published in London, and in all the principal towns of the kingdom.

The people demanded a parliament. The king, having dismissed the peers, gave orders for the convocation of the *bloody* parliament, as an English author terms it, which met at Westminster on the third of November following. They condemned the king to death, and by an extraordinary revolution overthrew the monarchy and the monarch. The poison of Puritanism having crept into this body, particularly the commons, fanaticism was supported, while the king was contradicted in all his acts. On the opening of the first session, the king represented that the Scotch fanatics, without any legitimate motive, had entered England sword in hand, and were devastating the country with impunity. His Majesty proposed to the two houses to concur with him in every thing that would be necessary to put down the rebellion and protect his faithful subjects. The proposal was badly received; it tended only to inflame the factions more and more; instead of calling those traitors and rebels who were armed against their sovereign, they were treated as dear brethren, and three hundred thousand pounds given for their good services. When it was debated in the house how this sum was to be paid, Gervasus Holles,* a member of the assembly, was driven out by a majority of voices, for having said "the better way of paying the rebels was to drive them out of the country with arms." So highly favored were the Scotch fanatics by those of England, that the friends of the king were despised; while the more this weak prince yielded to their demands, with a hope of bringing them back to their duty, the more insolent and imperious they became, as nothing less than a total subversion of the government could satisfy their ambition. The king granted at first a privilege (till then unknown in the kingdom) of holding triennial parliaments, which afterwards he declared perpetual; by which means he ceased to be any longer their master. The Protestant bishops were sent to the tower, an act which at once lost the monarch twenty-six voices in the parliament, and left the intentions of that body concerning the monarchy no longer doubtful.†

The unfortunate Charles was betrayed on

* Memoirs of Lord Castlehaven, pp. 6, 7, et seq.
† Baker, ibid.

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, ibid.
† Baker's Chronicles of Engl. on 1637.

all sides; every thing portended his misfortunes and the fall of the monarchy. The Scotch fanatics of Ireland, whom his father had loaded with favors at the expense of the Catholics, as has been already observed, conspired with their English and Scotch brethren to destroy him. Seeing that the abolition of episcopacy and the monarchy was determined upon by the Puritans both of England and Scotland, those of Ireland thought that the opportunity would be favorable for destroying Catholicity in their own country. A petition, signed by many thousands, was presented for that object to the rebellious parliament of England; its prayer being that the Irish Papists should be obliged either to turn Protestants or quit the kingdom, and that those who would not submit to that law should be hanged at their own doors. So certain were the Puritans in Ireland of carrying their design, that they boasted in public that at the end of the year there would not be a single Catholic in the kingdom.

These Irish fanatics forwarded to Ulster their wicked petition, to have it signed by their partisans in that province; it fell, however, into the hands of some Catholics, through a minister named Primrose, who was struck with the horror of their designs. The discovery alarmed the Catholics, who now saw that they must lay before the government their complaints of these violent proceedings, so contrary to the repeated assurances of protection that were held out to them. This, however, was of no avail. Sir William Parsons and John Borlase, chief-justices, governed the country in the absence of the viceroy.* These were both rigid Presbyterians; they had openly declared themselves favorable to the parliament that opposed the king, and consequently were averse to listen to any complaints from the Catholics. The king's affairs in England at the time were so embarrassed, that he could afford no remedy to the complaints of the Catholics, particularly in Ireland, while the House of Commons carried so high a hand against the Protestant bishops and clergy of England. Such was the state of things in Ireland before the massacre of 1641. The consternation among the Catholics was great; they saw themselves abandoned to the fury of their enemies, and no remedy or protection to be expected.

While the Catholics of Ireland were deliberating among themselves what should be done at so alarming a crisis, the king saw, though too late, that his parliament in England was plotting his destruction. He therefore appointed the marquis of Antrim to proceed to Ireland with orders for the earl of Ormond, who was then lieutenant-general of the royal forces there. Ormond was instructed to concert with the most faithful of the king's subjects in Ireland, the means proper for seizing the chief-justices, who were parliamentarians, and to declare in favor of his majesty against the proceedings of the English parliament.

The earl communicated his commission to a select number of Catholics and Protestants. After some meetings held upon the subject, the 16th of November, on which day the Irish parliament was to meet, was fixed upon for the execution of their plan.

To avoid a confused recital of facts, we must follow the order of events, and the motives which produced them. The rising of the Irish against the government of the parliamentarians, the attempt to seize the castle of Dublin, the hostilities in Ulster by the forces of Phelim O'Neill, and the horrible massacre that ensued, will be given in course.

The ancient Irish, towards whom the earl of Ormond observed a deep secrecy, were greatly offended as soon as his projects were whispered among them. They thought themselves as well entitled to the confidence of the king as any of his subjects, and therefore such a distinction was unseasonable and injurious to the cause. Sir Phelim O'Neill; Rory O'Morra, to whom Ballina, in the county of Kildare, belonged;* Connor Maguire, lord-baron of Inniskillen; MacMahon of Monaghan; Philip O'Reilly, the chief of Cavan, and several other noblemen of Ulster, formed a resolution to anticipate the plans of Ormond. They determined to effect by their services, not only the free exercise of their religion, as the Scotch conspirators had some time before obtained for themselves, but likewise the recovery of their properties which had been so unjustly wrested from them about thirty years before, by the English and Scotch Presbyterians, whose predilection for the rebellious parliament was manifest to all.

These noblemen appointed the 23d of

* The earl of Strafford was viceroy of Ireland till March 12th, 1641. After he was beheaded in England, the lord-lieutenancy was given to the earl of Leicester

* He was descended from the illustrious tribe of the O'Morras of Leix, so celebrated for their attachment to the interests of religion and their country, and by their noble efforts in favor of both, particularly during the reign of Elizabeth This house is not yet extinct.

October, 1641, for the execution of the measures they had planned, viz., seizing upon the castle of Dublin and the lords-justices at the same time, together with some forts in the north.* Lord Maguire and some others of the nobility were appointed to head the attack on Dublin; the plot, however, was betrayed the day before which it was to be carried into effect, by his own servant, named Connelly. This traitor was amply remunerated; and having embraced the Protestant religion, he earned for his descendants, by his perfidy, considerable possessions in Ireland. Maguire and MacMahon were taken prisoners, sent to England, and hanged at Tyburn. Sir Phelim O'Neill was more fortunate in Ulster, where he made himself master of Charlemont, and other forts.

The earl of Castlehaven gives an account of the grievances of these noblemen, and the motives which induced them to rebel.† He says, first, the English governors in Ireland, so far from treating the Irish as free subjects, looked upon them as a conquered people, and adds, that when a nation is dissatisfied, and cruelly treated, the inhabitants will consider themselves bound only to obey as long as they are constrained, but will feel themselves justifiable in attempting to regain their freedom, on the first opportunity that may arise.

Secondly—These noblemen were indignant in consequence of James I. having confiscated six counties in Ulster to enrich the Scotch, without in the least indemnifying the old proprietors, several of whom had never been implicated in Tyrone's rebellion, which was the pretended motive for this confiscation.

Thirdly—The tyranny of the earl of Strafford, who was viceroy of Ireland in 1635, alarmed the Irish nobility. In order to enrich himself and his dependants, this nobleman determined to show the titles of many proprietors of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, who had enjoyed their estates for centuries, to be imperfect. One instance will suffice to make the reader acquainted with the injustice of his attempts. The O'Brenans, who were proprietors of an extensive territory called Idough, in the county of Kilkenny, were declared to keep unlawful possession of that district, on the pretence that Henry II. had claims upon it nearly five hundred years before. This was sufficient to procure the sentence of expulsion against these supposed retainers of the property of others. Sir Christopher Wandesford, a relative to the viceroy, obtained the whole territory, with letters patent confirming the donation. However, experience shows that men whose estates have been seized upon and confiscated, will not be restrained, by either religion or allegiance, from embracing the means of resisting the power that oppresses them. The following is an example: the Trivernates, who were crushed by the Romans, sent ambassadors to Rome to demand peace. On appearing before the senate they were asked, what peace a people who had so often violated it, could expect from the Romans? The deputies answered with firmness, "If the peace be honorable, it will be lasting; if not, it cannot continue long, do not think that a people will submit to terms which oppress them longer than they are forced to do so."*

Fourthly—After the meeting of the English parliament, penal laws were enacted against the Catholics of Great Britain, and a great number of petitions were presented to have the Catholics of Ireland treated with the same rigor. It required nothing more to alarm a people so warmly attached to their ancient religion.

Lastly—The Scotch having taken up arms against their lawful prince, under pretext of having their grievances redressed, succeeded not only in obtaining new privileges, (among which was the exercise of a new religion,) but also the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, and eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for several months. Is it then to be wondered at, says Lord Castlehaven in conclusion, if the Irish were roused by the example of the Scotch? their case was infinitely more deplorable; they took up arms, not against their sovereign, but against his rebel subjects: their endeavors were not to introduce a new religion into the state, but to enjoy in peace that which they had professed for ages.

The conspiracy of Maguire and other Irish Catholics, afforded great satisfaction to the lords-justices and council.† They were too deeply interested, and, at the same time, too politic, to let so favorable a moment escape them of enjoying the opportunity for confiscation. In order to save appearances, proclamations were issued against the rebels of Ulster, and all the king's faithful subjects were invited to unite in suppressing the rebellion, though in reality they wished it would extend to the other provinces, and involve all in a similar crime of violating the laws.

In the mean time the parliament met on

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, page 9.
† Memoirs, page 10, et seq.

* Livy, book 8.
† Ireland's Case, page 30, et seq.

the 16th of November, 1641, in the castle of Dublin. It was composed of Catholics as well as Protestants The lords-justices, Parsons and Borlase having laid before the members the horrors of the revolution which had just broken out, and how necessary it was to prevent the consequences which it threatened, both houses protested unanimously against the rebellion, and passed an act, by which they bound themselves to sacrifice life and fortune in defence of his majesty's interests, and of the tranquillity of his government. This, however, did not suit the designs of the lords-justices, who were frequently heard to say, "the more rebels the more confiscations."* The parliament was therefore prorogued, to the great disappointment of both houses, and of all good men.

This proceeding raised the courage of the malecontents, who began the tragedy; they flew to arms, and soon became a formidable army, capable of laying siege to Drogheda. Major Roper was sent from Dublin to the relief of that town, at the head of seven or eight hundred men; he was defeated at Gillianstown by the Cavan troops under Philip O'Reilly, chief of the ancient tribe of the O'Reillys of that district. The conquerors put the neighboring country under a weekly contribution for their support, as the Scotch had done the preceding year in the north of England; but this act, which was thought pardonable in the Scotch in England, was considered criminal in the Irish.

The refusal of arms by the government to the Catholics, shows that they wished to feed the flames of rebellion in the north, in hopes that it would extend itself to the whole kingdom. Notwithstanding that many made offers of their services to the king, and proposed to enter into security for their allegiance, they were treated more like rebels than as subjects. The violence exercised against them was so great, that the earl of Castlehaven, who ventured to speak against their oppressors, was arrested, and kept several months in prison, where he would probably have spent the remainder of his life, or perhaps have lost his head, if he had not had the good fortune to escape from the hands of his keepers.

The king, who had been kept in profound ignorance of affairs in Ireland, discovered, when too late, the cause of the disturbances.† He saw that they emanated from the same source as the revolt of the republican party in England and Scotland, who had formed the project of destroying both himself and his government. In the twelfth chapter of his Eikon Basilike, the king expresses himself in the following words on this subject:* "It is certainly the opinion of many sensible men, that the extraordinary rigor and unjust severity made use of by some people in England, caused the discontent which had long existed in Ireland to degenerate into rebellion; when discontent is turned into despair, and oppression into a fear of extirpation, rebellion will naturally succeed, in order both to escape present tyranny, and to counteract those evils which threaten, through the interested zeal or fanaticism of those who think that it is a proof of the truth of their religion to admit of none but their own." "There is," continues the prince, "a kind of zeal that looks upon compassionate moderation as disinterestedness, some preferring the idea of cruelty to that of indifference; and that to kill a bear for his skin is better than for any injury he has done; the confiscation of estates is more advantageous than that charity which enjoins us to save the lives of those to whom they belonged, and reform their errors. I consider those who have excited rebellion in my other kingdoms highly criminal in not checking the awful effusion of blood in Ireland."

Charles I. himself exculpates the Irish Catholics; he ascribes their revolt to the mad zeal of some who wished to restrain them in the exercise of their religion, and to the cupidity of others who forced them to rebel in order to confiscate their properties. The king was so fully persuaded of this, that he sent orders to the lords-justices of Ireland to publish, in his name, a general amnesty to all who would submit within forty days. This order filled with dismay these leeches, who hoped to gain extensive estates by the revolt of the Irish. In obedience to the king, they, however, published his orders; but with certain restrictions; thus, instead of forty days, they allowed the Irish but ten to make their submission; and, instead of extending the monarch's pardon to all ranks and conditions, they excluded, by their own authority, all those who were landed proprietors. The impossibility of repairing from the distant parts of the kingdom to Dublin within ten days, and the unjust exclusion, contrary to the king's commands, of landed proprietors, proved the wicked intentions of the Irish rulers; who, however, finding themselves supported by the fanatics in England and Scotland, permitted nothing to impede their designs. In order to prevent for

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, page 31, et seq.
† Ireland's Case, page 32, et seq.

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, pp. 20, 21. Ireland's Case, pages 32, 33.

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the future, the king's interference with the affairs of Ireland, they determined to punish severely whomsoever would dare to give him any account of them. Sir John Read, who undertook to promise the Catholics that he would make their grievances known to his majesty, was taken by the earl of Ormond and sent to Dublin; on being questioned by the justices, he avowed every thing, and was sent to prison, where he was put to the rack by order of these tyrants. They persuaded themselves that they would be able to force him, by tortures, to accuse even the king and queen of having encouraged the Irish to rebel.* About the same time Patrick Barnwall, lord of Killbrew, aged 66 years, experienced similar treatment; his crime being that of appearing on the faith of the amnesty which had been proposed to all who would submit within ten days after the proclamation—not having had any apprehension that landed proprietors could be looked upon as criminal on account of their estates, or should be excluded from the king's amnesty.

The Irish who had taken up arms in Ulster, confined themselves to pillaging and despoiling the Protestants who had not appeared in arms against them, without depriving any man of life. The testimony of Sir John Temple on this subject is conclusive. "The Irish in Ulster," says he, "had killed but few Englishmen in the beginning, and during the first days of the rebellion. They contented themselves with forcing their houses, taking their properties, and seizing upon their flocks."† "The lords-justices and council of Ireland wrote to the viceroy, who was then in England, on the subject: this letter is dated October 25th, 1641. In this letter, which is quoted by Sir John Temple in his history of the rebellion, these governors gave the viceroy an account of the rebellion of the Irish, which they had received from some persons of rank in Ulster. They simply mention "that in the commencement of the revolt the Irish had pillaged and burned the houses of the English." They say nothing of the English being killed, but that acts of pillaging and burning had been committed. Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Terringham, and other English chiefs, were then in Ulster, and took care to inform the lords-justices of what they witnessed; it is therefore very improbable that they would have omitted so dreadful a circumstance as the pretended massacre of several Protestants; nor is it more probable that they could have been unacquainted with any outrage which had occurred.

After the discovery of the plot to surprise the castle of Dublin, the lords-justices, finding that few except those who had been deprived of their properties in Ulster in the preceding reign were concerned in the revolt, wished to implicate all those of the natives who still possessed good estates. For this object they dispatched troops to different quarters, while others hovered around the capital who coincided but too closely with the criminal views of their chiefs. In the beginning of November, 1641, they massacred about eighty persons, without distinction of either age or sex, in the villages of Santry, Clontarf, and Bullock, near Dublin The garrison of Carrickfergus, shortly before this, had massacred in one night every inhabitant of a peninsula in the county of Antrim called Oilean Magée, amounting to two or three thousand men, women, and children.* This was the signal for the destruction of an unoffending population, who had not taken up arms against the government, and whose only crime was, that they possessed an extensive territory. Similar cruelties were practised by Lord Broghill, in the counties of Cork and Waterford and the neighboring districts; by Coote in the county of Wicklow; by Captains Peasly, Brown, and others, in the county of Tipperary; and, in general, by all the Protestant garrisons of the kingdom.

It was not till they heard of the cruelties inflicted on their countrymen, that the Irish who had taken up arms in the north began to revenge the death of their fellow-citizens. Though the chiefs were not so barbarous as to wreak their vengeance on the innocent, they could not restrain their men from making reprisals. These were resolved to treat the Protestants in the north in the same manner as the Catholics of the other provinces had been treated. It was thus that each party, in revenge for the death of friends and neighbors, committed many acts of cruelty in cold blood.

It would be desirable for the honor of the two parties, that these atrocities were buried in oblivion. Though, however, both are without an excuse, still they who began the tragedy are most criminal. The barbarous orders of the Protestant commanders to their soldiery, when sending them in pursuit of the Catholics, are well known; they commanded

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, pages 38, 39.
† History of the Rebellion

* Ireland's Case, page 37, et seq. Account of the troubles in Ireland, page 3. Collection of the massacres committed on the Irish, printed in London, 1662, pp. 1, 8, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c. Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 37.

them to spare neither sex nor age, not even a child, were it but a hand high; which was the expression of Coote when sending his troops to scour the country.*

The conduct of the Catholic leaders was very different; they saw with horror the cruelties that were practised against Protestants, and those who committed them were disowned, and many put to death for disobedience of orders.† The truth of this statement is supported by the authority of the earl of Castlehaven, who witnessed what was passing in Ireland at that time. It is also confirmed by the remonstrances presented, in the name of the nation, on the 17th March, 1642, by Viscount Gormanstown and Sir Robert Talbot; and also by the offers of the Catholic agents in London, after the restoration of Charles II.; who proposed to have the murders committed on both sides investigated, and the authors punished according to the laws. The uneasiness which this proposal caused to the Protestants, proves how much they had to reproach themselves with on that head. They were not easy until they found that none but a few regicides, and the Catholics of Ireland, were to be excluded from the amnesty.

It cannot be calculated with precision how many perished during the twelve years that this cruel scene lasted, with more or less violence Protestant authors ascribe all the infamous conduct to the Catholics. The absurd and exaggerated catalogue given by Sir John Temple, and others, of three hundred thousand Protestants having been massacred in a single province, is both absurd and impossible.

Hume draws a horrifying, but incorrect picture of the Irish massacre in 1641,‡ in which the Irish alone are accused. All that he advances is a mere repetition of what had been previously extracted by the republican and fanatic writers of his own country from Sir John Temple, whose statements had been already refuted.

This part of Hume's history is carefully written: his style is striking, his descriptions are lively, and it is obvious that he strives to convince; but truth will always triumph by its own eloquence. The energy with which he condemns the Irish, shows the spirit by which he is actuated: according to him, none of them were massacred; the English alone were the sufferers. Were we to resort to recrimination, how great would be our advantage over Hume! we would discover sufficient matter to confute him in the conduct of his country towards Charles I. *He that lives in a glass house, ought not to throw stones at his neighbor*, we may be permitted to mention, with regard to the remark of Hume, that the Irish never either sold, or put their king to death.

Although we discover, from history, examples of bloody scenes in other nations, the massacre of Ireland was one of the most cruel and barbarous that has been recorded among Christians, both on account of its duration, and the fury of those who were the authors of it. If it be true, as every one believes, that both sides were culpable, it is equally true that the aggressors were more criminal than those who resorted to retaliation by revenging the death of their countrymen. Hume ought to have made some distinction between the parties. Different opinions, too, ought to be quoted on a contested subject, in order that the impartial reader may decide; but the bad faith of this author has made him pass over in silence respectable writers, by whom his positions would have been refuted.

We will now give the authentic testimony of Lord Castlehaven. "In the mean time," says this nobleman, "the justices and council of Ireland sent detachments from Dublin, and other garrisons in Ireland, with orders to kill and destroy the rebels: the officers and soldiers, without distinguishing rebels from subjects, killed indiscriminately, in many places, men, women, and children; which exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit, in turn, the same cruelties upon the English." It is evident, from the assertion of Lord Castlehaven, that the English were the aggressors, by order of their commanders, and that the crime of the Irish was, their having followed so barbarous an example.

"I cannot believe," says Castlehaven, "that there were at that time in Ireland, without the walls of the towns, a tenth part of the British subjects whom Temple and others mention to have been killed by the Irish. It is evident that he repeats two or three times, in different places, the names of persons, and the same circumstances, and that he puts down some hundreds as having been massacred at that time, who lived for several years afterwards. It is therefore right that, notwithstanding the unfounded calumnies which some have circulated against the Irish, I should do justice to their nation, and declare that it was never the intention of their chiefs to authorize the cruelties which were practised among them."

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 29. Ireland's Case, p. 53.

† Memoirs of Cast. ibid. Ireland's Case, ibid.

‡ Reign of Charles I.

The author of the "Catholic Vindication" is in accordance with Lord Castlehaven on this head. This writer, who is an Englishman of discernment, has done every thing to clear up the question; after indefatigable researches he concludes by saying, "all the hundreds of thousands who were represented to have been massacred in the north, did not exceed three thousand."

Sir William Petty, who was an English Protestant, and secretary to the usurper, Cromwell, who appointed him surveyor-general of Ireland, assures us, that after the most minute research, the number killed on both sides, either in battle or by massacre, during the civil war, did not exceed thirty-six thousand. After these respectable authorities, we look to the justice of the reader, who will balance the proofs, and not submit to the prejudices of Hume, who is palpably guilty of injustice and partiality.

It is a matter of surprise that a writer of Hume's merit would descend to be the echo of English tumult and clamor, which have been so often refuted; his character ought to rank above that of *scribblers*, such as Lord Castlehaven speaks of, and whom he reproaches with having borrowed their accounts from Temple.

The stranger who cannot be always on his guard against the false insinuations of an accredited author, may be easily imposed upon. He has not the opportunity to discover the truth of what is set forth by either the prejudiced or the partial historian, and he only who is acquainted with the history of the times, can discover the imposture.

From the manner in which Hume describes the massacre of 1641, it appears that he was determined to disparage the Irish at the entire expense of truth, which should be ever dear to the historian.

"The astonished English," he says, "living in profound peace and security, were, without opposition or provocation, massacred by their nearest neighbors, with whom they had lived for a long time in habits of mutual friendship and kind offices. Neither tortures, such as refined cruelty could devise, nor the agonies of the soul, or of despair, were sufficient to assuage the people's vengeance, which was excited without cause, nor allay their cruelties, which were inflicted without provocation."

It is not surprising that in so horrible a commotion some innocent people lost their lives on both sides; nothing can be more innocent *than a child of a hand high*. Still, there were no exceptions in the barbarous orders which Coote and other English officers had given to their soldiery, who were let loose to make their *bloody hunts* among the Irish Catholics.

We cannot but feel surprised at the air of confidence with which Hume speaks of the massacre the Irish committed upon the English, *without provocation, without injury, or cause given by the latter;* but is Hume's authority alone sufficient to convince the reader?

The example of the Scotch in a great degree caused the Irish Catholics to rebel; who were already dissatisfied at seeing themselves on the eve of either renouncing their religion or quitting their country. A petition to this effect, signed by many thousand Protestants of Ireland, and presented to the English parliament, justified their fears. It had been already boasted of in public, that before the end of the year there would not be a single papist in Ireland, this produced its effects in England. The king having, by a forced condescension, surrendered his Irish affairs to the parliament, that tribunal made an ordinance on the 8th December, which promised the entire extirpation of the Irish; it was decreed that popery would not be any longer suffered in either Ireland, or any other of his majesty's states. This parliament likewise granted, in February following, to English adventurers, in consideration of a certain sum of money, two millions five hundred thousand acres of profitable lands in Ireland, without including bogs, woods, or barren mountains, and this at a time when the number of landed proprietors implicated in the insurrection was exceedingly small. To satisfy the engagements entered into with the English, as above, many honest men, who never conspired against the king or state, were to be dispossessed, and the money raised by such means was subsequently applied to make that war against the king which at last brought him to the block.

The Irish, particularly those of Ulster, had not forgotten the unjust confiscation of six whole counties, within the forty years immediately preceding; they looked upon the new possessors as unjust possessors of the property of others, and if the means to drive out these intruders happened to arise, might they not have said what Simon the high priest said to the ambassador of Antiochus? "We have not usurped the lands of others, we are not keeping properties which belong to others; we look only to the inheritance of our fathers, which has been for some time in the unjust possession of our enemies." The ancient Irish proprietors saw with pain

their inheritance, which had been for many centuries in the possession of their ancestors, become the property of a troop of adventurers, taken for the most part from the dregs of the people, whose *prosperity* and *riches*, no doubt, excited the *jealousy* of those at whose expense their fortunes had been raised. These ancient proprietors could say with Jeremiah, "Our inheritance and our houses have fallen into the hands of strangers." The grief of these old proprietors was changed into revenge; they seized upon the houses, the flocks, and the furniture of the new comers, whose fine and commodious habitations, erected on the lands of the Irish, were destroyed either by force or by the flames.

Such were the hostilities committed against the English by the Irish in 1641. There was not a question about massacre until the English began to set the example, which then indeed was too closely copied by the Catholics of Ulster, and the contagion soon spread itself throughout the kingdom. It was no longer a dispute between two neighbors; it was a national hatred and antipathy between two people, viz., the Irish Catholics and English Protestants; this hatred was founded upon motives of religion and self-interest—motives which often stifle every sentiment of *humane and social sympathy* even between the nearest relatives and friends.

Such was the origin of that unhappy war that cost so much blood—such were the motives of the Irish insurrection in 1641, which was accompanied with such horrible consequences. In support of the truth of what has been set forth, writers whose testimony must be conclusive from their having been witnesses of what they stated, are introduced. Still they are not to Mr. Hume's taste; proofs have no influence on him; he mutilates and decides; and according to him, the Irish Catholics were the sole actors in this tragedy.

To enter more deeply into its causes and effects would exceed the limits of our history; it is, however, manifest, that the number of Catholics murdered during this war was six times greater than that of the Protestants. They, being scattered throughout the country parts, were of course exposed to the rage of a licentious soldiery, while the Protestants, who lived principally within walled towns and castles, were secured from the attacks of the insurgents. After the rebellion had broken out too, a great many Scotch and English returned to their own countries; so that those who were massacred by detachments sent from the English garrisons, whose orders were to spare neither sex nor age, must have been infinitely the more numerous. The Catholics who were put to death by the Cromwellians on account of the massacre were not very many; consequently, the number of Protestants who were killed in the beginning could not have been very great. So soon as the war had ended, courts of justice were held to convict the murderers of the Protestants. The whole who were convicted amounted to one hundred and forty Catholics, who were chiefly of the lower classes; though their enemies being the judges, witnesses were suborned to prosecute, and several among those found guilty declared themselves innocent of the crimes for which they were sentenced to suffer. If similar investigations had taken place against the Protestants, and witnesses from among the Catholics admitted against them, nine parliamentarians out of every ten would have been inevitably convicted (before a fair tribunal) of murder upon the Catholics.

The lords of the English pale took no part as yet in the disturbances: they were generally Catholics, who, viewing the dangers which threatened their religion and king, were driven to the sad alternative of rising in their own defence; circulars were sent to the Catholic chiefs of the other provinces, inviting them to assemble at Kilkenny in the beginning of May, 1642.* It was there that the celebrated association, called the *Catholic Confederates* of Ireland, was formed. From the state of affairs, it was clearly proved that the remedy must be as violent as the disease; but to avoid precipitancy at so important a crisis, and to act in accordance with religion and justice, the bishops and Catholic clergy who were present were consulted upon the expediency of the war which they were about to undertake: the following was the opinion of the ecclesiastics: "Inasmuch as the war which is declared by the Catholics of Ireland against Sectarians, and particularly against the Puritans, is intended for the defence of the Catholic religion, the preservation of our sovereign, King Charles, his just rights and prerogatives, and her majesty the queen, and the safety of the royal family, so basely persecuted by the fanatics, and also for the defence of our lives and fortunes, and the just liberties of our country, against usurpers and oppressors, particularly the Puritans—we consider and pronounce this war to be just and lawful: if, however, any one engage

* Vindiciarum Cath. Hiber. lib. 1, cap. 1.

in it through avarice, hatred, revenge, or other evil views, or from wicked advice, they are guilty of mortal sin, and merit the censures of the church, if, after being admonished, they continue to be guided by the above motives."

The church having declared the war to be lawful, the assembly appointed a council, called the supreme council of Kilkenny, who were invested with authority to govern the state, and whom all the representatives of the nation bound themselves by oath to obey. Orders were then given for the levying of troops, and generals were appointed for the four provinces, viz., Thomas Preston of the house of Gormanstown for Leinster, Colonel James Barry of Barrymore for Munster, Colonel John Burke of the house of Clanriccard for Connaught, and Owen Roe (Eugenius Rufus) O'Neill for Ulster; while in order to establish the confederacy on a firm basis, laws were enacted, which were admitted, even by their enemies, to be just and equitable.

The second meeting of the confederates was appointed for the 24th of October following; it resembled a parliament without distinction of houses, in which every act of the council since May was approved of. It was settled that the council should consist of twenty-four members, six from each province, and that after each general assembly the council should be confirmed or changed according to the will of members. It was also decreed that each province should have a council, to meet according to the exigency of affairs. In order to sanction the commissions and other public acts which emanated from this tribunal, a seal was made, called the seal of the council.

The Catholic confederates of Ireland having thus arranged their form of government, wished by a solemn act to secure the fidelity of those who composed the assembly, and at the same time to justify their proceedings, by proving to the world that their intentions were upright, and far from being a rebellion against their lawful prince. An oath, in the following terms, was for this purpose subscribed to by each member of the confederacy:

"I swear in the presence of God, and of his angels and saints, to defend the liberty of the Roman Catholic and Apostolical religion, the person, heirs, and rights of his majesty King Charles, and the freedom and privileges of this kingdom, against all usurpers, at the peril of my life and fortune."*

* Vindiciar. Cath. Hib. c. 1, p. 6.

When the general assembly of October had broken up, the council deputed ambassadors to the courts of France, Spain, and Rome.* M. Rochford was sent to France, and was succeeded by Geoffrey Barron; the reverend father James Talbot, of the order of St. Augustin, was sent to Spain; and Sir Richard Belling to the pope: he was succeeded by Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, and the latter by Sir Nicholas Plunket. These princes received the ambassadors of the confederates favorably, and sent representatives to Ireland as proof of their satisfaction. M. de la Monarie was sent by Louis XIII., king of France; he was succeeded by M. Dumoulin, and the latter by M. Taloon. Philip IV. of Spain appointed M'Fuysott, a native of Burgundy; O'Sullevan Bearre, earl of Beerhaven, was deputed after him, and lastly Dom Diego de Los Torres. The envoy of Pope Urban VIII. was Starampo, an ecclesiastic; he continued in Ireland till the arrival of Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, who was sent as legate by Innocent X. in 1645.

In the mean time the confederate army commenced their operations.† They were in the beginning badly provided with arms, artillery, &c., necessary for carrying on the war; and for some time their success was doubtful; however, they made themselves masters of several towns that had been in the hands of the Protestants, and in less than two years the latter were driven out of the interior of the country, and forced to take refuge in the seaports.

The king saw that the Irish Catholics had no design to withdraw their allegiance from him, and that they were forced by his own and their enemies to resort to arms. He therefore immediately recalled the lords-justices, and appointed the earl of Ormond viceroy.‡

The Catholic confederates expected a great deal from this change of government. They consented to lay down their arms, and agreed among them to advance thirty thousand eight hundred pounds to the viceroy for the purpose of sending the Protestant army to England.§ The viceroy, a more zealous Protestant than an able minister, refused the services of the Catholics, and would scarcely permit two thousand of them to proceed to Scotland to reinforce the royal party under the marquis of Montrose, where they had a

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, pp. 59, 60.
† Vindiciar. Cath. Hib. ibid.
‡ Ireland's Case, ibid. p. 48, et seq.
§ Vindiciarum Cath. ibid. cap. 2.

share in the heroic actions which that great man performed in the services of his king.*

The supreme council deputed Lord Muskerry, (afterwards earl of Clancarty,) Sir Nicholas Plunket, and a few others, to England, to lay their grievances before the king, and solicit his majesty in behalf of their religion and liberty. The king received these deputies with distinction, and sent them back to the viceroy, recommending to him to secure a peace with the Catholic confederates. His majesty afterwards wrote to him to put an end to the war in Ireland, to offer to his Irish subjects the free exercise of their religion, to annul *Poyning's Act*, and to grant a general amnesty for the past; in fine, to make peace *on any terms*. Charles judged well, that this would enable his Irish subjects to send him assistance against his rebellious parliament. The viceroy, however, neglected all his orders, and would make no peace with the Irish, till the king's affairs became irremediable.†

The Catholic confederates carried on the war with vigor against the Irish parliamentarians.‡ Murrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, was among the number of their enemies. This nobleman had been in the king's service, and sought the presidency of Munster; but the king having given preference to the earl of Portland, he deserted the royal standard, and the towns under his command, and declared for the parliamentarians, from whom he received the command of the province of Munster, with the title of president. It may be observed, that the houses of Thuomond and Inchiquin had imbibed, with their English titles, all the malignity of the English against the Irish. Under the auspices of a rebellious parliament, Inchiquin fought against his countrymen more like a robber than the general of an army; he destroyed every thing with fire and sword in his march through Munster. The holy city of Cashel, where the apostle of Ireland baptized the first Christian king of the province, did not escape his fury; in vain the terrified inhabitants sought safety in the cathedral church, the sanctity of which was no security against the tyrant. Inchiquin having given orders for an assault, commanded his soldiers to give no quarter, so that, between the carnage in and outside of the church, not one escaped. Twenty clergymen, with a vast multitude of people, perished on this occasion. He took pleasure in burning whole villages, houses, and the properties of the inhabitants; from which he was called *Murrough an toithaine* —that is, Murrough the incendiary, by which name he is still known in that province, where his memory is execrated.

The successes of Inchiquin in Munster alarmed the supreme council;* they dispatched the earl of Castlehaven to take the command of that province, instead of Barry, who was unsuccessful and unfit to serve, from his great age. In order to open the campaign early, Castlehaven collected his forces at Clonmel, amounting to five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, with some pieces of cannon. Having set out on his march, he seized upon several towns without reaching Inchiquin. The principal places he took were Caperquin, Michaelstown, Mallow, Donerail, Liscarrol, Milltown, Rostellan, Castle-Lyons; and after reducing the country as far as Youghal, he returned to Kilkenny in November.

After the battle of Naseby, and other battles which the king had lost by means of the English rebels, he was forced, in May, 1646, to throw himself upon the mercy of the Scotch rebels who were then at Newark. It was contrary to the interest of these fanatics that the king should make peace with the Irish Catholics, who might assist him against his enemies; and taking advantage of his misfortunes, they forced him to write to Ormond on the 11th of June, recalling all the authority he had previously given him for making peace with the Irish.

The council of the Catholic confederacy, alarmed at the postponement of the peace which Ormond was commanded to make, sent to demand a final answer. Ormond replied that he had received counter-orders from his majesty; however, he changed his decision soon afterwards, being determined to deny what he found contrary to his interest, under a pretext that his power had been annulled before the exchange of the articles.

Peace was at length proclaimed by Ormond; but the pope's legate, who had just arrived, having called a meeting of the prelates at Waterford, the latter finding that his majesty refused to acknowledge the commission of the earl of Glamorgan, as also that nobleman's negotiations with them, on which alone they could rely respecting the affairs of the church, and perceiving that this pretended peace contained nothing to secure freedom of conscience, nor the maintenance of the Catholic religion, they protested openly against it, and pronounced sentence of ex-

* Hist. of the Life of Montrose, Lond. edit. in 1652, c. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

† Ireland's Case, p. 50, et seq.

‡ Memoirs of Castlehaven, pp. 96, 98, 114.

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 100, et seq.

communication against all who would agree to it, as guilty of *voluntary perjury;* since, in the beginning of the association, they had sworn to accede to *no terms* without the approval of all, in a general assembly, which was held every year for the regulation of public affairs.*

The opposition of the clergy operated powerfully among the officers of the army and nobility throughout the kingdom, and the peace was universally condemned. The council having examined the articles, rejected it, and put the commissioners by whom it had been negotiated into prison. Sir Edward Butler, lord of Graig-Duiske, was created a peer of Ireland by the king about this time, under the title of lord-viscount of Galmoy.

The English parliamentarians, and their brethren the Scotch fanatics, were as strongly opposed to any accommodation with the Irish, as the Nuncio and the Catholics had been, but their motives differed. The refusal of the latter to make peace, arose much less from a spirit of revolt than to secure the free exercise of their religion: while the former hoped to build their greatness upon the ruin of others. They were dissatisfied with the conclusion of a war, the continuance of which would be productive of numerous confiscations: while a peace would be contrary to their plans, since it would raise assistance for the king against themselves. With these views, the English parliament took ten thousand Scotch into their pay, A. D. 1642, and sent them to the north of Ireland under Major-General Robert Monroe, rather to watch the movements of the Irish, than to reduce them completely.† This reinforcement was joined by five or six thousand Scotch who were already settled in the country, under Sir Robert Steward, and some English troops under Sirs Awdly Mervin, Theophilus Jones, and others, who had refused to agree to the truce which had been made with the Irish. Their army amounted to about twelve thousand men. According to the accounts of the lords-justices, they consisted of nineteen thousand. The English officers were subordinate to Monroe, who had the chief command, according to the agreement with the English parliament.

Monroe landed in Ireland in May. He marched to Carrickfergus, and seized on the castles of Newry and Carlingford, where he placed garrisons. The English commanders represented to him that the opportunity was favorable for continuing the conquest, and reducing the whole province, but he refused to cross the river Bann, in which refusal he followed the directions of his masters. Having condemned sixty men, eighteen women, and two priests to death in Newry, he returned to Carrickfergus, and on his march laid waste the lands of Lord Iveagh and Maccartan. He carried away four thousand head of cattle, and other property: the English forces expected a share in the booty, but the Scotch seized on all during the night; and the English seeing themselves deceived, mutinied, and would no longer join the Scotch in their robberies.

The Scotch general, after refreshing his troops at Carrickfergus, resumed hostilities in Antrim: he drove off with him five thousand head of cattle, burned Glenarme, and devastated the estates of the marquis of Antrim. Instead of going to fight an enemy, he enriched his country (Scotland) with the fruits of his plunder. About the same time, Sir Phelim O'Neill, together with Alexander Mac-Donnell, surnamed Colkittagh, i. e. left-handed. collected some troops; they were attacked the 19th of June, by Sir William and Sir Robert Steward. The action was very brisk, but the former were obliged to withdraw after losing five hundred men.

In the mean time the Scotch army in England* treated with the parliament to sell them the person of their king. He was accordingly given up to his enemies for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling,† on the 8th of February, 1646; and in a few months afterwards, the earl of Ormond surrendered to the commissioners from the parliament, the castle of Dublin, with the sword and other appendages of royalty. He, and the others who guarded it for the king, thought the castle was no longer tenable. This act procured for the earl a chain and medal of gold, besides the sum of thirteen thousand pounds sterling, as the earl of Anglesey, one of the commissioners, acknowledged.

Owen O'Neill was commander of the Irish troops in Ulster. He agreed with the pope's nuncio‡ regarding the peace of 1646, and the motives which influenced that minister to oppose it. In the spring of this year he travelled to Kilkenny to consult with that prelate on the state of religion and the country; and having received the succors he expected, he returned to Ulster.

This general collected his forces in the

* Ireland's Case, pp. 52, 53. Memoirs of Castlehaven, pp. 56, 57, 58, 118, 119.

† Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 81

* Ireland's Case, pages 54, 55.

† Commentaries on the English rebellion, by R. Manlius, part 1, lib. 2, p. 175, published in London, A. D. 1686.

‡ Life of Ormond, vol. 1, lib. 4, p. 575.

month of May, amounting to about five thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, with which body he marched towards Armagh. Monroe led his army, consisting of six thousand infantry and eight hundred horse, Scotch and English, and encamped within ten miles of the same place. Being informed that O'Neill was on his march, with a design of taking the city by surprise, the Scotch general decamped on the 4th of June, and advancing towards the city, arrived at midnight with a view of attacking O'Neill. Being informed that O'Neill was encamped at Benburb, Monroe marched the next day to attack him; but though superior in numbers to O'Neill, he sent orders to his brother, George Monroe, who commanded a force at Coleraine, to come and join him at Glaslough, near Benburb. O'Neill having information of the time he was to pass, immediately dispatched Colonels Bernard Mac-Mahon, and Patrick Mac-Nenay, with their regiments, to meet him and prevent a junction with General Monroe. These two officers performed their trust to the satisfaction of their commander. They cut the enemy, commanded by young Monroe, to pieces, and returned next day to Benburb, where they shared with O'Neill the honor of the victory they had gained over the Scotch and English. O'Neill was favorably posted between two hills, his rear being enclosed by a wood, and his right extending itself along the Blackwater. Being apprized that Monroe was at Glaslough, O'Neill moved his cavalry to a height, from whence he viewed the Scotch army on the opposite banks of the river. In the mean while, the Scotch crossed the river where it was fordable, near Kinard, and were marching to Benburb. O'Neill sent Colonel Richard O'Ferral to occupy a defile through which the enemy had to pass, but their cannon prevented him from keeping it, and he was forced to retire, which he did in good order.

The two armies began to prepare for battle; O'Neill kept the enemy employed for a while with light skirmishing and musketry, while waiting for the sun, which annoyed his troops during the day, to go down. He was expecting also the arrival of a detachment, which he sent the preceding evening against some of the enemy at Coleraine. When Monroe saw this force arrive, he thought that they were coming to join himself from the same place, but found his mistake on seeing them enter O'Neill's camp. O'Neill now commanded his men to advance within reach of the pike, and to begin with close fighting. His orders in this were most valiantly executed The English regiment commanded by Lord Blaney, after a vigorous defence, was cut to pieces; and the Scotch cavalry being broken by those of O'Neill, the rout became general. There was but the one regiment of Sir James Montgomery that retired in a body, the remainder of the army that escaped being thrown into the greatest disorder. Colonel Conway, who had two horses killed under him, accompanied by Captain Burke and about forty horsemen, reached Newry. Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner, besides twenty-one officers, and about a hundred and fifty soldiers; three thousand two hundred and forty-three of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and several were killed the day following in the pursuit. The loss on the side of O'Neill amounted to about seventy men killed and two hundred wounded. The whole of the Scotch artillery, arms, tents, baggage, and thirty-two stand of colors were taken. The booty was immense; it consisted of fifteen hundred draught horses and provisions of every kind for two months. General Monroe saved himself with difficulty on horseback, and fled without either hat or wig. After this defeat he burned Dundrum, and abandoned Portdown, Clare, Galway, Downpatrick, and other strong places. The consternation of his army was so great, that numbers fled to Scotland for safety.

The victory gained by General O'Neill seemed to portend the complete conquest of Ulster. His respect, however, for the orders of the nuncio, lost to him the fruits of his success. His excellency wrote to him in June, complimenting him on the victory he had gained, and beseeching him to march into Leinster, to the support of those who opposed the peace. The messenger found O'Neill at Tenrage, ready to fall upon the Scotch. However, in obedience to the nuncio's request, he assembled a council of war, when it was decided to march directly to Kilkenny, in conformity to which decision he issued his commands. His army was considerably increased upon their march. The general that acted with Preston, who commanded the Leinster troops, supported during some time the cause of the nuncio against his opponents. Preston, however, though attached to the cause of religion, did not cease to be a faithful servant to the king, notwithstanding that he lost the battle of Dungan Hill, near Linches-knock, in the county of Meath, against Jones, a general of the parliamentarians; he was created by Charles II. a peer of Ireland, under the title of Viscount Tara.

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The confederate Catholics being informed that the king was kept a close prisoner in England, while his enemies were seeking his destruction, and that the prince of Wales fled to France, whither the queen had withdrawn some time before, sent a deputation to that princess and her son. The marquis of Antrim and Lord Muskerry were commissioned to make known to the queen and the prince of Wales how eager they were to conclude a peace, and to assist in rescuing his majesty from imprisonment. Upon this the marquis of Ormond, who was then in France, was sent back to Ireland, about the close of September, 1648, and a peace was concluded, January 17th, which was called the peace of '48. This was immediately agreed to by the confederate Catholics, with the exception of a few who were headed by Owen O'Neill. He was offended with Ormond (who was jealous of his merit) for having refused him a post in the army, although allowed by all who knew him to be the bravest and most experienced general in the kingdom.

A scene of cruelty and barbarism, of which no history furnishes an example, was now going forward in England. A king sold by his fanatic subjects of Scotland to their English brethren for a sum of money, dragged from prison to prison, and at length publicly executed upon a scaffold. Such was the scene, and such the tragical end of Charles I. The limits we have proposed to observe in this concise history of the Stuarts, do not permit us to penetrate more deeply into circumstances which perpetuate the infamy of the perpetrators. "I could wish," says Cox,* "to throw a veil over the 30th day of January, that frightful day on which the father of his country suffered martyrdom. O! that I could say they were Irishmen who committed the abominable deed, and that it could be laid at the door of the papists; but though they might have participated indirectly in the crime, it is at least true that others were the actors, and we may say with the poet

——'Pudet hoc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.'"

This exclamation of Cox displays fully his disposition towards a people whose history he attempts to write.

While these proceedings were being carried on against Charles I. by his rebellious subjects, and during his trial and execution, the confederate Catholics drove the war vigorously forward against the parliamentarians.* They reduced every place in the kingdom to the king's power, except Dublin and Londonderry. Ormond intending to besiege the capital, marched his army in June to Finglass, a village within two miles of Dublin. The garrison, commanded by Colonel Michael Jones, was reinforced by some troops from England. These troops consisted of a regiment of horse and two of infantry, under the command of Colonels Venables and Hunks, well provided with provisions and warlike stores. The city being difficult of attack from the side of Finglass, Ormond crossed the river above the bridge with his army, and encamped at Rathmines. By the advice of his council he seized upon an old castle at Baggetrath, which commanded the entrance to the harbor. This gave him a twofold advantage, viz., it facilitated his approach, and prevented any succors arriving by sea to the besieged. He next sent workmen to repair the castle, and a force to protect them. This manœuvre greatly alarmed the garrison, and allowed the governor to see into its design and consequences. On the morning of the 2d of August, he made a sally in good order, retook the castle, and put the troops who were guarding it to the sword. This first success animated the garrison, the remainder of which marched against the camp. In vain did Sir William Vaughan oppose the enemy with a body of horse: they were routed, and he himself killed; and the panic having reached the rest of Ormond's army, he himself, his cavalry and infantry, were all shamefully put to flight.

The monarchy and house of lords being overthrown in England, the government of Ireland became an object of dispute to all the parties. The Presbyterians were for conferring it on Waller, the Independents were inclined towards Lambert; but after some debating, they all finally agreed that Oliver Cromwell was fittest for that important trust. He was accordingly nominated lieutenant. His departure for that country immediately followed, and accompanied by his son-in-law Ireton, he set out with a powerful army, consisting of seven regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, and one of dragoons.† Cromwell having landed in Dublin, marched straight to besiege Drogheda, of which Sir Arthur Ashton was the commander. A summons to surrender the town being rejected, Cromwell ordered a breach to be

* Reign of Charles I. p. 206.

* Baker, Chronicles of England, on the Reign of Charles II.

† Flegellum, or the Life of Cromwell, published in London, 1672, p. 48, et seq.

attempted, and a general assault made.* He was, however, twice repulsed with heavy loss: a third attack succeeded, and the city was taken on the 10th September.† Orders being issued to give no quarter, the garrison was accordingly put to the sword. Ashton the commander, Sir Edmond Varney, Colonels Wale, Warren, Dunne, Tempest, Finglass, and several other officers of distinction, besides three thousand soldiers, were slain. After this expedition Cromwell returned with his army to Dublin.

The marquis of Ormond, who was still lord-lieutenant for the royal cause, appealed now to General O'Neill for his assistance, offering to grant him any terms he could wish for, besides those he had previously refused him.‡ Colonel Daniel O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill, was appointed to negotiate the affair with his uncle; but the untimely death of that general, who was alone able to cope with the tyrant Cromwell, rendered the hopes of Ormond, and those of the Catholic confederates, abortive.

Cromwell having refreshed his troops in Dublin, gave the command of the city to Colonel Hewson, and marched through the county of Wicklow. On his route he took Arklow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and some other places, and on the 1st October he arrived before Wexford, and summoned it to surrender. Colonel David Synot, who commanded the town, in order to divert Cromwell, proposed terms of capitulation, which were refused. The delay furnished an opportunity to the earl of Castlehaven to get in a regiment of infantry, and after a few days a further reinforcement of a thousand men arrived from the marquis of Ormond, under the command of Sir Edmond Butler. The treachery of Captain Stafford, however, frustrated all their plans of defence. Being commander of the castle, he surrendered it to Cromwell; and the garrison, in their endeavors to escape, were butchered by that tyrant to the number of about two thousand. Sir Edmond Butler was killed by a musket ball while swimming to save himself. Every step of Cromwell was marked by the most savage ferocity; two hundred ladies of Wexford, who sought with tears, and upon their knees, to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were massacred at the foot of the cross in the public square.

From Wexford Cromwell marched to Ross, which was commanded by Luke Taaff: this place being untenable, and a breach effected, terms were given to the besieged, and they were allowed to retire with their arms. Cromwell had not the same success before Duncannon, where Colonel Edward Wogan commanded an intrepid garrison; he was forced to raise the siege and return to Ross. Here he had a floating bridge constructed upon the river Barrow, both to watch the movements of Ormond, and keep up a communication with Munster, where he had his spies. Cork, Youghal, and other places garrisoned by Englishmen, who calculated upon receiving rewards and promotion, declared in favor of Cromwell, and deserted in bands to range themselves under his standard. Martin, the commander of Carrick, also in a cowardly manner surrendered it to him. Ballyshannon was sold to him too, but he was repulsed at Kilternan. The garrison of Kilkenny, after making a noble stand, surrendered by capitulation.

The last expedition of Cromwell in Ireland was against Clonmel, which was defended by sixteen hundred Ulstermen, under the command of Major-general Hugh O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill. He served under his uncle in foreign countries, and was deemed an able captain.* Cromwell now commenced the siege, and having effected a breach, ordered an assault, contrary to the advice of his council.† The bravery of the besieged defeated his attempts, and he was repulsed with a loss of two thousand five hundred of his best soldiers. The hypocrite was himself the first to perceive his rashness. In accordance with his usual phrensy he called in religion to aid him in his misfortune, attributing his defeat to too great a confidence in human arms; and to atone for such impiety, he commanded a fast to be observed by the whole army. Hugh O'Neill still defended the place with extraordinary valor, but seeing himself unable to hold out for want of powder, he crossed the river by night with his garrison, and withdrew towards Waterford. According to authors of the day, the failure of powder in the garrison of Clonmel was fortunate for Cromwell, who would have been otherwise obliged to raise the siege. The next day after the garrison retreated, the citizens offered to capitulate, and the besiegers not knowing the state of things within, readily granted their demands. During this siege Cromwell received orders from the parliament to return speedily to England, where his presence was necessary

* Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, part 1, an. 1649, p. 244, et seq. edit. Lond. an. 1676.

† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, Reign of Charles II., p. 3, et seq.

‡ Ireland's Case, pages 56, 57.

* Scourge of Ireland, page 87.

† Heath, part 1, an. 1649, page 252.



to make head against the Scotch royalists. He therefore embarked at Youghal, the 29th May, and left the command of the army to Ireton, his son-in-law.*

Charles, prince of Wales, son of Charles I., and true heir to the crown of Great Britain, was then at Breda. Commissioners were sent to him to treat for his restoration to the throne of Scotland.† The marquis of Montrose, who had laid down his arms by orders of the late king, was at the time travelling through France, Germany, and the Low Countries. It was there he heard of the tragical end of Charles I., and at the same time received from the young king the commission of captain-general of the royal army in Scotland. He then applied to the courts of Denmark and Sweden‡ for assistance, which they gave him in money, and likewise arms for fifteen hundred men. He then sailed for Scotland with five hundred Germans, and after encountering a violent storm, and losing two hundred of his men, and some warlike stores, he landed in the Orkney islands with the remaining three hundred that escaped shipwreck. The inhabitants of the Orkneys received arms from him, and with this little force he marched to Caithness, in the northern extremity of Scotland.§ The army of Montrose was too small for his enterprise; and he was abandoned and betrayed by those who had promised him their aid: Colonels Ogleby and Corkrain wasted the money which he gave them to raise troops in Amsterdam and Poland;‖ Colonel King who was commissioned to come to his assistance with a body of Swedish cavalry, disappointed him; Lord Pluscardy was prevented by the rebels from collecting two thousand men that he had promised, and the Highlanders, harassed by the war, were not to be relied upon; so that the ruin of Montrose had now become inevitable.¶

The news of his being in Scotland gave great alarm to the parliament which was then sitting at Edinburgh. An army was immediately dispatched against him under the command of Lesley and Holborn, Colonel Straughan being sent first with an advance guard of cavalry. He surprised the royalists, who were unable to defend themselves against this unexpected attack, and were all either killed or made prisoners. Montrose striving to escape in a Highland dress, wandered three or four days among fields, without taking food; till he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a traitor.* This man was lord of Aston, formerly attached to the service of Montrose; determined to receive the reward which was offered, he arrested, and dishonorably gave him up to his enemies. The trial of this great man was short; he was condemned, under the name of James Graham, to death, and hung on a gibbet thirty feet high, deeply regretted by the king his master, and all good men.

While the fanatics of Scotland were exercising their rage against the king's best subjects, their deputies were treating at Breda for his restoration; the terms of which were both hard and insolent. First, the king was to banish from court all excommunicated persons;† second, he should affirm by his royal word, that he would accept of the covenant;‡ third, he should bind himself to ratify all the acts of parliament which decreed the government to be Presbyterian, and confirm the tenor of worship, the profession of faith, and catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they had been approved of by the general assembly of the kirk, and by the parliament of the kingdom, and should himself conform to all these matters in his private and domestic habits; fourth, he should admit all civil causes to be decided by the parliament of Scotland, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.§

Charles was placed in an embarrassing dilemma. His friends were divided in opinion what plan would be most prudent for him to pursue; some being opposed to such hard and disgraceful terms, while others, who had suffered banishment in his cause, and were desirous of returning to their country, urged him to accept of the conditions. The queen-dowager and prince of Orange were of this opinion; he therefore adopted their advice, which was in accordance with his own wishes, and submitted to the terms proposed by the commissioners. A frigate commanded by Van Tromp the younger, was ready to receive him at Terheyden, near the Hague. Van Tromp himself accompanied the prince on board, and enjoined his son to use all skill in his voyage

* Cox's Reign of Charles I., p. 17
† Baker's Chron. Eng. ann. 1649.
‡ Baker, ibid.
§ Life of Montrose, edit. Lond. an. 652, p. 171.
‖ Heath, Chron. part 2, an. 1649, 1650
¶ Life of Montrose, p. 175.

* Life of Montrose, pages 178, 179.
† Those who had exposed their lives in defence of the king were excommunicated.
‡ The covenant signified a solemn compact made by the Puritans or Scotch fanatics for their mutual defence: its object was the extirpation of popery and prelacy.
§ This was an assembly of ministers of th Presbyterian Church.

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with the prince; there were but two men-of-war to escort the frigate, and the English fleet was at sea ready to oppose them. The able commander, however, surmounted every obstacle; and after encountering a heavy gale, which cast them on the coast of Denmark, the prince was landed safe on the 16th of June, 1650, in a place called the Spey, in the north of Scotland.

Charles was received by his unkind subjects of Scotland with much show, but little sincerity: he was obliged to sign the covenant, and dismiss his faithful followers; he submitted, however, in every thing to these fanatics, without security for either his life or freedom. In either spiritual or temporal matters the king was not consulted, so that he was treated more like a school-boy who feared the authority of his master, than as a king who was to govern his subjects.

The news of the arrival of prince Charles soon reached England. The republicans being alarmed, collected an army, the command of which devolved on Lord Fairfax; but he refused it, under the plea of infirmity, and thus laid the foundation of Cromwell's greatness. On this general's return from Ireland, where he left the command to Ireton, his son-in-law, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army intended for Scotland, and about the end of June he marched towards Berwick, in order to be near the frontiers.

The people of Scotland determined to raise an army to oppose Cromwell, and having but a small regular force, ten thousand foot and twenty-seven troops of cavalry were ordered to be levied.* Generals were appointed; the earl of Levan was to command the infantry; Holborn was to act under him as major-general; David Lesley was nominated lieutenant-general of the cavalry, and Montgomery major-general; the chief command was reserved for Prince Charles, who was proclaimed king of Scotland on the 15th July, at the cross of Edinburgh.

Cromwell entered Scotland towards the end of July, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and marched through Mordington, as far as Haddington; the Scotch army, consisting of six thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, being encamped between Edinburgh and Leith. Cromwell saw, that besides their superiority in numbers, the Scotch were advantageously posted; he marched therefore towards Musselbourgh, and from thence to Dunbar, closely pursued by the Scotch army. The English forces, to the number of twelve thousand, arrived at Dunbar on Sunday the 1st of September; the Scotch, amounting to twenty-four thousand men, encamped the same day on a height near the town. The English were at first dismayed, but as despair often inspires courage, they drew up in order of battle, and spent that and the next night under arms; on Tuesday morning the attack began; the engagement was bloody, and the ground bravely disputed; the English remained masters of the field of battle; and the loss of the Scotch amounted to four thousand slain, nine thousand prisoners, with all their arms and baggage. In consequence of this signal victory, Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh, Leith, and other places, but was prevented from continuing his conquests by the approach of winter.

The portion of the Scotch army that escaped withdrew to Stirling. Having determined to crown their king, the ceremony was performed on the 1st of January following, at Scone, with the approbation of al the royalists. Charles supposed he ought to be then his own master, but he soon discovered that he was subject to the most rigid covenanters and capricious fanatics. Weary, therefore, of his subjection, he determined to return to the continent, preferring his freedom to the empty title of king.* For this purpose he withdrew secretly to Middleton, who commanded some royalists in the mountains, but he was persuaded by Montgomery and other friends, to abandon an enterprise which might injure his cause.

The royalist army was still encamped at Torwood, near Stirling, which was an advantageous post, and from which Cromwell strove in vain to dislodge them.† He made different movements, all tending to straiten the royal troops. The prince, in consequence, resolved to carry into effect a project he had contemplated for some time. He relied much upon his friends in England, but the tyranny of the parliament entirely obstructed their interference.

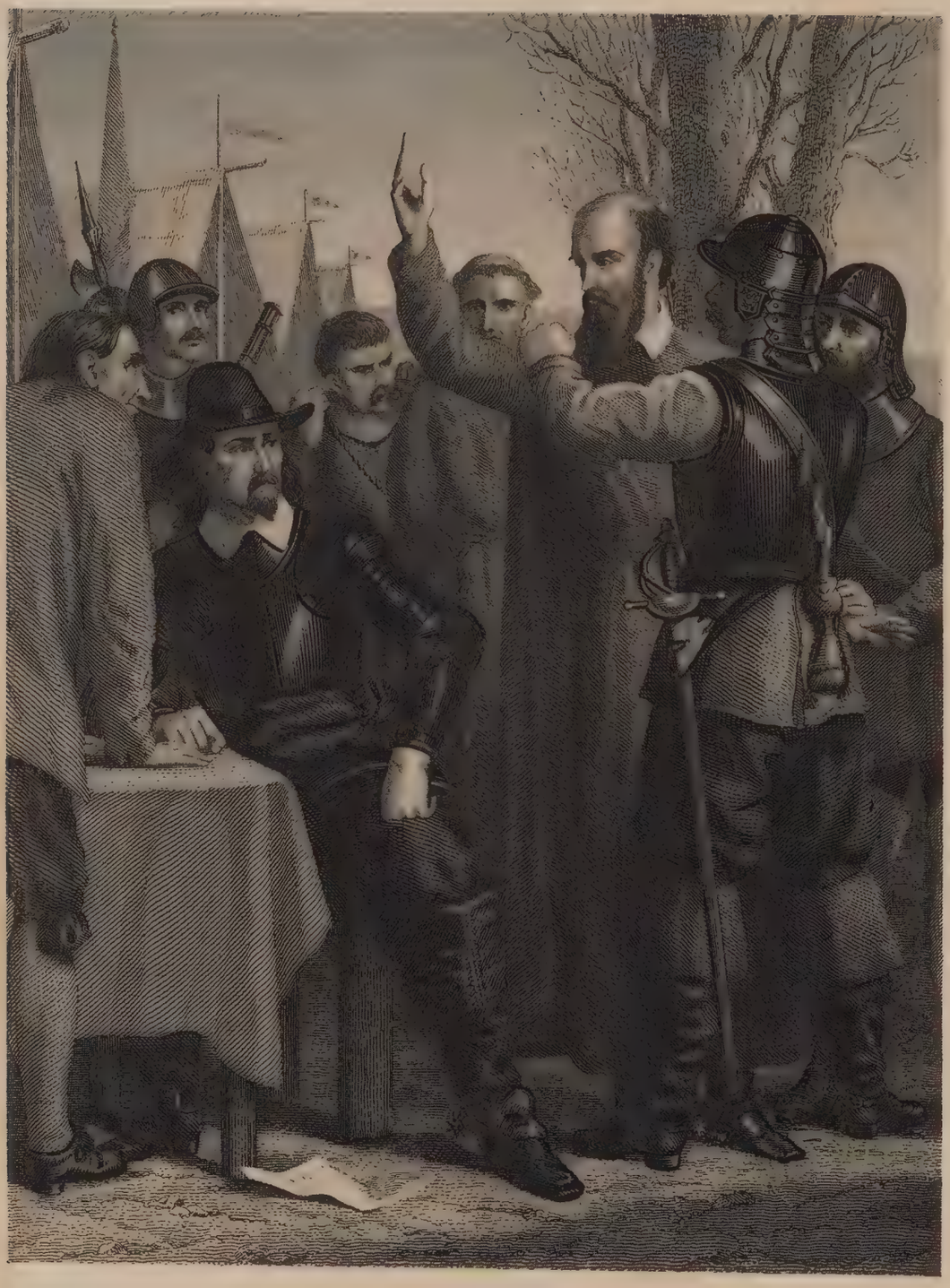
While, therefore, Cromwell was besieging Johnston and some places north of Stirling, the king decamped on the last day of July, with his army, amounting to fourteen thousand men, and advanced by forced marches towards England. Having arrived at Carlisle, he was proclaimed king of Great Britain;‡ he then published manifestoes granting a general amnesty to his English sub-

* Mem. Hist. ibid. Baker's Chron. Reign of Charles II.

* Higgins' Short View, p. 270. Baker, Chron. ibid.

† Heath's Chron. ibid p 292. Baker, ibid.

‡ Heath's Chron. ibid. p. 294.



jects, except Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Cook, being the most criminal in the murder of the king his father. Among the English who accompanied the prince in this expedition were, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Cleveland, Lords Wentworth and Wilmot, Colonels Wogan and Bointon, Major-general Massey, and some others.

The king continued his march to Worcester. He was pursued by detachments commanded by Lambert and Harrison, who also proceeded by forced marches from Scotland. They were joined by the militia and some troops newly raised by orders of the parliament. Cromwell having left General Monk and seven thousand men to complete the conquest of the Scotch, marched likewise in pursuit of the king. Worcester was speedily reduced by him, and on September 3d the royal troops were defeated near that city. The king escaped and fled, and having encountered in disguise a variety of adventures, he found a vessel ready to sail, and by this means got safe to France.

The Irish royalists, among whom were Catholics as well as Protestants, still kept themselves under arms. The marquis of Ormond, who was commander-in-chief, besides being lord-lieutenant, always manifested a distrust of the former, and was displeased that the king had granted them any freedom in their religion. Finding himself unable to oppose Ireton, he surrendered the command of the army to the earl of Clanricard, and embarked for France, A. D. 1650. Ireton, in the mean time, laid siege to Limerick,* but was obliged to abandon it on account of the winter. The English general resumed the siege soon after, but the noble defence made by Hugh O'Neill, who had previously caused a heavy loss to Cromwell's army before Clonmel, made him feel dearly the taking of Limerick.

The parliament of England saw how important it would be to their object to detach the Irish from the cause of the king;† they therefore made them such offers as appeared fair and reasonable; but these zealous royalists rejected them unanimously, at a meeting which was held at Loughreagh. It was debated whether the war should be prolonged, in order to favor the king's march into England.‡ Under this hope, the Irish continued under arms till 1653, when it was found impracticable to protract the war any longer. Most of the Irish army then preferred to leave their country, rather than to live beneath the rule of regicides who had stained their hands in the blood of their prince. They therefore sought permission to depart from the kingdom, being determined to render those services to their king in a foreign country that they could not at home. Circumstances favored their proposal, Cromwell being busily employed in forming a new mode of government called the protectorship. By his own authority he granted the Irish army their request, and in consequence, many of them embarked for France and Spain; those, however, whom age and infirmities rendered unable to accompany their countrymen, and share in the fortunes of the prince, were treated with the most savage barbarity; from fourteen to twenty thousand, both soldiers and country people, were sold as slaves and transported to America, as had been previously done with the Scotch prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester. The Catholic officers and nobility were forced to abandon their estates in the other provinces and cross the Shannon into Connaught and the county Clare, where Cromwell enjoined them to remain, under pain of death, without express permission to leave them. Here they were subjected to the insolence, oppression, and cruelty of the tyrants who ruled over them.

Cromwell, in the mean time, either wishing to conciliate the Irish by kindness, or give them a favorable opinion of his benevolence, established at Athlone a court of claims, by which it was decreed to grant in those parts of the kingdom, to the proscribed proprietors of lands, (who would be found not to have been implicated in the rebellion,) a portion of land sufficient for their subsistence, and befitting their quality and pretensions. By this regulation it happened that some of these noblemen enjoyed in Connaught and the county of Clare a fourth, others a third, and some one-half of the revenues they possessed at home. Such grants, though moderate, excited the enmity of their persecutors.* They often determined to cut off at a blow the wretched remains of the unhappy Irish, and it was by a peculiar favor of Providence that they escaped their wicked designs.

The Catholics of Ireland groaned for many years beneath the yoke of tyranny. Their only consolation was in a hope of seeing their prince restored. They anticipated from

* Heath's Chron. part 2, an. 1651, p. 305.
† Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 164.
‡ Ireland's Case, part 1, pp. 57, 58, 59, 60; part 2, pp. 68, 69.

* The soldiers of Cromwell, who were put into the possession of the estates and properties of the Catholics, felt, while seeing them exist, self-condemnation and reproach.

so happy an event the end of their sufferings; and calculating upon his justice, they calculated also upon a restitution of property, so generally sacrificed in his cause; but, unhappily, the event produced a sorrowful reverse in their hopes.*

Oliver Cromwell, who had been the instrument of abolishing monarchy in the three kingdoms, now turned his arms against his masters. He suppressed, by his own authority, the parliament to which he was indebted for his power: attended by armed men he entered the hall, and after expatiating upon its necessity, and his motives for dissolving them, they were ordered to withdraw, and the doors of the house were closed—guards being stationed, at the same time, to cut off all communication with the avenues that led to the house. He ordered the mace to be taken away as a mere bauble, and forbade it to be used at any of their ceremonies. The only sensation which this unexpected event produced among the English, was one of raillery; it became a subject of amusement at their meetings, and songs were composed, accompanied with the chorus of "*Twelve parliament men for a penny.*" Cromwell after this assumed the title of Protector. The English, who would not bear the mild and peaceful government of their lawful king, submitted to the despotism of a tyrant, which continued till his death, September 3d, 1658—a day memorable in his history for the victories he obtained over the king's forces at Dunbar and Worcester.

After the death of the usurper, the proceedings of General Monk seemed to portend the speedy restoration of the prince. Public affairs were in too desperate a state to continue as they stood: at such a crisis, some of course had their fears, some their hopes, according to their respective interests. Among the former were the Cromwellians in Ireland. Broghil and Coote, their leaders, dispatched emissaries to England to sound the disposition of the people, in order that they might act as would best suit their own views. Having found that they were for the most part in favor of General Monk, and inclining towards the restoration, they repaired to Dublin, where they called a meeting of the parliament, which was composed of their own creatures and united by the same interest—they being all usurpers of the goods of others. They deliberated on the means of sustaining their usurpation, and preventing the Irish nobility from regaining their estates, so liberally bestowed upon themselves by Cromwell. They foresaw that as soon as the king would ascend the throne of his ancestors, he would, or at least ought, to reinstate the ancient proprietors in their rights; they resolved, therefore, to counteract this by putting in confinement all the Irish who had any claims, with the view of preventing them from affording succor to their prince in the event of the parliamentarians forcing him to recur to arms. To give a color of justice to their proceedings, Sir John Clotworthy, an intriguing character, and very influential among the Presbyterians, was sent to England to excite alarm among the English by insinuating how dangerous it would be to restore the Irish to their ancient possessions to the prejudice of the English Protestants already settled in the country. Clotworthy, who was an ardent persecutor of the Catholics, and opposed to the monarch, acquitted himself ably of his commission. On his arrival in London a report was spread that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland, in confirmation of which, letters of the same import were sent to merchants at the exchange, and copies of them circulated in every quarter of the city. This imposture gave rise to a proclamation against the Irish papists, which the parliament presented to Charles II. on his restoration, though it was well understood that the report of an insurrection was founded only on the eagerness which some Catholics evinced in taking possession of their estates without any formality of law, which they considered as useless in resuming what they had been despoiled of a few years before, by a tyrant who acknowledged no law but that of the strongest.

The writers of this party boast of the exertions which Broghil, Coote, Clotworthy, and other Cromwellians in Ireland, made in favor of the restoration. They sent commissioners to the king at Breda, to assure his majesty of their allegiance and devotedness to his cause. He received them with apparent kindness, but afterwards manifested displeasure towards Broghil, when he went to congratulate him on his restoration. The submission of those traitors was caused by the determination of the English to restore their lawful prince, and was made at a time when they could not oppose his return.

Cox, and other writers of his party, speak in a different tone. "The convention," says Cox, "published a decree on the 12th of March for a free parliament to assemble on the 14th of May; they consented to the declaration made by the king at Breda on April 14, and joyfully agreed to his restoration. The Irish papists had no part in this

* Ireland's Case, p 60.

great revolution, but wishing to enjoy the fruit of the labors of other people, many of them took possession of their patrimonies. The evil became so general that the convention was obliged to issue a proclamation on the 20th of May, 1660, for the security of peace and property." May not we ask these writers, what was the nature of the possessions which the convention was obliged to secure by a decree, and what were the titles of those who held them? The length of possession did not exceed ten or twelve years, and they had been given by Cromwell as a reward to the accomplices of his crimes. The right of the possessors was the same as that which had authorized the tyrant to have his lawful sovereign beheaded. We leave the reader to decide on the right which could be derived from such a title and possession. As to the Irish who resumed their estates, the complaint of Cox is both unjust and absurd; he allows that they were the *ancient patrimonies* of those Irish papists. According to Carte, they were generally Irish noblemen who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, notwithstanding their acquittal by the tribunal which that tyrant established at Athlone, to investigate the crimes of those who had been concerned in the rebellion.* Having been banished to Connaught, and the county of Clare, continues Carte, they considered themselves authorized to take possession of their estates and expel the usurpers on the death of the tyrant. The only claim of these men on the properties of the Irish was founded on rebellion: they all served against their king under Cromwell, from whom they held their commissions. Broghil was a member of parliament for the county of Cork. He continued the faithful servant of the tyrant, and after his death became a firm supporter of his son Richard Cromwell; he was likewise member of the privy council of the new protector, till the extinction of his power.† No longer supported by the power of the Cromwells, and viewing the dispositions of the English towards their king, he then returned to Ireland, and in union with others of his faction, went over to the strongest side. The prejudice of Cox makes him ascribe the resumption of their properties by the Irish, to the labors of other people.

In the month of May, 1660, Charles, eldest son of Charles I., ascended, by the wise and disinterested conduct of General Monk, the throne of his ancestors, under the name of Charles II. He was received by all states as lawful heir to the crown of Great Britain. In gratitude Charles restored the house of lords, and had a general amnesty passed which was received with universal applause. The monarch gave his consent that the parliament alone should punish the murderers of his father, and out of so many who had contributed to the catastrophe of Charles I., ten only were executed, the rest being judged worthy of the king's pardon.

Although the majority of the Scotch people were guilty of disloyalty to Charles,* the marquis of Argyle, Guthry, a celebrated minister, and Captain Giffan, were the only victims. The marquis sold the king to the English, and consented to the usurpation; Guthry was a preacher of sedition, and known to have been violently opposed to Montrose and the royalist party, and Giffan was entirely devoted to Cromwell. The two last were hanged at Edinburgh.

Charles ascended the throne under very flattering auspices. The people, struck with a conviction of their barbarous treatment to the late king, thought they could not praise the son too much for his clemency; they had groaned also for many years under the sway of tyranny, while now peace, liberty, order, and the laws, were re-established in England and Scotland, so that no prince ever enjoyed more fully the affections of his subjects than Charles II.

The restoration of a legitimate sovereign would seem likely to terminate the misfortunes of Ireland too. Many of her people nobly participated in the sufferings of their prince. From twenty-five to thirty thousand of his faithful Irish subjects having crossed the seas to escape from the tyranny of their rulers, crowded to receive his orders. While the prince remained in France, they signalized themselves in the service of that crown. When it became necessary for the English monarch to seek an asylum among the Spaniards, his command to all his Irish regiments to follow him to the Low Countries was instantly obeyed, at a time when all his other subjects had abandoned him. Their fidelity drew upon them, in his exile, the admiration and esteem of strangers. The words of the prince himself, in his address to both houses, after his restoration, sufficiently attest these truths, so praiseworthy in the Irish people.

On the 27th of July, 1660, King Charles II. thus expressed himself: "I think it is not necessary to observe, that the people of Ireland deserve to be partakers of our clemency; they have displayed their affection

* Life of the duke of Ormond, vol. 2, lib. 6, p. 205.

† Harris's History of Ireland

* Heath's Chron. p. 4, ad an 1661, p. 497

for us in foreign countries: you will therefore pay a regard to our honor and the promises which we have made to them." On the 30th of November, in the same year, the king's remarks on the affairs of Ireland were as follows: "lastly we are mindful, and shall always remember the deep affection which a great part of that nation had manifested for us during our sojourn beyond the seas: the Irish troops have always received our commands with alacrity and obedience, submitting to the services which have been pointed out to them as beneficial for our interests, which conduct on their part is most worthy of our protection, favor, and justice." It is right now to investigate what was the extent of that *protection*, *justice*, and *favor*, which the Irish had merited from the prince's own acknowledgment, and what were the benefits which accompanied their merit. Charles, when in possession of the throne, resolved to compensate by his pleasures for the years of his exile. For this end, he reposed all his confidence in a wicked ministry, which had its own interests more deeply at heart than the honor and glory of so good a master. The matter to be decided was, whether the Cromwellians who brought Charles I. to the scaffold, and compelled Charles II. to pass twelve years in sorrowful exile, ought to be supported in peaceful enjoyment of those estates conferred upon them for their hostility to the crown; or whether the ancient proprietors, who had proved their loyalty to the king, ought to have their estates restored to them, which they had lost for their zeal in the royal cause. The right of the former to properties which they had been in possession of but about twelve years, was founded on regicide; that of the latter, on an uninterrupted possession of many centuries, which was confirmed by the public sanction of a solemn treaty with Charles I., called the peace of 1648, and the repeated promises of Charles II. during his exile; no question therefore could be more easily determined. In the beginning, the king seemed disposed to be just, but through the influence of Clarendon, the prime minister, and a few nobles of the court, his opinions became biased by degrees in favor of the opposite party, who made him gradually abandon to their enemies, those who had been the faithful adherents of his misfortune. Not content with forgiving his sworn enemies, the murderers of his father, the cruel persecutors of all the royal family, from whom he himself had a miraculous escape, he granted them favors, and loaded them with the estates, honors, and dignities of his most loyal subjects, many of whom had lost both their lives and fortunes in supporting his interests against these new favorites. Such were the *protection*, *justice*, and *favor*, with which the zeal and loyalty of the Irish were rewarded, by the king's proclamation for the settlement or regulation of Ireland, at Whitehall, on the 30th of November, 1660.

The declaration of the king for the settlement of Ireland, was, in reality, the settlement of rebels and traitors, and consequently the ruin of his majesty's most faithful subjects:* it was followed by orders to have it put into force; then came the commentary of the parliament, and to crown the whole, the famous explanation act, which was well calculated to complete the destruction of those whose right appeared to be incontestable.

The Irish Catholics who should have been reinstated in their inheritance, were distinguished into three classes;† the first was called innocent, signifying those who had never joined the confederates before the peace of 1648; the second comprised what were called ensignmen, implying such as had served beyond the seas, under his majesty's standard during his exile; the third was composed of the confederates, whom the faith of a solemn treaty authorized to recover their patrimonies. The king appeared determined to do justice to the three classes. With respect to the innocent, even their enemies could not oppose the restitution of their properties. The claims of those who had distinguished themselves in a military capacity in the services of their prince, were so recent and present to the mind, that none would dare to demand their exclusion from his majesty's favors. There remained, therefore, but a third class, viz., the confederates, whose pretensions were founded on the peace of 1648,‡ that could not seek indulgence. The king felt the injustice that would be caused by a dereliction of his engagements to fulfil a peace in which his conscience and his honor were concerned, as he himself had expressed in his declaration. "We cannot," said the prince, "forget the peace which we were ourselves necessitated to make with our Irish subjects, at a time when those who wickedly usurped the government of this country had erected the odious tribunal which took away the life of our dear father. We cannot therefore but consider ourselves bound to the fulfilment of peace towards those who have honorably

* Ireland's Case, ibid. page 85.
† Ireland's Case, ibid. page 87.
‡ Ireland's Case, page 88.

and faithfully performed what they promised," &c.

The Cromwellians, on the other hand, and the partisans whom they purchased at court, seeing the king so decided on this point, and not daring to oppose in a direct way such generous and worthy motives, pretended to enter into the opinions of the prince, being convinced that their unjust policy would not fail in the moment of need, and that this would furnish them with the opportunity of bringing the prince into their views. It was first affirmed by his wicked ministers that there were more confiscated lands in Ireland than ought to satisfy all those whose pretensions were just. It was next advanced, that the Protestant adventurers (which implied those recently established in the country) should be preferred to the other pretenders, or, at least, that they were entitled to the next place after the innocent papists. On the faith of these two articles, which were granted as the foundation of the whole edifice, these sectarians, the most savage and decided fanatics of the three kingdoms, whose principles were always equally fatal to the true religion and monarchical government, became, all of a sudden, beneath the mantle of Protestantism, the minions of the church and state—a conversion far too sudden to be sincere.

The Protestants who were to be made secure in their possessions in Ireland,* were also of three sorts: the first consisted of adventurers,† who had been merchants and citizens of London, and, relying on acts made in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Charles I. for the reduction of Ireland, had advanced considerable sums upon the lands of that country, the acquirement of which cost themselves very little. The money thus obtained was never sent to Ireland, but was applied by the rebellious parliament to the raising of an army, which defeated the king's forces at Edgehill; and the application of the money in that way was approved of by the adventurers themselves, assembled at Grocers' Hall, in London. This was no secret; Charles I. was not ignorant of it, since he reproached the commissioners of the parliament with the treaty of Uxbridge, and their perfidy was the reason why the prince never mentioned, in his different projects for pacifying the Irish confederates, any title which the confederates could advance to the said lands, and that he took care to make no provision for them. Charles II. was equally convinced of the defect of their titles. His declaration is illustrative of his notions on that head: "In the first place, if, to satisfy those who have advanced their money, we examine into the titles by which they enjoy their possessions, they would be found defective and invalid, not being in conformity with the acts of parliament on which they rest; still, as we are strongly inclined to provide," &c. Notwithstanding, however, the enormity of their crimes, and the invalidity of their titles, they were to be upheld in their unjust possessions. The claims of these first adventurers being so unfounded, what opinion can we form of those who afterwards advanced their money to excite rebellion, without any other authority than that of the lower house, which usurped the government? According to the laws of the state, the commons had neither the power of effecting loans in the name of the nation, nor of governing without the consent of the king and the other house; the king was in exile at the time, and the upper house suppressed, still the latter class was placed on an equal footing with the former, and both parties (viz., the adventurers and those who lent their money to excite rebellion) made secure in their possessions, acquired in the manner described. Thus have these persecutors of their king been liberally rewarded at the expense of the faithful Irish.

Cromwell's soldiers were the next to receive rewards. The tyrant was, it is true, deeply indebted to them, since, with the assistance of their brethren in England, they had raised him from obscurity to absolute power over the three kingdoms.* His gratitude was equal to their zeal; he divided twelve entire counties between these fanatics, the cruel ministers of his tyranny, and the avowed enemies of the king. It would seem, however, that it was by mortgages he settled with those mercenary miscreants, in payment of arrears due to them, and that he would never grant patents to confirm their possessions. These precarious tenures induced several of the new nobility to sell their titles to estates for a trifle, whenever an opportunity occurred; and in the sequel the purchasers were confirmed for ever in possession of the rewards of their infamy by the king's declaration! It can scarcely be conceived how Charles II., on being restored to the throne of his ancestors, could bring himself, as he did, (unfortunately for his family,) to reward the murderers of his father by an unbounded donation of lands, while he per-

* Ireland's Case, ibid page 90.

† Recit. exacte et fidéle, p. 39, &c suiv.

* Ireland's Case, ibid. pages 92, 93. A correct account, page 48, et seq.

mitted their true and lawful owners (of whose fidelity he boasted) to die in want and misery.

Allusion is next made to the officers who had served the king before June 5th, 1649, and whose arrears, according to their own calculations, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Though this appears to have been an unfair and an enormous demand, still it was admitted by the adventurers, whose maxim was, "*Do us a kindness and we will do you another.*" Under pretence of repaying these arrears, all the confiscated lands in four counties bordering the Shannon were bestowed upon forty-nine officers, besides houses and other privileges in every town and city of the kingdom. These kindnesses are the more surprising, as they were conferred on men who were, during and antecedent to the summer of 1649, in actual rebellion against their king: among them were the earls of Orrery, Mountrath, Lords Kingston and Coloony, Sirs Jones, Saint George, Coles, &c., who deserted the king's standard to join the usurper. Those who were principally instrumental in surrendering the towns and fortresses to Cromwell, were singularly included in the act of settlement as entitled to have their arrears allowed. No distinction was made between the forty-nine officers and the Catholics, in the king's declaration for the payment of arrears; with the exception, however, of the marquis of Clanriccard and Sir George Hamilton, the Catholics (who never deserted the standard of their king, and who were always opposed to the usurper) were excluded by subsequent acts of parliament from all favor.

Thus these ministers of iniquity found means to lead the king to commit, against his will, the most crying acts of injustice. He himself, so far from wishing to despoil the Catholics of Ireland of their patrimonies, evinced from the beginning an inclination to do them justice; but he suffered himself to be deceived by those in whom he reposed confidence, and who, under the specious show of loyalty, always preferred their own interests to the glory of their prince.

A court of claims was established in Dublin, after the same plan as that which Cromwell established at Athlone in 1645, in favor of the Catholics transplanted into Connaught and the county of Clare, with this difference, that the court of the usurper was the less partial of the two; for, whether from want of money to suborn false witnesses, or being unacquainted with the art of employing miscreants who live by perjury, it is well known that few or none of such characters were made use of at Cromwell's court, and that they were seen in crowds, and employed by the court of claims in Dublin. The court at Athlone was not limited as to time, while that of Dublin had but from February 15, 1663, till the August following, allowed to any claimant from any part of the kingdom to make his appearance. During that short interval almost a thousand Catholics were examined, of whom at least one half were declared innocent, notwithstanding the rigor of the qualifications required, and the unbridled license of false witnesses. One example out of a hundred will be sufficient to develop the profligacy of both witnesses and judges.

Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, who lived in 1663 at the court of St. Germain-en-Laye,* and whose ancestors possessed considerable landed property in the county of Meath during many centuries, was accused of having, at the head of a company of foot, sacked and pillaged in 1641 his Protestant neighbors;† although in the month of October of the same year it was well known that he was but nine years old, an age at which he was very unlikely to be concerned in a crime of that nature. Besides this, one of the witnesses produced against him was but three years old in 1641. Neither this obvious perjury, nor the innocence of the gentleman, of which the nobles of the country were witnesses, could make any impression upon the judges; and though Sir —— Rainsford, one of the commissioners of the court, expressed his conviction of the proceedings being unjust, the marquis of Antrim, the earl of Limerick, and others who were present, restrained him by their rebukes from making reparation. By such abominable proceedings some hundreds of ancient families, equally eminent for their noble extraction as for their loyalty to their king, have been robbed of their patrimonies, and reduced to the dire necessity of either begging or embracing occupations unsuited to their birth.

The time for examining those interested having expired, Rainsford, the chief commissioner, thought to continue the court till further prorogation would be obtained, to do justice to all whose rights could not have been discussed within the time prescribed. There were seven thousand to be still heard, whose claims deserved to be attended to equally with the others, since "every man should be looked upon as innocent till the contrary be proved," particularly when he

* His son is major in the Irish regiment of the chevalier Fitz-James, in the service of France.

† Ireland's Case, pages 102, 103.

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submits to so severe a tribunal. However, Clarendon, the prime minister, refused any further length of time to the court, which was thus forced to cease its functions and to separate. Clarendon then instituted another tribunal, whose members were all usurpers, from whom the lawful proprietors were to seek restitution. When the judges and the party consist of such characters, what hope could there be for a claimant? To shut against him the doors of justice altogether, the parliament next made a law to interdict for the future every appeal for the restoration of property or the recovery of estates.

The Cromwellians having gained their point, and secured to the adventurers and soldiers the enjoyment of their possession of the estates of the Catholics, began to bestow the confiscated lands upon the earls of Ormond, Anglesy, Orrery, and upon Lords Coote, Kingston, and other favorites, who had been bad servants to the crown. To create more friends by the mammon of iniquity, large donations of land were appropriated to pious uses; the revenues of the university of Dublin were increased, and free schools established. Some bishops and ministers were enriched, and extensive holding conferred on many, though they derived no titles from the king's declaration. The estates that were possessed for some time by Miles Corbet and other regicides, were given to the king's brother, the duke of York. Thus were the lands wasted by profuse largesses, whereby resumptions were defeated, and consequently the Cromwellians continued in the enjoyment of their usurpations. Fifty-four persons, called the *denominated*, were not better treated than others, for want of lands to be given them. They were called *denominated*, because a clause was inserted in the *explanation act*, (specifying the names,) which entitled them to repossess their baronial houses and two thousand acres of land adjoining. The earl of Orrery sarcastically remarked, that they had a name but not the reality. In order to defeat every future prospect, a law was made, "that when any doubt should arise upon the clauses of said act, it should be explained in favor of Protestants, who it was intended should remain secure and undisturbed."*

It is incredible to think how the king was influenced to act contrary, not only to justice, but even to the interests of his house.† Princes have been often known, from motives of policy, to pardon rebellious subjects, after returning to their duty and submission; but to heap upon them the rich patrimonies of faithful subjects, by which the latter are reduced to the extreme of indigence, is unexampled in history.

Policy, it will be said, precluded Charles from acting otherwise, on account of the great number of parliamentarians wickedly disposed towards him, and whom, being at the time possessed of new properties, it might be dangerous to irritate with arms in their hands.

This mode of reasoning was often urged in council by the chancellor Clarendon. Might we not ask the earl, why he did not observe the same conduct towards England and Scotland? Was the party less formidable in these countries than in Ireland? The minister forgot that his political reasoning gave the same ground for confirming the Cromwellians in their usurpations in England. They had usurped the royal authority; they were in possession of the lands of the crown, of the church, and of those of many English nobles and gentlemen: they appropriated to themselves, by crime, rebellion, and parricide, the properties of others; and notwithstanding all this, were they not put down without danger or opposition, though they at the time had arms in their hands, possessed likewise all the fortresses of the kingdom, were superior in numbers, well provided with every thing and consequently more formidable than their brethren in Ireland? If the king, before his departure from Breda, had promised to pay the arrears of the officers and soldiers of General Monk, could they not have satisfied them in Ireland by public taxes as they did in England, without depriving so many widows and orphans of subsistence, and so many gentlemen of their inheritance, who by signal services merited rewards, instead of being stripped of their patrimonies? So crying an injustice could not be the result of a sound policy, nor even of common prudence, which frequently made Clarendon say before the king, "*do good to your enemies, your friends will not injure you.*" To proceed in this way was contrary to sound policy, honor, and justice. The king, however, acted in all this according to the advice of his council and his courtiers.

We cannot find in history the example of a king so generous and beneficent to infamous rebels, as Charles II. has been to the Cromwellians of Ireland—but so far from their gratitude being proportioned to the goodness of their prince, they were continually plotting against him. Conspiracies

* Statutes of Ireland, p. 38.
† Ireland's Case, pp. 73, 74.

were got up against his person by the Cromwellians in 1663 and 1671 and but few punished.

Not so with the pretended plots of the Catholics. The so-called Popish plot brought to the scaffold an illustrious Irish victim. This was Oliver Plunkett, a scion of the noble family of Fingal, who had been Archbishop of Armagh, since the death of Dr. O'Reilly, in exile, in 1669. Such had been the prudence and circumspection of Dr. Plunkett, during his perilous administration, that the agents of Lord Shaftesbury, sent over to concoct evidence for the occasion, were afraid to bring him to trial in the vicinage of his arrest, or in his own country. Accordingly, they caused him to be removed from Dublin to London, contrary to the laws and customs of both Kingdoms.

Dr. Plunkett after ten months' confinement without trial in Ireland, was removed, 1680, and arraigned at London, on the 8th of June, 1681, without having had permission to communicate with his friends or to send for witnesses. The prosecution was conducted by Maynard and Jeffries, in violation of every form of law, and every consideration of justice. A "crown agent," whose name is given as Gorman, was introduced by "a stranger" in court, and volunteered testimony in his favor. The Earl of Essex interceded with the king on his behalf, but Charles answered, almost in the words of Pilate—"I cannot pardon him, because I dare not. His blood be upon your conscience; you could have saved him if you pleased." The Jury, after a quarter of an hour's deliberation, brought in their verdict of guilty, and the brutal chief-justice condemned him to be hung, emboweled, and quartered on the 1st day of July, 1681. The venerable martyr, for such he may well be called, bowed his head to the bench, and exclaimed: *Deo gratias!*

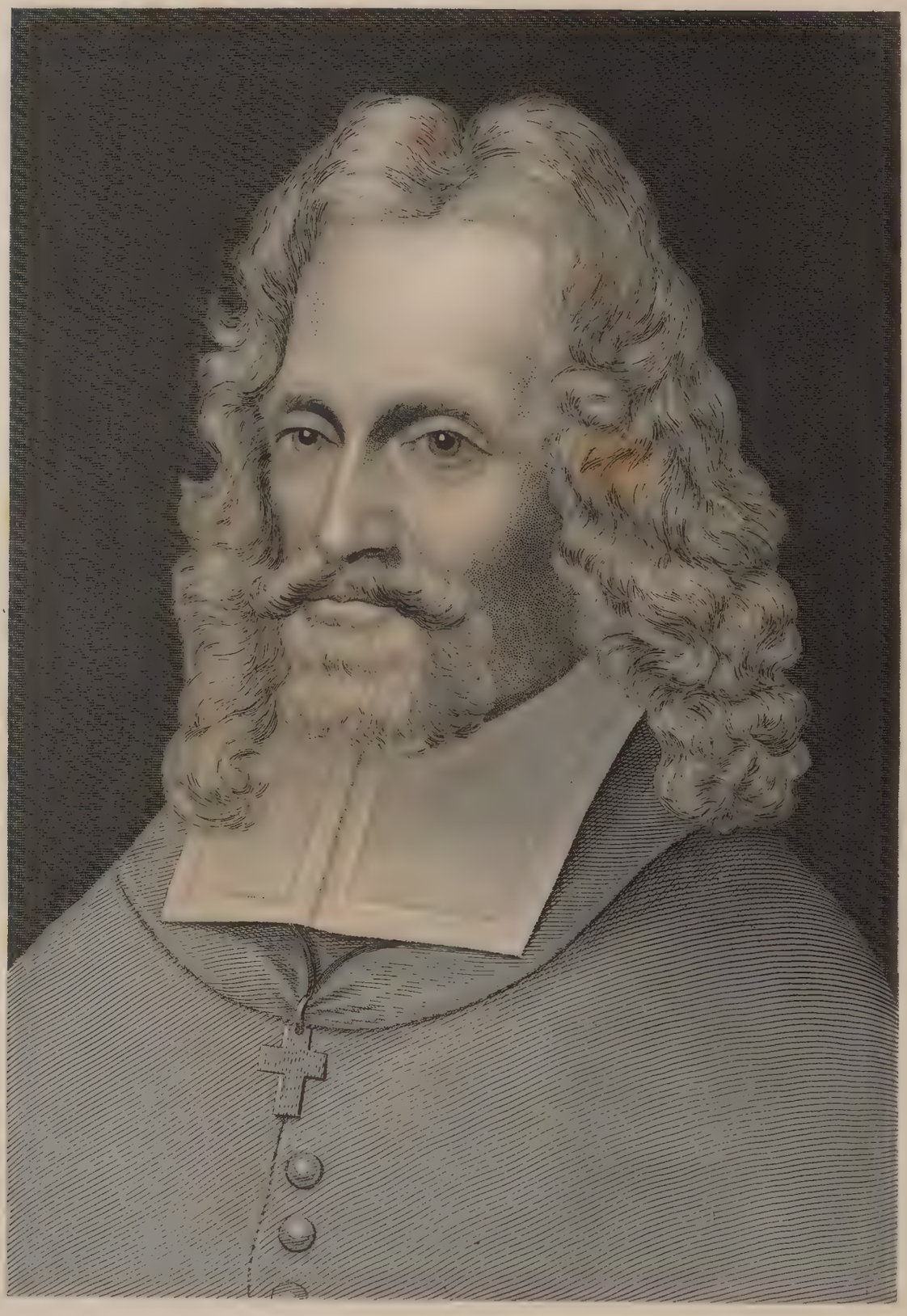
The absurd charges against him were, that he maintained treasonable correspondence with France and Rome, and the Irish on the continent; that he had organized an insurrection in Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, and Armagh; that he made preparations for the landing of a French force at Carlingford; and that he had held several meetings to raise men and money.

On the whole, however, this reign was not one of the worst for the Irish. Charles, too weak to be just, was not utterly insensible to their sufferings and their fidelity. In order to allay their sufferings to some extent, he undertook to indemnify them on the score of religion, as far as circumstances would permit. During his reign he had the administration of the penal laws suspended, which the parliaments renewed from time to time in all their rigor. The Catholic peers were allowed to sit in parliament; ecclesiastics instructed in public, and taught the youth the principles of their religion, which all were allowed to practice, though the penal laws had not been repealed.

Charles II., after a few days illness, died the 6th of February, 1685. It is said that he manifested great indifference for the bishops of the English Church, who displayed their zeal about him by their intense exhortations. Some Catholic priests were brought to him, from whom he received the sacraments according to the rites of the Roman Church; thus making it appear that he dared not to die in that religion which he professed upon the throne. As soon as Charles II. breathed his last, his brother, the duke of York received the homage of the lords. He was proclaimed king in London and all the provinces, under the name of James II. Public rejoicings were made in all the towns, in which inclination and duty seemed to combine. The news of James II.'s accession to the British throne having reached Ireland, the duke of Ormond, being lord-lieutenant, assembled the council in Dublin, and the day following the king was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city.

The new sovereign convened his council in England; he made a speech to them which delighted all his subjects, and increased their attachment to his person. "I will endeavor," he said, "to preserve the government of church and state, in the manner by law established; I know that the Church of England is favorable to monarchy, and those who are members of it have made it appear on various occasions that they were faithful subjects: I will take particular care to defend and support it. I know, likewise, that the laws of the kingdom are sufficient to make the king as great as I could wish. As I am determined to preserve the prerogatives of my crown, so I will never deprive others of what belongs to them. I have often hazarded my life in defence of the nation: I am still ready to expose it to preserve its rights." These promises were preceded by bitter complaints against the malice of his enemies, who were the authors of impressions that were spread concerning the principles of despotic power with which they asserted him to be imbued.

This address of the king was received with pleasure; it was universally considered



PRIMATE OF IRELAND

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condescending, noble, and sublime. Soon after this, addresses poured in from every quarter, filled with assurances of loyalty and gratitude for his solicitude respecting the Church of England and the liberty of the people. Cities, corporations, and universities, were all lavish in their praises and congratulations.

The parliament of England and Scotland met at the same time, to the great satisfaction of both nations. That of Scotland, of which the duke of Queensbury was president, having confirmed the acts that had been passed in the preceding reign for the security of the Protestant religion, granted to his majesty the same revenues which his brother had enjoyed: it was enacted, that the duty on all domestic and foreign goods should be annexed to the crown of Scotland. In the same session, the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds a year, for life, was voted to his majesty.

England vied with Scotland in generosity; the parliament secured to the king, during life, the revenues which his brother had enjoyed at his death, together with the funds which were allowed him while duke of York. It was proposed to take down the names of those who, in the parliaments of the preceding reign, had voted to exclude him from succeeding to the throne; but one of the secretaries having declared that the king pardoned all who had been opposed to him, the declaration elicited new praises. On receipt of the intelligence of the rebellion of Argyle, and the invasion of the duke of Monmouth, they were both declared guilty of high treason; and being taken in arms, the earl of Argyle was put to death in Edinburgh, and Monmouth in England. The parliament renewed the trial of Oates, who had been brought to justice in the preceding reign on charge of perjury, and never was a culprit more clearly convicted. He was condemned to pay an exorbitant fine, to be flogged, to stand in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life.

This auspicious beginning seemed to promise to the king a happy sway. His enemies defeated, a powerful army on foot, his subjects submissive and kind, and foreign princes seeking his alliance, these were happy omens of a peaceful and glorious reign. During the first six months he reigned in the hearts of his people, but the aspect of his affairs was soon changed.

James was a Catholic, and protected that religion; he was very partial to those who professed it, and caused mass to be said in the palace. This zeal for the true religion was contrary to his worldly policy, but his real imprudence was the unbounded confidence he reposed in some members of his council, who secretly betrayed him. He considered it an imperative duty to protect his own faith, and he also considered that the Catholics ought to take advantage of his reign to rescue themselves from the oppression to which they had been so long exposed. James had two objects in view: first, to grant the Catholics freedom in the exercise of their religion; and secondly, to enable them to hold public offices, from which they had been unjustly excluded. The English became alarmed, and the last step the king took in favor of his religion was considered by the Protestants as the destruction of their own. Some noblemen busied themselves in fomenting discontent among the people, and James was ruined by a plot which Lord Shaftsbury had projected under Charles II.

The duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, having confided the government to the primate and the earl of Granard, set out for London in March, 1685. Shortly afterwards the court sent over to Ireland the earl of Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law, as lord-lieutenant, and Sir Charles Porter as chancellor. Clarendon was recalled in February, 1686, and Richard Talbot, earl of Tirconnel, who already commanded as lieutenant-general, was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. The Catholic religion began to be openly professed, the priests and friars appeared in public in the dress of their order, the ancient proprietors took possession of their estates, which had been usurped by the Cromwellian soldiers, and Catholics as well as Protestants were appointed to public offices.

The league against the king gained strength every day in England. The English nobles belonging to the faction had already crowded to Holland, to the prince of Orange, the king's son-in-law; and the conspirators solicited him to come to their assistance for the defence of their religion and liberty. Henry Sidney, and Sir —— Peyton, and Sir —— Gwyn, arrived secretly at the Hague, where they were favorably received. The intercourse being free, other noblemen proceeded to Holland under various pretexts.

The prince of Orange, well convinced of his finding partisans in England, and conspirators to favor his views, commanded an armament to be got ready, and gave the necessary orders for an expedition to England. Before he embarked he published a manifesto, dated October 1st, specifying his

motives, and what induced him to undertake it. The complaints of the English Protestants against their king were enumerated; the means that were taken, but in vain, to remedy the disorder, were pointed out, and the object of the present enterprise set forth. Many charges were artfully embodied, in order to prove that the king intended to destroy the religion, laws, and liberty of the nation.

France saw the misfortunes that threatened the king of England. Louis XIV., of glorious memory, apprized him of them often. The French monarch loved dearly the unhappy king of England, and gave proofs of it by offering to assist him. M. Bonrepos was commissioned to propose to send thirty thousand troops, and vessels to carry them to England. This offer was rejected by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who pointed out that to introduce a foreign army into England would destroy the confidence of the people; but this was already lost, inasmuch as bribery and a spirit of revolt pervaded both the troops and other portions of them. Though Sunderland was secretary of state and president of the king's privy council, he was not loyal. He was a determined foe to the policy of his master, and had urged more anxiously than any other the exclusion of that prince from the throne, when that question was debated in the preceding parliament. He was, however, resolved to follow the ruling power while it would be his interest, and under James II. he professed himself a Catholic, to be enabled to serve the Protestants by betraying his master. All things being prepared for the expedition to England, the prince of Orange took leave of his states, and put to sea with a favorable wind, about the end of October. Fifty ships of war, followed by four hundred transport vessels, besides twenty frigates and some smaller craft, composed the fleet; from twelve to thirteen thousand troops, and arms for twenty thousand men, were on board. Admiral Herbert, an Englishman, commanded the van; in the rear was vice-admiral Evertzen, and the prince was in the centre. All these vessels bore the English flag with the arms of the prince of Orange, around which were these words, "For religion and liberty," and at bottom was the device of the house of Nassau, "I will maintain." A great number of English noblemen were on board the fleet. Among the general officers was Count Schomberg, marshal of France,* accompanied by his son Count Charles Schomberg, Monsieur Caillemotte, son of the marquis of Ruvigny, and about three hundred French officers who were refugees in Holland. The fleet had proceeded to sea, when a violent storm, which lasted for twelve hours, dispersed the ships, and forced them to take shelter in their own ports; several foundered with their cargoes; one man only, however, and five hundred horses, perished. This loss being soon repaired, and the wind favorable, they put to sea a second time, on the 11th of November. Admiral Dartmouth, an Englishman, assured the king that he would intercept the enemy, instead of which he did not appear against them, and the prince of Orange having gained Torbay road, landed without opposition.

Immediately after landing, the prince began his march; but on arriving at Exeter, he discovered the tardiness of the people to declare for him. The bishop and dean of Exeter, with the inferior clergy, had fled; the magistrates kept aloof; and after the reading of the manifestoes few of the people offered him their aid; and the commissions, too, that had been given for the raising of troops, produced but a moderate effect. The appearance of things, however, soon changed. The prince marched to Salisbury, where several noblemen, distinguished for their birth, riches, and the offices they held, flocked to his standard. Among them were Lords Colchester and Wharton, Colonel Godfrey, and others, together with some troops. The earl of Abingdon, Captain Clarges, and several others, soon followed their example; but that which produced most surprise, was the conduct of Lord Cornbury, the earl of Clarendon's eldest son, who having left the royal camp with his regiment of dragoons and three others, under pretence of driving the enemy from an outpost, joined the prince.

The king being determined to oppose the prince of Orange, marched at the head of thirty thousand men towards Salisbury, where his presence was much needed. Here his principal officers sent him a communication by their general, Lord Feversham, that their conscience would not permit them to serve in opposition to the prince of Orange, since the security of religion and the national privileges were his objects. By this conduct of the officers, James lost his principal support. Lord Churchill, (afterwards duke of Marlborough,) lieutenant-general and captain of the guards, and one of his most intimate favorites, deserted him. He was followed by the duke of Grafton,* Colonel Bar-

* Marshal Schomberg left France on account of his religion, and entered the service of the elector of Brandenburgh, in the country of Cleves.

* One of the natural sons of Charles II. and the duchess of Cleveland

clay, and other officers. Their example was soon imitated by the prince of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, the duke of Ormond, Lord Drumlanerick, the duke of Queensbury's eldest son, and many others, who joined the prince of Orange at Sherburn.

So general a desertion made the king look to his own safety; he returned to London, and in order to secure an asylum for himself, the queen, and his son, the prince of Wales, he prevailed on the Count de Lausun, who was then negotiating some affairs in England, to conduct his family to France. The queen, attended by the earl and countess of Powis, the Countesses de Dalmon and Montecucully, and several other persons of distinction, left Whitehall in the night of December 19; got on board a vessel on the Thames, and having escaped the notice of the English, reached Gravesend, where a ship was in readiness to receive them. After a few hours the queen landed at Calais, from whence she proceeded to Versailles. The king continued for some time longer in England; but reflecting on the deplorable state of his affairs, he found it impossible to improve them by force, and saw that he would be compelled either to resign the sceptre, or retain it under severe and disgraceful terms. The English nobility were undecided respecting the treatment they should adopt towards him; some insisted that he had no longer any right to the throne, and ought to be removed from the capital; others were for securing his person and sending him a prisoner to Breda. Protestant historians boast of the generous sentiments of the Prince of Orange on this subject; according to them, he evinced the greatest horror for any attempt against the person of his father-in-law.

In the mean time, the guards of the prince of Orange took possession of the palaces of Whitehall and St. James, after which some noblemen were deputed to the king to recommend to him to retire to Ham. The king preferring to go to Rochester, was obliged to wait for the permission of William, which arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. He left Rochester for France, in the beginning of January, 1689; and arrived at the port of Ambleteuse, attended by the duke of Berwick, and Messrs. Sheldon and Abbadie. He then proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, to join the queen and prince of Wales, where he was received by King Louis with that beneficence and greatness of mind which so eminently characterized that monarch. According to Latrey, bishop of Salisbury, and other English writers, the reign of James II. ended with his flight. They allege that the king had deserted his kingdom, and thereby had in reality abdicated his crown.

Two documents, written by the king of England, copies of which are given, will sufficiently vindicate his retreat: the first was dated Rochester, 22d December, 1688, and contains the cause and motives of his going. The second is a letter to the members of his privy council in England, dated St. Germain-en-Laye, January, 1689.

The motives which obliged the king of England to withdraw to Rochester, as written by himself, and published by his order.

"It cannot be a matter of surprise that I have retired from my country a second time. I might have expected that the Prince of Orange would have acted otherwise, from the letter which I wrote to him by Lord Feversham. But instead of answering me, he not only *had the earl arrested, contrary to the rights of men, but sent his guards at eleven o'clock at night, to seize on all the avenues leading to Whitehall, and without giving me any notice, sent three noblemen, after midnight, when I was in bed, with an order to leave my palace before twelve the next day.* How could I think myself secure in the power of a man who could treat me in this manner? He seized upon my kingdom, and in his first proclamation has published the most malicious observations respecting the birth of my son. I appeal to those who know me, and to himself, if in conscience, they could suspect me of such baseness, or that I were so simple as to be imposed upon in a matter of such moment. What then could be expected from a man who has used every means to make me appear to my subjects and the whole world, the most wicked of men, in which he has so well succeeded as to corrupt my army, and stir up my subjects to rebellion?

"I was born free, and I wish to preserve my freedom; as I have willingly risked my life on many occasions, for the welfare and honor of my country, I am still ready to do the same, with the hope, though advanced in years, to deliver England from the slavery which threatens it, convinced that it would be imprudent to subject myself to a prison, which would prevent me from carrying my plans into execution. I have been therefore induced to withdraw, but shall remain near enough to return, when the nation will have discovered that it has been deceived, under the specious pretext of religion and liberty. I hope that God will, in his mercy, move the hearts of my people to perceive their unhappy condition, and dispose them to consent to the

convening of a free parliament, in which, among other things, liberty of conscience to all sects will be granted; that those of my religion may be permitted to live in peace, as becomes all good Englishmen, and true Christians; and that they will not be compelled to leave their country, to which they are so strongly attached.

"Those who have a knowledge of the present state of things, will admit, that nothing would contribute more to make England prosper, than freedom of conscience, which causes some of our neighbors to fear it would be granted.

"If time would permit, many things could be added in vindication of what I have said.

"Rochester, December 22d, 1688."

Letter of the King of England to the members of the Privy Council.

"James R.

"My Lords,—So soon as we discovered that there was no longer any security for us to remain in our kingdom of England, and that we formed the resolution of retiring for some time, our motives for thus acting were left to be communicated to you and to our other subjects. It was also our intention to leave you our commands respecting what would be best adapted to the present state of affairs. As this, however, could not have been done without danger, we deem it right to inform you now, although it be obvious that since our accession to the crown all care has been applied to govern our people with such moderation and justice as to remove every pretext for complaint, that we had given to these matters a greater regard since the last invasion. We know that conspiracies have been plotted, and we fear that our subjects, who could not be destroyed but through themselves, may be drawn, under light and imaginary pretexts, into certain and inevitable ruin. To obviate this evil, we removed not only every cause of complaint, but even the smallest pretext for it. For these purposes, and to bring to light any thing that could justify this invasion, it had been determined by us to convene a free parliament, wherein the advice and opinion of our subjects can be obtained, and causes for the measures that have been taken assigned. To attain these objects, we granted to the city of London, and to other bodies and communities, their ancient charters and privileges, and our letters were issued for the assembling of a parliament to be held from the 15th to the 25th of January. But the Prince of Orange, finding that the ends of his declaration had been attained, and that the people began to reflect and return to their duty; and anticipating, likewise, that if the parliament met at the time specified, they would in all probability adopt measures necessary for the safety of church and state, which would tend to destroy his ambitious and unjust designs, resolved to prevent by every means the assembling of parliament. To effect this, he considered nothing would be better than to seize our royal person, and deprive us of our liberty. For as a parliament cannot be termed free when either house suffers violence, neither can it be said that it can act if the sovereign, by whose authority it has been assembled, and whose sanction alone imparts validity to the laws, be actually a prisoner.

"You need not be reminded with what haste the prince of Orange obliged us by his guards to leave London, when he discovered the city to be returning to its duty, and that he could not confide in the inhabitants: with what indignity he has insulted us in the person of Earl Feversham, whom we deputed to him, and how inhumanly he caused us to be arrested. We doubt not but these matters are already too well known; we hope likewise, that when it is seen how the laws and liberties of England, which he has pretended to secure by his invasion, have been violated, nothing more will be wanting to open the eyes of our subjects, and let them see what each one has to expect, and what treatment they will receive from him, who, to carry his designs into execution, has treated with such indignity a sovereign prince, an uncle, and a father. However, the resentment which we feel for these outrages, and our apprehensions that he would drive matters still further, as well as the atrocious calumnies with which he asperses our reputation, bring to our recollection the words of our dear father, that 'the way from the prison of a prince to his tomb is short,' and convince us that we ought to recover that freedom which the laws of nature allow, even to our meanest subject; besides, our person being in safety, it will be in our power thereby to contribute our efforts to the peace and tranquillity of our kingdom. As adverse fortune never will influence us to act in any way derogatory to the royal dignity, to which God has raised us by the legitimate succession, neither shall the rebellion nor the ingratitude of our subjects ever make us act contrary to the true interests of the English nation, which have been and ever will be equally dear to us as our own. It is therefore our will, that you, our privy council, take very special care to make known our favorable intentions to all the

spiritual and temporal lords in our cities of London and Westminster, to the lord-mayor and commonalty of London, and to all our subjects generally, and to assure them that we desire most eagerly to return to our kingdom, and to convene a free parliament, where we may be able to undeceive our people, and convince them of the sincerity of our declarations which have been so often renewed by our avowal to preserve the liberties and properties of our subjects inviolate; to preserve the Protestant religion and church of England, as established by law; and at the same time to obtain for nonconformists, and all our subjects, all the indulgence which justice and a care for the general good of our people oblige us to require. At the same time, you of our privy council will communicate to us your opinions and advice respecting the means you will consider best and most prudent to pursue to promote our return and the success of our good intentions, which you, from being in the country, have in your power to perform. We moreover command you to prevent, in our name and by our royal authority, all disorders and commotions which might arise, and to endeavor to preserve the nation and all our subjects against any losses from the present revolution. As we entertain no doubt of your loyalty and obedience to our commands, we bid you farewell. Given at St. Germain-en-Laye, the 4th of January, 1689, and the fourth of our reign.

"By command of his Majesty,
"MELFORT.

"To the Lords and others of our Privy Council of our kingdom of England."

In the height of this astonishing revolution, the prince of Orange being informed of the state of things in Scotland, commanded the peers of that country, several of whom were in London, to repair to St. James's. Thirty peers and eighty gentlemen met accordingly. William made them the same offers he had done to the English, and sought their advice in the present conjuncture of affairs, and the means necessary for the protection of religion and the laws. They then withdrew to Whitehall, where, after appointing the duke of Hamilton president of the meeting, they began to discuss the terms they had to propose to the prince. The proposal of the earl of Arran was unanimously rejected; he was son to the duke of Hamilton, and proposed to invite the king to return to Scotland, and laid down terms for him to submit to. It was arranged instead, at the meeting, to surrender the government of their kingdom to the prince of Orange, and to pray that he would appoint the 14th March for the states of Scotland to meet. In consequence, their address was presented, and a favorable answer received; notwithstanding which, some highland lords continued still devoted to the king.

Ireland was the only part of the three kingdoms that continued faithful to the sovereign, and opposed to usurpation. The earl of Tirconnel was the lord-lieutenant. There was, however, a number of wicked characters in Ireland; namely, the English and Scotch fanatics whom the king's grandfather, James I., established in the north of Ireland, and on whom he bestowed the estates of the ancient proprietors; and also the parricides and soldiers to whom Cromwell gave the lands of those who supported the royal cause, and whom Charles II., brother to the present king, confirmed in their unjust possessions. These men, incapable of gratitude, on the first news of the prince of Orange having landed in England, ran to arms and declared in his favor against the grandson and brother of the benefactors to whom they were indebted for their fortunes. This conduct was different from what the king expected; it was in direct opposition to every sentiment of gratitude which a generous mind ought to manifest for benefits received, and falsified the detestable maxim of Clarendon, "Do good to your enemies to gain them," &c., a maxim which that minister of iniquity often applied to Charles II. to secure his protection for the nefarious usurpers of the properties of his faithful subjects. The protégés of Clarendon were the first to raise the standard of rebellion in Ireland,* and favor the usurpation of the prince of Orange. Major Pooe, an officer of Cromwell, opened the scene and began hostilities. He was commander of two companies of cavalry, and wishing to levy contributions on the country, he applied to the tenants of Lord Bellew. Under pain of military law, he ordered them to have five hundred pounds sterling made up for him. Lord Bellew, apprized of what was going on, sent his second son, aged eighteen years, to assist the farmers, with a company of dragoons of which he was lieutenant. The two corps having met, they fought with determined bravery, till young

* In our history of this war we made use, among other memoirs that are in our possession, of a journal which the late Edmond Butler of Kilcop, marshal-general of the Irish cavalry, left after him. He is the more worthy of belief as he was an eye-witness of what he sets forth. He died in 1725, at St. Germain-en-Laye, quarter-master of cavalry in the service of France.

Bellew having killed Major Pooe with a blow of his pistol on the head, his two troops were defeated ; several of whom fell in the action, and the rest were put to flight.

Soon after this occurrence, Lord Blaney* made an attempt to surprise the town and castle of Ardee. A troop of cavalry which Dominick Sheldon commanded, and which belonged to the regiment of Tirconnel, was in the place, and the grenadiers of the earl of Antrim's regiment, which was commanded by Henry Fleming, was stationed in the castle. Blaney finding his project discovered, and the little garrison determined to defend themselves, desisted from the attack. The remainder of the year 1689 was spent in raising troops and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

It was then that the nobility of Ireland raised, clothed, equipped, and armed, partly at their own expense, thirty thousand men for the king's service. There were already some old corps in Ireland, viz., the regiments of Mountcashel, Tirconnel, Clancarty, Antrim, and of some others. The viceroy gave the commissions of colonels to several of the nobles. The country gentlemen raised some companies, which, when united with those of the colonels, were formed into regiments. The regiments of Inniskillen, of Hugh Mac-Mahon, Edward Boy O'Reilly, Mac-Donnel, Magennis, Cormac O'Neill, Gordon O'Neill, Felix O'Neill, Brian O'Neill, Connact Maguire, O'Donnell, Nugent, Lutterell, Fitz-Gerald, Galmoy, O'Morra, and Clare, &c., soon appeared in the field. There was no want of soldiers, but the soldiers were in want of almost every thing except courage and good will; and the nobles, who underwent the first expense, were not able to support it long. There were also but few officers who knew military tactics, and who had time to train and discipline the new levies. In the month of March, the earl of Tirconnel sent Richard Hamilton, lieutenant-general of the king's army, at the head of 2000 men, against Hugh Montgomery, Lord Mount Alexander, who had raised a regiment for the prince of Orange, and was at the head of 8000 rebels in Ulster. Hamilton set out from Drogheda on the 8th of March with the above force. Having passed Dundalk and Newry, he stopped at Lough Bricklan, from whence he dispatched Butler of Kilcop, a cornet, to reconnoitre the enemy. This officer performed his commission valiantly. He brought an account to his general, that Lord Montgomery was within three miles, at the head of 8000 men, at a place called Dromore-Iveagh. Hamilton set out on his march, and came up with the enemy, who were boldly drawn up in order of battle, at Cladyfort. Notwithstanding the superior number of the rebels, the royalists attacked them so vigorously that they took to flight, and retreated in disorder towards Hillsborough, where Montgomery left two companies of infantry in garrison. He sent the remainder of his forces to Coleraine under Sir Arthur Rydon, and sailed for England from Donaghadee.

In order to follow up his victory, General Hamilton went in pursuit of the rebels ; passing through Hillsborough, and taking the troops Montgomery had left there, at their own request he dismissed them. He still followed the rebels through Belfast and Antrim, as far as Coleraine, on the river Bann, but without being able to come up with them. Having encamped at Ballimony, near Coleraine, he remained there three days, to refresh his troops after their long march ; he then examined into the situation and strength of the town, which in those times was considered to be strongly fortified. Having neither artillery nor ammunition to carry on a siege, he returned to Ballimony. The day following, which was Good Friday, a strong body of rebels sallied forth to make booty of the cattle in the neighborhood, and take provisions necessary for a place threatened with a siege ; but Hamilton, with his cavalry, drove them back to the gates of the town.

The king was still in France, and saw how favorably disposed his Irish subjects were towards him, the greater part of whom had continued faithful; only three small towns—Londonderry, Coleraine, and Culmor—having rebelled in favor of the prince of Orange. The English pressed him strongly to send the necessary succors to support these towns. The royalists thought his presence might be a check to the enemy ; and being encouraged and assisted by France, he set sail with the celebrated Gabaret, and landed at Kinsale in March. At Cork he was joined by the earl of Tirconnel, whom he created duke, and proceeded to Dublin.

The duke of Berwick, accompanied by several officers, arrived in the camp of Ham

* Edward, father of Lord Blaney, was one of those adventurers to whom James I. gave estates in the county of Monaghan ; this monarch created him afterwards lord-baron. His son, who is introduced here, was one of James II.'s greatest enemies, who was the grandson of his benefactor. He commanded a body of troops in Ulster against his king. He proclaimed everywhere William king of Great Britain, in opposition to his legitimate sovereign.

ilton before Coleraine, and the same night the general was informed that the enemy had abandoned the place, after having broken the bridge. The day following he entered Coleraine, and having repaired the bridge and given the command of the place to Colonel O'Morra, who commanded a regiment of infantry, he marched to Strabane, where he refreshed his troops and held a council of war. Here it was understood, through a letter, that the troops of Inniskillen and Derry, making in the whole about 10,000 men, were collected at Clodybridge, on the river Finn, under the orders of Major-General Lundee, for the purpose of opposing the royal army. After the contents of this letter were communicated, the council determined to march and attack the rebels. Hamilton set out with his army, and found on his arrival that the first arch of the bridge was broken, and a fort built on the other side, defended by 2,000 men drawn out in order of battle upon an eminence near the fort. To surmount these difficulties, General Hamilton posted six companies of musketeers, with orders to fire on those who were guarding the fort, for the purpose of covering some workmen sent to repair the bridge. Every thing was done with the greatest order; the arch being repaired with planks and pieces of wood, the infantry passed over without difficulty, while the cavalry was crossing the river in view of the enemy. This intrepid act disconcerted the rebels; not only those who were guarding the fort, but the whole army took to flight, some of whom retreated to Derry, and some to Inniskillen. They were pursued to Raphoe by the royalist troops, who killed many of them without any loss on their own side except that of Robert Nangle, major in the regiment of Tirconnel. After this advantage over the rebels, Colonel Dundee, who commanded them, surrendered at Culmor and embarked for England.

Hamilton found abundance of provisions at Raphoe where he stopped, and was joined by Lord Galmoy at the head of eight hundred men from the garrison of Trim. During his stay there, he received some deputies from Derry, who offered to capitulate. This garrison consisted of 6,000 men; and the general, who knew the importance of the place, promised them their lives, properties, and protection, on condition that the city would surrender at twelve o'clock next day, which terms were accepted and ratified on both sides.

The king, who had stopped in Dublin, wishing to benefit by the first moments of ardor which his presence excited among those of his own communion, marched towards the north. The rebels were not a little alarmed at this, having previously given up Coleraine and Culmor. The prince, accompanied by M. Rose,* Lord Melford, and some troops, arrived at Saint-Johnstown, between Raphoe and Derry, the same day Hamilton was in treaty with the deputies. The eagerness of the general to compliment the king on his arrival, made him likewise eager to give him an account of the campaign. The monarch signified to General Hamilton his displeasure at the terms he was about to grant to the rebels of Derry, and marched himself directly for that town with the fresh troops he had with him, and immediately summoned it to surrender at discretion. This change made by the king from the terms previously agreed upon, gave great alarm to the garrison. It had been stipulated that the king's troops should not advance till the place would be evacuated, and now they began to doubt his sincerity. It was determined therefore to defend the town to the last extremity, while waiting for succors that were expected from England, and a Protestant minister named Walker took the command of the garrison.

The king ordered Hamilton to begin the siege. Artillery was accordingly sent for in April, and did not arrive till June; it consisted of two bad pieces of cannon, and two mortars, with which came some powder. The insurgents, in the mean time, collected in bodies in the county of Down; but they were dispersed by some troops under Major-General Bohan.

During the siege of Derry the besieged made several sallies against the besiegers, of which the first remarkable one occurred on a Sunday, with 5,000 men. King James's army, who were but 2,000 in number, received them with such firmness that they were forced to retreat with loss. The besieged made two more sallies, but they were unsuccessful as before.

The royal army was reinforced a few days afterwards by some newly-raised troops who were as yet undisciplined. The whole then amounted to 10,000 men. The trenches were opened before the place, and the garrison was so straitened for provisions that they were forced to eat dogs, cats, and leather. To lighten their numbers, six companies belonging to Lord Mountjoy's regiment of infantry were embarked and sent away. It was well provided with warlike stores of

* Deputy-Marshal of France.

every kind, and it had forty pieces of cannon planted upon the walls, which annoyed the besiegers considerably. The succors by which the prince of Orange intended to relieve Derry, soon made their appearance. An English fleet of twenty ships of war, and three hundred transport vessels laden with provisions, warlike stores, and six thousand troops, under the command of Major-General Kirke, appeared in Loughfoyle in the beginning of August; but as some days were requisite to enter the town with safety, one Roche was dispatched to inform the garrison that succors were at hand. Afraid to venture by land, he swam a distance of two miles, and fulfilled his commission to the satisfaction of his employers; for which he was afterwards amply rewarded with the estate of Glinn, within two miles of Carrignashure, which belonged to a gentleman named Everard. Two days after Roche's exploit, Captain James Hamilton entered Derry with two vessels laden with provisions, which enabled it to hold out till the arrival of the aid they were expecting with Major-General Kirke. This officer succeeded, in a few days, in breaking through the obstacles which had been placed in the harbor by the royalists to prevent him from entering. Having relieved the besieged, just as they were on the point of surrendering, the royalists were forced to withdraw on the tenth of August, after a siege of seventy-three days. The king then ordered Hamilton to lead the army towards Dublin, in order to oppose Marshal Schomberg, who was expected to land with an army in the neighborhood of that city. Hamilton obeyed the king's orders, after placing a garrison in Charlemont, under Captain O'Regan, an officer of high repute.

M. Rose not thinking the king's troops sufficient to oppose Schomberg, advised him to collect his forces about the centre of the kingdom, and invite all his faithful subjects to join him. In consequence of this, he soon had an army of twenty thousand men assembled at Drogheda.

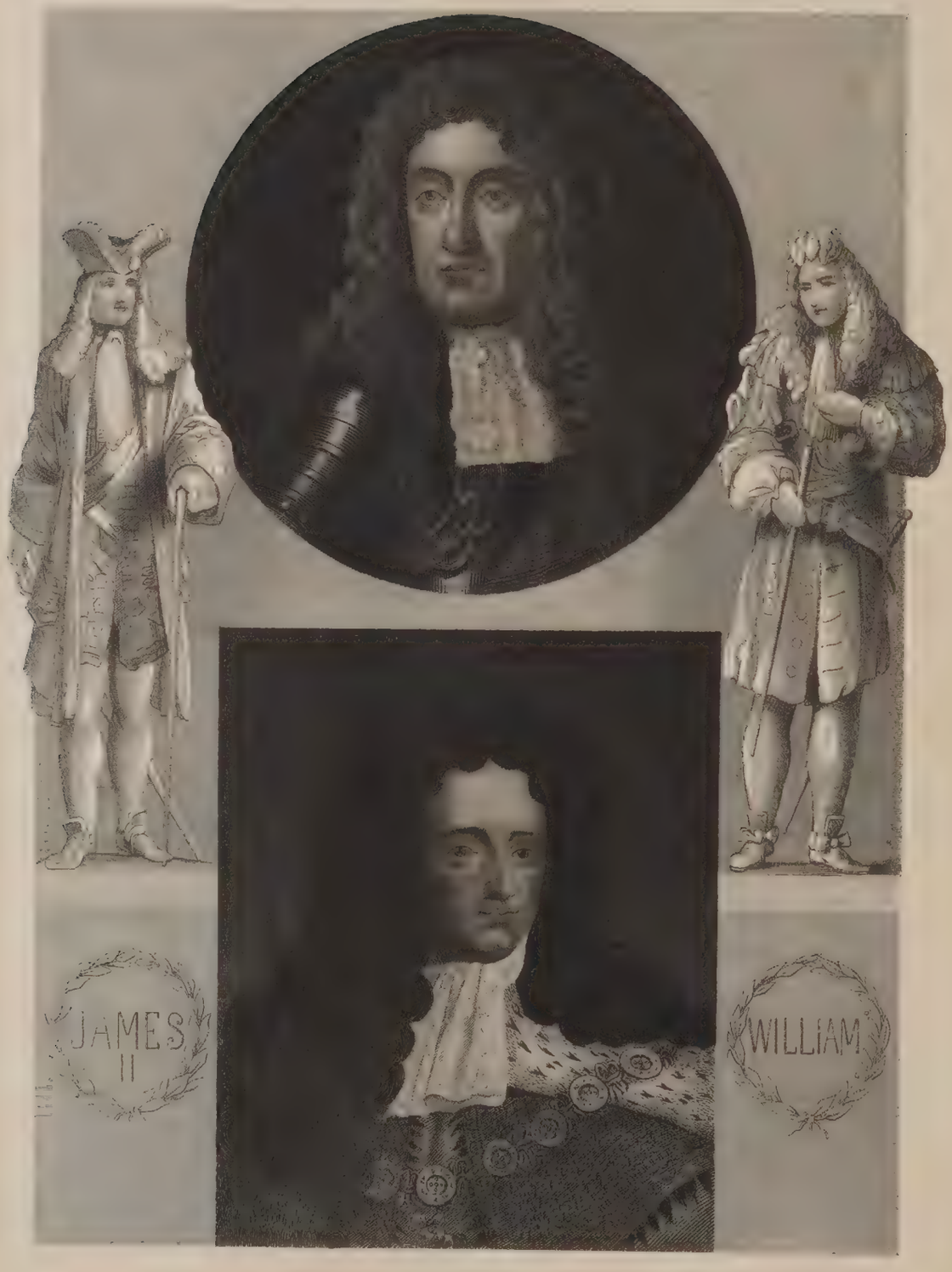
In the mean time, Schomberg landed between Carrickfergus and Belfast, and besieged the former town, which was under the command of Mac-Carty More, nephew to the earl of Antrim, and lieutenant-colonel of his regiment which was in the town. Mac-Carty having but one barrel of powder, was forced to surrender the castle after a feeble defence. Schomberg then proceeded towards Dundalk.

The king being arrived at Drogheda, sent two lieutenants, Butler of Kilcop, and Garland, each at the head of a detachment, to reconnoitre the enemy. One took the route to Slane, and advanced through the mountains towards Ardee, the other proceeded on the side of Lurgan Race. They brought back word to the king that Schomberg was encamped; that his right wing was stretched along Castle-Bellew, his centre extended towards Dundalk, and his left towards the sea. Upon this the king marched towards Ardee, where he stopped; and the day following sent General Hamilton with the whole of the cavalry to the village of Aphene, where he was separated from the enemy by a bog and a small river. The king arrived after a few hours with the infantry, and encamped, for some days, in presence of the enemy. The duke of Tirconnel, M. Rose and other general officers of the army, were for attacking the enemy. The opportunity was a favorable one, as sickness had got in among Schomberg's troops, and out of twelve thousand men, of whom his army was at first composed, there were not more than three thousand remaining, so that if the proposed attack had been undertaken, Schomberg would have been forced to decamp, and return to his ships, three of which were in the harbor of Dundalk.

The king, by the advice of his general officers, put his army in order of battle, and marched with a design of turning the enemy, on the side of the morass. This proved only an ostentatious parade; as scarcely had they marched a league, when the prince ordered the troops to return to their camp, where they continued till October, without making any attempt against the enemy. If it were permitted to censure the conduct of a wise and virtuous king, James II. might be reproached with having committed two egregious oversights, which deeply affected his cause, and eventually caused the loss of Ireland. At Derry he rejected, contrary to sound policy, a capitulation entered into between General Hamilton and the garrison of that city. This would have put into his hands that important place. It was the magazine of the north, and besides being an arsenal, it afforded to his enemies, by its situation, an easy entrance into the kingdom. At Dundalk he showed a weak compassion for the English, and an imprudent clemency towards subjects armed against their sovereign, and ready to tear the sceptre from his hands, after they had violated all the respect due to royalty. It was in these circumstances that Monsieur Rose, according to Larrey, observed to the king: "Sire, if you possessed a hundred kingdoms, you would lose them."

The royal army at Aphene decamped the





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10th October, in view of Schomberg. They marched to Ardee, where they remained till the 25th of the month, after which they went into winter quarters. The infantry was divided among the garrisons, and the cavalry stopped in the vicinity of Tara and Killeen, in the county of Meath. Schomberg also took up his winter quarters with the small portion of his troops that had escaped the contagion.

In the month of February, 1690, the king being informed that a body of insurgents had assembled near Cavan, sent the duke of Berwick with troops to disperse them. The duke found them much superior to him in numbers—being in fact three to one. A brisk battle was fought between some English cavalry and the king's infantry, the latter of whom retired with loss. Colonel William Nugent* had a leg broken, and died of his wounds after a few days. Conly Mac-Geoghegan,† who was a colonel, and several others, were killed; after this engagement the duke of Berwick returned to Dublin.

Louis XIV. sent, at this time, seven French battalions to Ireland, under the command of Count Lausun, who was to act as general under King James. Six Irish battalions, forming the brigade of Mountcashel, were sent to France in exchange; they embarked on board the fleet of Monsieur Chateaurenaud, and arrived at Brest in the beginning of May.

The prince of Orange landed in spring in the north of Ireland, with a formidable army. King James marched in June to Dundalk. The enemy's forces amounted to forty-five thousand men, well provided with every thing, and well trained, and had with them sixty pieces of heavy cannon. The troops of King James amounted to only twenty-three thousand men, lately raised; they were badly provided with arms, and not well disciplined; their artillery consisted of but twelve field-pieces that were brought from France. This great disproportion of numbers induced the royal army to endeavor to take some posts and prevent the prince of Orange from advancing, or at least to fight him, under disadvantage. It was therefore proposed to encamp on the heights adjoining Dundalk, which it would be difficult for him to pass. The enemy, however, by making a small circuitous movement, would be able to gain the flat country at the rear of the royal army; and therefore, in order to cut off the communication, it was resolved that they should encamp beyond the Boyne river, near Drogheda.

The prince of Orange followed, and encamped opposite King James on the 29th June. On the day following, the enemy divided their army. The prince of Orange with one half marched along the river as far as Slane, where he was opposed by two regiments of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neale O'Neill, who guarded the pass, but these being forced to give way, he advanced towards the royal army. The king, who witnessed this manœuvre, marched also on the same side, with the greatest part of his army, and left eight battalions commanded by Lieutenant-general Hamilton, to guard the pass at Oldbridge; the cavalry, which formed the right wing, was commanded by the duke of Berwick. Schomberg, who continued on the opposite site, attacked Oldbridge, and meeting a feeble resistance from some newly raised and inexperienced corps, particularly two regiments of Clare dragoons, commanded by Charles O'Brien, second son of Lord Clare, he made himself master of the place. Upon this, Hamilton proceeded down with seven other battalions to drive away the enemy; but their cavalry having discovered another ford which they crossed, advanced upon the infantry with the hope of cutting the royal army into two, whereupon the duke of Berwick moved his cavalry to cover the retreat of the battalions; but he had to begin a very unequal attack, both from the number of their squadrons, and the disadvantage of the ground, which was greatly intersected, and made more embarrassing by the enemy's having slipped some infantry into it. The charge was renewed ten times, and at length the infantry making an obstinate stand, the cavalry halted; after which they formed again and marched at a slow pace to join the king.

The king in the mean time having reformed his troops, in order to attack the

* He was brother to the earl of Westmeath; he was an intrepid soldier, but rash.

† He was son of Charles Mac-Geoghegan of Sionan, a branch of the Mac-Geoghegans of Kinalyagh, in the county of Westmeath. Conly studied the military art in France, where he served for some time, and passed as a good officer. The father and seven sons, of whom Conly was the eldest, served under King James with distinction in his war against the Prince of Orange. Of the seven brothers, five were killed in this war; the other two followed the fortunes of their king into France, the eldest of whom, named Anthony, was created a chevalier, or knight. Charles, the youngest, died while captain of grenadiers in the regiment of Berwick; he left three sons: there is still living one named Alexander, in the regiment of Lally; he distinguished himself in the Indies, September 30th, 1759, at the battle of Vandavichi, where he commanded in the absence of Lally, and had the honor of defeating the English army, much superior to his in number.

prince of Orange, found himself embarrassed by a bog that separated the two armies; whereupon, fearing that he would be surrounded by the army that had succeeded in taking the pass at Oldbridge, he wheeled to the left, to gain the river at Duleek, called the Nanny Water. The duke of Berwick arrived with the cavalry at the moment the king had crossed the stream with the troops; but those of the prince of Orange, who were continually advancing, arrived at the same time, which obliged the duke of Berwick to pass a defile, in full gallop and in disorder. The whole army having rallied on the other side of the river, put themselves in order of battle. The enemy did the same opposite to them, but did not dare to attack them. After some pause they began to march, and were followed by a part of the enemy. Upon their reaching a defile, and halting, even the enemy did the same. This inactivity of the latter might have been caused by the death of Schomberg, who was killed at the passage of Oldbridge; he was the best general in the army of the prince of Orange. Whatever might have been the cause, the enemy suffered the king's army to withdraw, who were now ordered (the night having come on) to march to Dublin. This they effected the following morning, and thence the duke of Tirconnel led his troops to Limerick. Each colonel received orders to lead his regiment by whatever route he thought best, which they executed in good order. Brigadier Surlauben formed the rear-guard with his brigade, and the French whom Monsieur Lausun brought to Ireland the year before, marched through Cork for Kinsale, and embarked for France.

The king seeing, from the ill-success he had in the battle of the Boyne, that he could not save Dublin, thought it best to give the command to Tirconnel and return to France. After this he stopped in the city but one night; he then proceeded direct to Waterford, where he was received by Sir Nicholas Porter, the mayor, and embarked for France.

The dukes of Tirconnel and Lausun arrived in Limerick. They were pursued by the prince of Orange, which obliged Tirconnel to send most of his cavalry across the Shannon, and quarter them in the county of Clare. The infantry he placed in the garrisons of Limerick, Athlone, Cork, and Kinsale. It was then that Lausun said, with an oath, while viewing the fortifications of Limerick, "that his master would take it with roast apples." The prince of Orange, in the mean time, having collected his forces, encamped within cannon shot of Limerick, on the 19th of August. The duke of Tirconnel having given the necessary orders for its defence, appointed Monsieur Boisseleau, a captain of the French guards, and four Irish officers to act as brigadiers under him, to command the garrison. M. de Lausun proceeded to Galway with the remainder of the French troops, to embark for France. The prince of Orange summoned the commander of Limerick to surrender the city, but the answer of this brave officer soon led him to believe that the siege would be long and obstinate. Heavy artillery, therefore, was then ordered for carrying it on. Colonel Sarsfield, who commanded a body of 500 cavalry, being informed that the enemy were bringing a part of the artillery by land, crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and by forced marches arrived before day at Cullin, where he surprised the convoy. He put the soldiers who were guarding it to the sword, and having then spiked the cannon and broken the copper boats that were intended for the construction of a bridge across the Shannon, to facilitate the crossing of troops, he blew up the remaining part of the artillery with the powder taken with the convoy. The explosion was so great that it was heard at the distance of fifteen miles around. Sarsfield, after making a great booty in horses and other things, marched through Banaghir, where he crossed the Shannon and returned to his camp.

The expedition of Sarsfield amazed the prince of Orange, and considerably deranged his operations; he was heard to say, that he did not imagine that Sarsfield was capable of so able a manœuvre. The prince, however, still continued the siege. The besiegers and the besieged were brave in their attacks and defence. A breach being at length effected by the English artillery, six thousand men, supported by an equal number, having mounted to the assault, were immediately hurled back, attended with a loss of many lives. Thirty pieces of cannon played incessantly upon the place, and the breach being increased, the enemy returned to the assault, but with less success than at first. They were pursued to their very camp, to the heavy disappointment of the prince of Orange, who rebuked his soldiers with bitterness. Boisseleau, the commander of the place, made the English feel what the Irish when well disciplined and commanded were able to do. The prince of Orange raised the siege after fourteen days; the army decamped under General Ginkle in great disorder, after setting fire to the houses in which the sick and wounded

lay. They marched from thence to Birr, while in the mean time the prince of Orange had himself escorted to Waterford, and embarked for England.

As soon as the prince of Orange landed in England, Lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, was sent to Ireland with a reinforcement of troops and artillery, to lay siege to Kinsale and afterwards to Cork. Both towns capitulated. The former was commanded by Colonel Scot, the latter by Brigadier Mac-Elligot; they and their garrisons surrendered prisoners of war, and the officers were sent to England. The duke of Tirconnel, the count of Lausun, and Monsieur Boisseleau, went at this time to France, having confided the affairs of the kingdom to the duke of Berwick. A misunderstanding began now to break out between the Catholic leaders of the royal army and the duke of Tirconnel. Without consulting him, agents were deputed to France where King James was residing, to solicit aid, and to know from the prince himself in whom they were to confide. The agents were, Colonels Purcell, baron of Luoghne, Lutterel, and Macclesfield. In consequence of this deputation, M. de Saint Ruth* was sent in the spring to take the command, and the Chevalier de Tesse in quality of field-marshal, with warlike stores and provisions.

The campaign began about the end of June, 1691, by besieging Ballymore and Athlone. Colonel Ulick Burke was commander of the former of these two places: the Marquis d'Usson, and the Chevalier Tesse commanded Athlone. Baron Ginkle, who was commander of the Protestant army, left Mullingar the 6th of June. He marched towards Ballymore, which he summoned to surrender, and having received a doubtful answer from the governor, he ordered an attack. A breach being effected, and the garrison finding themselves unequal to defend the place, surrendered at discretion. The general after this put it into a state of defence, and marched towards Athlone. This place, one of the most important in the kingdom, is situated on the river Shannon, which divides it into two, forming thereby two towns, separated by a bridge; that on the east is called the English; that on the west, the Irish town. The English town, being the weaker, was attacked first—the fire of the cannon and musketry was so well kept up that it surrendered 29th June. Before the attack, the duke of Tirconnel advised Saint Ruth to destroy the fortifications of the Irish town, and to lead the army to oppose and prevent Ginkle from crossing the bridge over the Shannon, as by this means he would be able to arrest his progress. But his advice being neglected by Saint Ruth, Ginkle had time to erect batteries against the Irish town, and his army having crossed by a ford, in presence of St. Ruth, who was encamped near the place, a general assault was made the 10th of July. The place was immediately carried, after a vigorous defence. More than a thousand of the Irish were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

After Athlone was taken the army of King James marched to Ballinasloe, where they stopped the day following. It was here that Tirconnel gave up the command. He surrendered it to the Marquis de Saint Ruth This general marched his army the day following, and having crossed the river Suck, he encamped at Aughrim, which was a very advantageous position. The castle of Aughrim, situate at the head of a causeway, being the only place through which the enemy could pass, protected its front; on the other side it was surrounded by a bog of great extent. The enemy, who were in pursuit of the Irish army, appeared on Monday the 22d, within view of the camp, and began to defile through the causeway. Colonel Walter Burke was posted with his regiment in the castle to oppose their passage, but, through some error fatal to the cause he was engaged in, he was prevented from accomplishing his object. Having ordered the necessary ammunition to be sent for to the camp, four barrels of powder, and as many of ammunition were forwarded; but instead of musket he found cannon balls, which were of no use. In consequence of this, the enemy's cavalry passed safely through the causeway, while the infantry were crossing the bog, and were drawn up in order of battle before the Irish army. Saint Ruth, like a skilful general, omitted nothing to resist them with effect. The battle began at one o'clock with equal fury on both sides, and lasted till night. James's infantry performed prodigies of valor, driving the enemy three times back to their cannon. It is said that at the third repulse Saint Ruth threw his hat into the air with joy; but immediately after he unfortunately fell by a cannon-ball. His death soon changed the fortune of the day; dreadful disorder followed; the soldiers being left without a commander, the infantry, unsupported by the cavalry, were crushed by the enemy's horse, and the

* He was after returning from Savoy, where he commanded with distinction the troops of his master.

rout became general. The flower of the Irish army perished on this unhappy day, and had it not been for the presence of mind of the almoner of a regiment, called O'Reilly, who made a drum-major beat to the charge on a hill near the bog through which James's army was to march, the loss would have been still greater. By this stratagem the vanquished gained sufficient time to take the road for Limerick.

After the defeat of James's army at Aughrim, Galway and Sligo surrendered to the English, and Ginkle laid siege to Limerick on the 5th of September. Monsieur D'Usson had commanded the garrison since the death of Tirconnel, which took place on the 24th of August, from excessive grief for the late reverses in the affairs of the king. D'Usson defended himself with a bravery equal to that of Boisseleau, but not with the same success. General Sarsfield attempted in vain to get four thousand horses into the town: the cannon and bombs of the enemy played day and night upon the place, and after a siege of five weeks, the money and provisions of the garrison being exhausted, D'Usson thought it more prudent to accept the conditions proposed by the enemy, and to save what troops he had remaining, than to let all perish by an obstinate resistance. The treaty was entered into, and the capitulation signed on the 13th of October, on terms which could not be more honorable or advantageous to the vanquished.

The treaty of Limerick contained forty-two articles, twenty-nine of which had reference to the military. By this treaty the partisans of James had permission not only to leave Limerick, but also the kingdom, with the most glorious testimony which can be accorded to the brave, that of having made a gallant defence. They were permitted to take with them all they possessed, viz., chattels, plate, jewels, &c. The like privileges were granted to other garrisons, and to every Irish family who wished to go to France. Vessels were also to be provided for the removal of their persons and properties, and nothing was omitted from the stipulation which could contribute to the safety and convenience of their voyage.

After the treaty was concluded, the Irish army collected near Quine Abbey, in the county of Clare, where it was resolved, that, in conformity with the articles of capitulation, those who wished to go to France should send in their names to Monsieur Tameron, who had been sent to Ireland by the French court. The English generals thought that very few would willingly go into exile, but they were surprised to witness the numbers who signed for their removal, preferring to share the fate of their king, and enter the service of a foreign prince who had favored their cause, rather than submit to the laws of a usurper at home. Then it was that these generals regretted having consented to their emigration. Four thousand five hundred men marched direct to Cork, under Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, and other general officers, where, after remaining about a month, they sailed for France, and landed at Brest on the 3d of December. At the same time, D'Usson and Tesse arrived from Limerick on board the squadron of M. de Chateau Renaud, with four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six Irish soldiers, besides officers. Major-General Wachop sailed soon afterwards with about three thousand men on board English vessels, and these were followed by two companies of the king's body guards. According to the report of the commissioners, the whole of the Irish troops, including the officers, who followed James to France, amounted to nineteen thousand and fifty-nine men. Louis XIV. received them with kindness, and offered them honorable terms, which they accepted They frequently received the most flattering praises from this great monarch for their zeal and attachment. Lord Mountcashel always commanded the Irish brigade, which bore his name.

Louis XIV. having sent seven French battalions to Ireland in the beginning of the year 1690, whether that he required the same number of Irish troops in return, or that James II., who was at that time in the country, thought proper to send them, three Irish regiments arrived at Brest in the beginning of May, on board French ships, under the command of Justin Mac-Carty, Viscount Mountcashel, a lieutenant-general in England, and who still retained his rank in France. The regiments composing this brigade were, Mountcashel's—an old regiment of long standing—O'Brien's, and Dillon's, each consisting of two battalions, containing one thousand six hundred men, divided into sixteen companies. On their arrival in France, Mountcashel entered into an arrangement for this corps, by which the officers were to be paid as they are at present:* and the soldiers a penny a-day more than the French.

This corps was sent to Savoy, where they distinguished themselves under Marshal de Catinat, in the reduction of that province;

* A. D. 1754.

particularly at the battle of Marseilles, gained by the French on the 4th of November, 1693. Daniel O'Brien, colonel of the regiment that bore his name, having inherited his father's title, who had lately died, called it the Clare regiment. He died at Pignerol; Monsieur de Lee succeeded to his command. Having quarrelled with Squiddy, the major of the regiment, he had him confined in the castle of Briançon, and expelled the year following, and the majority given to Murrough O'Brien, who, after serving first in Hamilton's regiment, entered that of Greder, a German. He had the rank of captain in Greder's, from which he exchanged into the Clare regiment, still retaining his rank.

Lord Mountcashel having died at Barege, from a wound in the chest which he received in Savoy the year he went to France, his regiment was given to De Lee, and afterwards called Bulkley's regiment. Talbot, brigadier-colonel of the Limerick regiment, was appointed to the one De Lee had left. Talbot was natural son of the duke of Tirconnel; he had served in France from his youth, and was deemed an able officer; he went to court in the March following his appointment, where he was arrested and sent to the Bastille, for some inconsiderate observations which were communicated to the king. He remained a year in prison, and his regiment was given to Charles O'Brien, Viscount Clare, brother to him who died at Pignerol after the battle of Marseilles.

Charles O'Brien went to France in 1691, after the surrender of Limerick, as captain of James II.'s body-guard. It is probable that his regiment of dragoons, which he commanded at the battle of the Boyne, had been disbanded in Ireland. After the battle of Marseilles, he was appointed to the queen of England's regiment of dragoons; O'Carrol, the colonel, having been killed. He revived the name of the *Clare regiment;* he was killed in 1706, at the battle of Ramillies, and his regiment given to Lieutenant-colonel Murrough O'Brien, who was descended from the house of Carrigogoiniol, a branch of the O'Brien family. When lieutenant-colonel, he distinguished himself at the battle of Ramillies by taking two stand of colors from the enemy, which were deposited in the house of the Irish Benedictines at Ypres. His skilful manœuvre at Pallue, by which he saved Cambray, is still greater proof of his talents; after it he received the rank of field-marshal of the king's army. "If the Marshal de Montesquieu had done him the justice due to him for the affair at Pallue," says Thuomond "he would have had a greater share in the king's favor than he possessed."* Murrough O'Brien retained the command of this regiment, under the name of O'Brien's regiment, till his death, which took place in 1720. He left a son called Daniel, a colonel of foot in the service of King Louis, who was created a knight of St. Lazarus in 1716, a peer of Ireland, under the title of earl of Lismore, in 1747, and received the grand cross of the royal and military order of St. Louis in 1750. He died at Rome in 1759.

Dillon's was the only regiment of Lord Mountcashel's brigade that retained its name. It was raised in Ireland by Lord Dillon's grandfather, and commanded by Arthur Dillon, his second son, lieutenant-general of the king's army. He died at St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1734. This nobleman added to his illustrious birth superior skill in the art of war, and his exploits have been celebrated in the annals of France. He left several sons, the eldest of whom succeeded his uncle, Lord Dillon. Two were killed at the head of their regiments, at the battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeld; and the last has been lately translated from the archbishopric of Toulouse to that of Narbonne.

The troops which had lately arrived in France, after the treaty of Limerick, were new-modelled in 1695, and reduced to twelve regiments, the command of which was given to those who had most influence at the court of St. Germain. These regiments, called the troops of the king of England, were,

The king's regiment of cavalry:—Dominick Sheldon, colonel; Edmond Prendergast, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Butler, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The queen's regiment of cavalry:—Lord Galmoy, colonel; René de Carné, a Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel; James Tobin, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The king's regiment of dragoons:—Lord-viscount Kilmallock, (Sarsfield,) colonel; Turenne O'Carroll, lieutenant-colonel; De Salles, a Frenchman, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

The queen's regiment of dragoons:—Charles Viscount Clare, colonel; Alexander Barnewal, lieutenant-colonel; Charles Maxwell, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

The king's infantry regiment of guards:—William Dorington, colonel; Oliver O'Gara, lieutenant-colonel; John Rothe, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The queen's regiment of infantry:—

* Memoirs of Thuomond, on the year 1712.

Simon Luttrel, colonel; Francis Wachop, lieutenant-colonel; James O'Brien, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

An infantry regiment of marines:—The Lord Grand-prior, colonel; Nicholas Fitzgerald, lieutenant-colonel; Richard Nugent, second lieutenant-colonel; Edmond O'Madden, major; 11 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Limerick regiment of infantry:—Sir John Fitzgerald, colonel; Jeremiah O'Mahony, lieutenant-colonel; William Thessy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Charlemont regiment of infantry:—Gordon O'Neill, colonel; Hugh Mac-Mahon, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Murphy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

Dublin regiment of infantry:—John Power, colonel: John Power, lieutenant-colonel; Theobald Burke, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Athlone regiment of infantry:—Walter Burke, colonel; Owen Mac-Carty, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Cantwell, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

Clancarty regiment of infantry:—Roger Mac-Elligot, colonel; Edward Scott, lieutenant-colonel; Cornelius Murphy, major; 6 captains, 16 lieutenants, 16 sub-lieutenants, 8 ensigns.

Out of the regiments which the Irish nobility had raised in 1689, for the service of James II., several were disbanded in Ireland. Most of those who went to France, were embodied with those we have just been enumerating; the colonels descending to the rank of captain, and the captains to that of lieutenants. The regiments of O'Neill, O'Donnel, Mac-Donnel, Maguire, Mac-Mahon, Magennis, were formed into one; Edmond (Bouy) O'Reilly's (chief of the ancient tribe of the O'Reillys of Cavan) shared the same fate. He had raised two regiments in Ireland for the king's service—one of dragoons, the other of infantry: the former was disbanded in Ireland, and the latter, which he brought to France, was embodied with others; consequently this nobleman remained without any regiment. His grandson, a captain in the regiment of Dillon, was considered chief of the O'Reillys.

The first change made in the Irish troops continued till the peace of Ryswick in 1697. In 1698, James II.'s body-guard and Galmoy's regiment were disbanded. Sheldon's, which was afterwards known as Nugent's, and then as Fitzjames's, was reduced to two squadrons. The infantry regiments and foot dragoons, consisting of seventeen battalions, were reduced to five, of one battalion each, and the companies which had previously consisted of one hundred men, were reduced to fifty. These regiments were known by the names of Dorington, (who had belonged to the foot-guards,) Rothe, Burke, Albemarle, Fitzgerald, Berwick, and Galmoy, their commanders. The regiments of Lee, Clare, and Dillon, underwent a similar change, in which state they continued till 1701, when a sub-lieutenant was added to each company.

From 1705 to 1711, each company of fifty men had a foot-captain, a second captain, a lieutenant, two second lieutenants, a sub-lieutenant, and ensign. In 1712 each company was restored, with respect to officers, to the footing on which it had been in 1701, and a brigade formed of the half-pay officers.

The regiments of Burke and Dillon were engaged at the battle of Cremona, February, 1702, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, and contributed mainly to the defeat of the enemy. As a mark of his satisfaction, the king increased the pay of the foot-captains, not only of these regiments, but of three others which were on a footing with the French, to twenty-five pence a day, and the lieutenants to twelve pence. The pay of the second captains and lieutenants was increased in proportion. The soldiers also received one penny a-day additional. Dillon's regiment received their reward in hand, as they already had high pay.

Sheldon's regiment of cavalry, to which a squadron was added, consisted of three squadrons in the war of 1700. They distinguished themselves at the battle of Spire, on the 24th November, 1703; and the half-pay captains and lieutenants who served with it, received an increase of pay.

In 1708, the king of Spain began to raise two regiments of dragoons, and three Irish battalions, consisting of the prisoners taken from the English army in the battle of Almanza. These corps were officered by the half-pay officers who had served with the Irish regiments in France.

Peace having been concluded at Radstadt, on the 6th of March, 1714, between France and the emperor, the regiments of Lee, Clare, Dillon, Rothe, and Berwick, were increased from twelve to fifteen companies, consisting each of forty men. In order to make up the three new companies, the regiments of O'Donnel, which had previously belonged to Fitzgerald and Galmoy, and a second battalion which was added to Berwick's were

disbanded. O'Donnel's was divided between the regiments of Lee and Clare; Galmoy's and Berwick's second battalions were joined to those of Dillon, Rothe, and Berwick.

From calculations and researches that have been made at the war-office, it has been ascertained, that, from the arrival of the Irish troops in France, in 1691, to 1745, the year of the battle of Fontenoy, more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen died in the service of France.

Burke applied for, and obtained permission for his regiment, which had often served in Spain, (in order to avoid shifting,) to offer its services to the king of Spain. This being granted, he proceeded to that country, and subsequently served with distinction in Sicily, Africa, and Italy, during the war of 1733, under the king of the two Sicilies, to whom his father, the king of Spain, had sent him in 1758. Burke's regiment remained in Naples; it was called the king's corps, and received an addition of two battalions.

Through the changes which took place among the Irish troops in France, the king of Spain was enabled to increase his three Irish regiments of foot by a battalion each, so that he had six made up of the supernumerary men who remained unemployed in France. They served at Oran in Sicily, and in Italy in 1733, 1734, with the highest distinction—four of these battalions, with the Walloon guards, were successful in 1713, in repulsing the enemy at Veletry, and in saving Don Philip, who was in danger of being taken prisoner.

ARTICLES AGREED UPON THE THIRD DAY OF OCTOBER, ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE.

Between the Right Honorable Sir Charles Porter Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq., lords-justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginkle, lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of the English army; on the one part,

And the Right Honorable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other part:

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General Ginkle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed, That,

I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightly and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the

same in the reign of King Charles II., provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz., Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II.; and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices, and general, will use their best endeavors to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mesne rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords-justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavors, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords-justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavors that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and

Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts ; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army, for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid—it is agreed, that the said lord-justices, and the said Baron de Ginkle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto ; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one-and-twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

CHAR. PORTER, THO. CONINGSBY,
BAR. DE GINKLE.

Present—

Scravenmore. H. Maccay, T. Talmash.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz., "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered ; and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article ; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our court of chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c., witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos
S. Keck, } In Cancel.
LACON WM. CHILDE. } Magistros.

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron de Ginkle, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the English army, on the one side,

And the Lieutenant-generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, commanders-in-chief of the Irish army, on the other ; and the general officers hereunto subscribing.

I. THAT all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds, that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or

volunteers. that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz.: the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the horse at their camp on Wednesday; and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here,) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginkle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandise, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household-stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid; and all other persons belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burden two hundred tons; for which the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burden, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men-of-war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burden.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way in order to embark there; and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation; where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nants, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships, (the danger of the seas excepted,) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colors flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse. General

Ginkle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation ; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginkle, until they can be shipped ; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation ; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis ; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick ; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked ; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides ; and the general promises to use his endeavors that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment ; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France ; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty ; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above said troops ; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz : the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles ; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thuomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, (which they may do until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer,) they shall intrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons ; and it shall be prohibit-

ed on both sides, to offer any thing that is offensive ; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colors flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will choose, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place ; and for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made, in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France ; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops while they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates ; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters where the said troops shall be ; and in case any provisions shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbors ; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men ; and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done ; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages. . . . . And the general shall give . . . . . .

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginkle ; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

In faith of which we have subscribed our names, the 13th of October, 1691. *Signed* —Dussen. le chevalier De Tesse, Lucan, Wachop, and La Tour-Montfort. Charles Porter, Thomas Coningsby, Baron Ginkle.

However willing the prince of Orange might have been to support the Irish Catholics in the enjoyment of the privileges which were granted to them by the treaty of Limerick, it is certain that the English government did not fulfil the articles of capitulation. After a disastrous war, in which their chief objects were the interest of their religion and the inviolable fidelity which they thought due to their king, they, however, had at least the satisfaction of having the freedom of conscience conceded by this celebrated treaty. The honor and good faith of the prince of Orange were the only guarantees of this compact ; he had affixed the great seal of England to it ; he ratified in the most solemn manner the agreement of his generals with the chiefs of the Irish army, and bound himself and his successors to use every effort to have all the articles of the treaty fulfilled and ratified by the parliament.

According to the first of these articles—The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second ; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

However, numerous acts of parliament were passed, by which this article was annulled. By the provisions of the statute called, *An act to prevent the increase of Popery*, it was prohibited, under pain of *præmunire*,* to convert or be converted to the Catholic religion ; and also to give children a foreign

* This is a species of law that strips the criminal of all his goods, deprives him of his liberty and the protection of the laws, exposes him to every insult and bad treatment, without any remedy ; it renders him infamous, and, in fine, leaves him nothing but the life he is to lose.

education, while the Catholics had neither schools nor colleges to have them instructed at home, and Catholics were prohibited from teaching under the most rigorous penalties.

At almost every meeting of parliament, the Catholics experienced some new proofs of its severity. In 1697, all archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, and other ecclesiastics, as also all monks, of whatsoever order they were, were commanded to quit the kingdom before the first of May, 1698; it being ordained that those who should be discovered after the expiration of that time, should be closely imprisoned in the public jail of the place in which they would be taken, till they could be sent beyond the seas, and that if any who had been thus transported had the boldness to return, they should be punished as guilty of high treason.

By other acts the Irish nobility were deprived of their arms and horses; they were debarred from purchasing land, from becoming members of the bar, or filling any public office; and, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty, they were made subject to infamous oaths.

Thus were the Irish Catholics treated, in violation of a solemn compact, rendered sacred by every necessary formality. But, to the disgrace of mankind, experience proves that power has more influence in the fulfilment of treaties than the good faith of those by whom they are signed.

After the celebrated treaty of Riswick, in 1697, by which peace was restored to all Europe, the greater part of the standing army in England was to have been disbanded, but money was wanting to pay the arrears due to the officers, provision-contractors, &c. The English, however, soon discovered means for these purposes, without any cost to themselves. A supply of one million sterling was granted by parliament, to be raised by the confiscation of the estates of the Irish Catholics who had taken up arms for James II. after the year 1688; commissioners being appointed to inquire into the nature of these estates, and to ascertain what they would produce for the above-mentioned purposes.

The reports of the commissioners to the house of commons on the affairs for which they had been nominated, are subjoined. They were printed in London in 1700, by order of parliament. They contain in all ninety paragraphs; but we pass over here, those from the first to the twelfth, the rest being only accounts of the difficulties which the commissioners had to contend with in the fulfilment of their trust.

By these reports it will be seen that three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one Irishmen, and fifty-seven Englishmen were proscribed. If the sacrifices made by both were the same, how different has been the number of victims. It will also appear from them, how much those who followed the fortunes of James II. had lost; how their estates were plundered and laid waste; what abuses were committed in the confiscations, by men of the highest rank; what immense fortunes were unjustly acquired at that time by the most obscure characters; and lastly, what inconsiderable advantages accrued to William, and to the crown of England, by these confiscations. We will also discover the manner in which these proceedings were conducted, and get some knowledge of the forms and customs of the inferior courts of law in Great Britain. An idea, also, may be arrived at of English and Irish parliaments at the time, and of the nature of their deliberations.

Report of the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England to take cognizance of the properties that were confiscated upon the Irish who were concerned in the rebellion of 1688,* *to the honorable house of commons, December* 15, 1699.

1st. Gentlemen,—In virtue of the power granted to us by a late act of parliament, made in the tenth and the eleventh years of his majesty's reign, styled, An act for the granting to his majesty the sum of one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand and fifteen pounds one shilling and eleven pence three farthings, to enable him to disband the troops, and provide for the maintenance of the fleet, and other necessary expenses, we have inquired into the state of the properties which have been confiscated in Ireland.

12.—On account of the late rebellion, fifty-seven persons have been proscribed in England, since the 13th February, 1688, and three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one in Ireland. The aggregate, with the names of the counties in which they were attainted, is inserted in a book presented with this report, No. 1.

13.—The lands which belonged to the said persons since the 13th February, 1688, with the name of the owners, the number of acres confiscated, the names of the counties and baronies in which they are situated, the annual revenue, and the value of capital,

* They stigmatize with the name of rebellion the efforts of the Catholics of Ireland in favor of their legitimate king.

are contained in a book* presented with this report, No. 2.

14.—We calculate that the confiscated lands in the following counties are of the value and extent as subjoined :

Counties.	R.	A.	Annual Value. £	s.	d.	Real Value. £	s.	d.
Antrim . . .	10103	2	1944	18	6	25284	0	6
Armagh . . .	4962	0	588	0	0	7644	0	0
Cork	244320	0	32133	12	6	417737	2	6
Carlow	26303	0	7913	11	6	95872	2	0
Clare	72246	0	12060	17	0	156791	1	0
Cavan	3830	1	478	12	6	6222	2	6
Dublin	34546	0	16061	6	0	208796	18	0
Down	9079	0	1016	6	6	13212	4	6
Fermanagh. .	1945	0	389	0	0	5057	0	0
Galway . . .	60825	0	10225	4	0	83528	18	0
Kildare . . .	44281	1	16551	18	6	215175	0	6
King's Co . .	30459	3	6870	18	0	89321	14	0
Kilkenny . .	30152	2	5243	3	6	68161	5	6
Kerry	90116	0	3652	11	9	47483	12	9
Limerick . . .	14882	3	4728	10	0	61470	10	0
Longford . . .	2067	2	348	9	9	4530	6	9
Louth and Drogheda	22508	0	6331	11	0	82310	3	0
Meath	92452	0	31546	4	6	410100	18	6
Mayo	19294	0	3186	5	0	37598	3	0
Monaghan . .	3832	0	558	16	0	7264	8	0
Queen's Co. .	22657	0	5002	8	9	65031	13	9
Roscommon .	28933	0	5808	15	0	69767	2	0
Sligo	5562	0	998	17	6	12985	7	6
Tipperary .	31960	3	8888	12	6	115552	2	6
Wicklow . .	18164	0	2719	3	0	35348	19	0
Westmeath .	58083	0	14633	12	6	190237	2	6
Wexford . . .	55882	2	7551	10	6	98169	16	6
Waterford . .	21343	0	4190	0	0	54476	10	0

According to this calculation there were one million and sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres, producing an annual income of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds six shillings and three pence sterling ; the real value of which amounts to two millions six hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty pounds sterling, independently of several other estates confiscated, of which we cannot undertake to give a valuation, from their not having been accurately surveyed. We consider the above to be the value of the estates confiscated since the 13th February, 1688.

15.—We deem it our duty now to inform you of the number of acres that have been restored to their former owners, in virtue of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, or through the particular favor of his majesty.

* Every effort has been used by us to discover that book in which are contained the names of the proprietors, in order to introduce them here in favor of their descendants, many of whom are still living ; but our efforts to find it have been in vain.—*J. M'Geoghegan.*

16.—Three letters—one from the late Queen Mary, dated March 15th, to Lord Sidney, Sir Charles Porter, and Mr. Thomas Coningsby, lords-justices and governors of the kingdom of Ireland ; another from the same queen, dated 6th May, 1693, to the same Lord-viscount Sidney, then viceroy and governor-general of that kingdom, and to the privy council ; and a third letter from the king, April 24, 1694, to Lord Henry Capel, Sir Cyrillwick, and Mr. Duncombe, then lord-justice of Ireland, and to the privy council, authorizing them to attend to the representations of those who considered themselves entitled to take advantage of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, and to do them justice. It was therefore decided that four hundred and ninety-one persons should have the benefit of the above-named treaties. Their names, rank, the time they were put into possession of what they had lost, are contained in the book presented to you, gentlemen, endorsed No. 3.

17.—Further, a commission dated February 25, in the eighth year of his majesty's reign, with the great seal of Ireland affixed to it, empowering the judges of the several courts, or five of them, to inquire into the claims of the proscribed ; in consequence of which, seven hundred and ninety-two persons were found entitled to the benefit of the above-named articles. The names of those persons, their rank, and the nature of the estates which have been restored to them, and the periods, are specified in a book added to the report, No. 4.

18.—The estates thus restored, contain two hundred and thirty-three thousand one hundred and six acres, producing an annual income of fifty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three pounds six shillings and six pence sterling, and are valued at seven hundred and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds and four pence sterling. An account of the rent and value of each, the names of the counties or baronies in which the above-named estates lie, with the names and rank of the owners, are specified in No. 4.

19.—We do not presume to question, if their majesties' letters above named, to the lords-justices and council, or the commission to which the great seal has been affixed, could invest any person with a power necessary for summoning his majesty's subjects, and oblige them to come from any part of the kingdom, to take an oath and try them without any judicial form, and raise money under the name and pretext of a salary, &c., without any act of parliament to authorize

such proceedings. We humbly submit this observation to your wisdom.

20.—We consider it our duty, gentlemen, to inform you, that in these courts, established in the extraordinary manner we have named, exorbitant salaries were required: that Palmer, who held the office of register under Mr. Poultney, with whom he shared the profits, demanded from Mr. Luke Dillon, when his father's property was restored to him, the sum of eighty-six pounds sterling; and Mr. Steel, the crier of the same court, fifteen pounds, besides ten pounds he had given to Palmer at different periods while the trial was pending for two years. This is not an individual instance; many others have paid large sums in similar cases. Previously to our being appointed commissioners, nearly five pounds was paid on presenting the first petition, though it was formally declared, in the articles of the treaty of Limerick, that none but clerks were to receive payment for their writings.

21.—We may add, that complaints became general, and we can say with justice, against the last court that was established for receiving petitions. Many have been tried without their petitions being heard; others, a day or two after they had been received, before the king's counsel or the witnesses had been heard, which is contrary to the rules of the court itself, according to which there should be fourteen days between the admission of the claim and the trial. In general, it appears that many abuses have been committed, and that the articles of Limerick and Galway have often been too favorably interpreted towards the proscribed; so that one witness has been often sufficient to determine in their favor; we are, therefore, of opinion, that many have been reinstated in the possession of property, which, if matters were well investigated, should belong to his majesty; for this purpose we sent to Palmer for his minutes, but as he had only written them in notes, we could not obtain sufficient information to lay before you. We will observe one thing which seems singular to us, that, since we received our commission, the court has restored more persons to their properties than they had previously done since the treaty of Limerick.

22.—We have also to inform you, gentlemen, that many ancient proprietors have been reinstated, by the repeal of their sentence, or by a pardon from his majesty.

23.—This is of two kinds; that which has been the result of trial is specified in the books marked 3 and 4, and in separate columns

24.—The other, granted as favors by his majesty, or letters from the late queen, or by orders, subsequently to the battle of the Boyne, are in a book joined to this report, No. 5.—The number of these persons is sixty-five. The estates thus restored contain seventy-four thousand seven hundred and thirty-three acres, producing an annual income of twenty thousand and sixty-six pounds eight pence three farthings, sterling, and worth two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and sixty-three pounds seven pence three farthings, sterling. The names of the counties, baronies, persons, and rank, are specified in a book, No. 2.

25.—We now think it necessary to inform you of what we have discovered in the different provinces, and which appears very probable, that many have obtained favors from his majesty, by giving money, who had enjoyed, and have abused his confidence; but in our endeavors to investigate this matter, we were unable to overcome the difficulty; these arrangements had been made in the most private manner, and between those who are not at present in the kingdom. We shall, nevertheless, lay proofs before you, gentlemen, of money having been the means of restoring many persons to their properties.

26.—Lord Bellew gave Lord Raby* one thousand pounds, besides seven or eight hundred pounds which were due to him, on condition that he would use his influence with the king to obtain his pardon, which he received in consequence. The same Lord Bellew gave up to Lord Romney the rent of his estate, amounting to about three thousand pounds, which he had enjoyed for nearly three years, on condition that he would not be opposed to him in applying for his pardon.

27.—John Kerdiff, a gentleman of the county of Dublin, gave Mrs. Margaret Uniack two hundred pounds, to induce her to prevail on Lord Romney to obtain a letter annulling his proscription, which was granted. However, the particular circumstances of this man merited, in our opinion, the greatest compassion.

28.—Sir John Morris gave two hundred pounds to Mr. Richard Uniack, and three hundred to Mrs. Margaret Uniack, for his pardon, which she obtained through the influence of Lord Romney.

29.—Harvey Morris, Esq., gave Mrs. M Uniack, one hundred pounds, for having procured him his majesty's pardon.

* He was called Wentworth

HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

30.—John Hussey, of Leixlip, being informed by Messrs. Bray and Briscoe, agents to Lord Athlone, who had the confiscation of Lord Limerick's estate, that he could not succeed in having his sentence removed, if he did not give the present owner a mortgage of three hundred pounds which he owed on the property of Lord Limerick, was obliged to do so in order to get his pardon.

31.—Edmond Roche gave Richard Darling, Lord Romney's steward, five hundred pounds for having procured him his pardon. This gentleman, who had been proscribed by virtue of the law enacted against those who were guilty of treason in foreign countries, was proved never to have left the kingdom.

32.—John Bourk, commonly called Lord Bophin, agreed to pay seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling to Andrew Card, for the use of Lord Albemarle, on condition that he would procure a letter from the king to remove his sentence of proscription and restore him to his property; three thousand pounds were to be paid on taking possession, and the rest soon afterwards. His majesty therefore wrote a letter to the lords-justices in favor of Lord Bophin, to be communicated to the commissioners and court of claims; a decree was accordingly passed, which made it appear that it was to enable this nobleman to bring up his children in the Protestant religion, and to secure his property to Protestants. The decree specified also, that nine thousand pounds sterling should be raised on the whole estate, for the payment of his debts and the maintenance and education of his children; but, in truth, to pay the seven thousand five hundred pounds to Lord Albemarle, and the remainder was to be divided among others concerned in this iniquitous transaction. This decree was presented to the Irish House of Commons, to have it passed into a law, but the secret purposes for the money having transpired, the house determined that their power should not be made use of to authorize such clandestine and unjust proceedings, and, therefore, rejected it. This failure produced another settlement, by which the estates of Lord Bophin were mortgaged to Lord Ross; the money which was to be given for this should first be raised upon the property, and the rents applied to the payment of debts, and to the wants of the house of Clanriccard. In consequence of this new arrangement, a letter was given by his majesty, confirming it and three thousand pounds were paid to John Broderick on account of Lord Albemarle.

33.—Thus, gentlemen, have we given you an account of the estates which have been confiscated since February 13, 1688, and those that have been restored to the proprietors, either by the treaties of Limerick and Galway, or by the king. We shall now introduce those to whom his majesty has given these confiscated lands, or to whom they have been mortgaged.

34.—Since the battle of the Boyne, sixty patents have been given, sealed with the great seal of Ireland, to sixty persons, as grants or mortgages of estates confiscated in Ireland. The dates of the above patents, and the causes that produced them, are contained in a book marked No. 6. The following is a list of the most considerable of these grants, the number of acres they contain, and the motives for giving them.

35.—Lord Romney received three grants, of which he is in possession, containing forty-nine thousand five hundred and seventeen acres, on account of his services.

36.—Two grants to Lord Albermarle, of one hundred and eight thousand six hundred and thirty-three acres, on account of his services.

37.—William Bentick, commonly called Lord Woodstock, received one hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and twenty acres, for which no motive is assigned in the letters patent.

38.—To Lord Athlone, twenty-six thousand four hundred and eighty acres, as a reward for his services in the reduction of Ireland; these grants were afterwards confirmed by an act of the Irish parliament.

39.—To Lord Galway, thirty-six thousand one hundred and forty-eight acres, on account of his faithful services.

40.—To Lord Rochford, two grants of thirty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy-one acres, as a reward for his services.

41.—To the marquis of Puizar, three thousand five hundred and twelve acres, for his services.

42.—To Lord Coningsby, five thousand nine hundred and sixty-six acres, with the rights of lordships, titles, and houses in Dublin, and a mortgage of one thousand pounds sterling, as a reward for his services.

43.—To Lord Mountjoy, eleven thousand and seventy acres, for twenty-one years, on account of his services during the war in Ireland, the losses he had sustained in property, the imprisonment of his father in the Bastille, and his having been killed at the battle of Steinkerque

44.—To Mr. Thomas Keightly, for ninety-nine years, two grants, containing twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-one acres, as a portion for his daughter, Catherine Keightly, who had been an attendant on the late Queen Mary, after whose death she lost a pension of four hundred pounds, and in consideration of her father's losses during the war.

45.—To Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, five thousand three hundred and eighty-two acres, (nineteen hundred of which were not confiscated lands,) as a reward for his valuable services during the war in Ireland, for having forded the river Shannon, and mounted the breach in the taking of Athlone, at the head of the English grenadiers.

46.—To Doctor John Lesly, sixteen thousand and seventy-seven acres, on account of his active and diligent services in the commencement of the war in Ireland, the expenses he had incurred in arming a numerous body of men, and having fought at their head on many occasions.

47.—To Sir Thomas Pendergast, two grants of seven thousand and eighty-two acres, for having discovered a conspiracy to assassinate the king, to destroy the liberties of Great Britain, and consequently the Protestant religion throughout Europe.

48.—To Mr. John Baker, sixteen hundred and forty-seven acres, as a reward for the memorable services of his father in his defence of Londonderry.

49.—To Mr. James Corry, two grants, one a mortgage of two thousand pounds sterling on several landed properties in the county of Wicklow, due to Sir Edward Scott by the earl of Tyrone: the other containing seventeen hundred and twenty-five acres, for which the following causes are given, viz., the burning of his house; his having provided the garrison of Inniskillen with provisions and ammunition, to the amount of three thousand pounds sterling, at his own expense; however, it has been proved that, so far from having assisted the garrison of Inniskillen in any manner, he said in public that he hoped to see all those who had taken up arms in favor of the prince of Orange, hanged. His house was burned by the garrison for this observation.

50.—The remainder of these grants are inserted in book No. 6.

51.—It should be observed that all the lands mentioned in this report are plantation measure, two hundred and sixty-four of which are equal to four hundred and forty-one English acres.

52.—We shall also observe that those estates are not of so much value to the persons to whom they have been granted as we have estimated them: whereas impositions have been practised upon his majesty, by underrating them, from selfish considerations; and their agents, who sold or rented those lands below their value, have practised similar deceptions towards their employers.

53.—The greater part of these estates has been conceded under the seal of the Exchequer, for a limited number of years, or during the king's pleasure, from which his majesty has derived but little profit. Most of the terms have expired; those that have not are contained in book No. 6.

54.—We shall now humbly inform you of the costs that have been incurred on the confiscated lands, which have not been restored to the proprietors; we will point out those only that have been discovered from researches made in his majesty's court of Exchequer. This has been done in consequence of his majesty's letter to the lords-justices of Ireland, ordering all the Protestants to prove, in the most expeditious manner, the extent of the costs to which they have been subjected.

55.—All statutes, judgments, mortgages, or other debts on the above-named estates, which have not been restored to the ancient proprietors, amount to one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six pounds sterling, an account of which is annexed to this report in book No. 7. It is probable that since our investigation many of these costs have been removed by various arrangements; but we have had neither time nor aid in forming a correct estimate; therefore, we think that sufficient money can be deducted from the latter for the following purposes.

56.—We have mentioned only the first and real sum of costs, not having been able to discover how much interest might have been due by each individual.

57.—We have often thought it probable that the judgment and mortgage were one and the same debt.

58.—It is likewise probable, that many of these judgments were issued only for the execution of private contracts.

59.—In many instances, the Protestants and Papists were equally concerned; however, the whole debt was laid on the lands of the proscribed.

60.—It appears that several contracts and copies of judgments have been issued by inferior courts of law, and no proofs afforded

of their execution, or the reasons why they were granted.

61.—On the other hand, it is obvious, that in many instances, the statutes and judgments have been carried into execution; but there is no proof of it upon record.

62.—Many of those debts have been purchased, either by the donors or their stewards, or small farmers at very low prices, while they allowed them to exist nominally, to cover the profits which the possession of such lands produced.

63.—Several persons who got possession of these encumbered estates, in consequence of his majesty's letters, have received the whole, or at least the greatest portion of the debts.

64.—It is probable that many of these debts a e imaginary, and in favor of the proscribed, for which purpose there have been many secret arrangements entered into.

65.—It is our opinion that nothing has been omitted by the donors and their stewards to make the debts on their estates appear heavy, although we think, that if a correct investigation were made, it would appear they are very inconsiderable, and that several are liquidated by the profits; but it is our opinion, that they will be more than remunerated by other confiscations, of which the following is an account.

66.—Soon after the battle of the Boyne, as we have already had the honor of informing you, a patent, to which the great seal of Ireland was affixed, was issued, establishing commissioners, with authority to seize upon and dispose of the estates and flocks which were confiscated for his majesty's use. These commissioners appointed deputies in the different counties, subject to the king, who took possession of immense tracts of land and cattle, which they valued at one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-two pounds sterling; but the valuation of each article forming the above total was so moderate, that a horse was valued at twenty shillings, a sheep two shillings and sixpence, and the rest in proportion; we are therefore of opinion, that if things had been sold at a fair value, they would have produced between two and three hundred thousand pounds sterling; but before this could be effected, the clerks appointed for the collection of his majesty's revenues, furnished accounts, which produced a letter from the king, suspending the power of the commissioners, nine days after they had entered into office, and investing the clerks with power of the revenues; by these means, some time elapsed before the money, effects, property that had been seized upon by the deputies, could come into the hands of the clerks of the revenue; the accounts also became so complex, added to the plunder made among the small farmers by the troops when going into winter quarters, that from all the above-named spoils, the king received only about forty-four thousand pounds. We have likewise discovered, that several properties have been confiscated, by which the king has gained nothing, and which have been seized upon by many individuals for their own account. It is true, that robbery and plunder were so frequent at that time, men in the highest offices have not escaped the censure of being implicated, which may perhaps have prevented such abuses from being properly inquired into: as an example, Lord Coningsby took three hundred head of horned cattle, and several horses, that were left on the field after the battle of the Boyne, and we do not find that any account of them was given to his majesty. He also seized upon the plate and chattels of Sir Michael Creagh, lord-mayor of Dublin, in 1689: these were considered to have been of great value; it is indeed affirmed, that they were given to him by the king. The clerks of the revenue gave up to the lords-justices, Lords Sidney and Coningsby, many effects of great value, for which his majesty has received no return, nor have any of them been discovered in the castle of Dublin, where they were deposited.

67.—We have likewise discovered, that the clerks of the revenues have delivered great quantities of valuable effects to Sir Charles Porter, Major-General Kirk, and several others, who have given no account whatever of them to the king. The officers of the army have likewise pillaged; it is said that his majesty has conferred upon them the fruits of their plunder.

68.—If we can believe general opinion in the country, many persons have derived considerable profits from these confiscations; but as some time has now elapsed, it would be very difficult to bring proofs against them, and even in such case, it is probable we would find it impossible to procure the restitution of what was seized upon so long since; we therefore thought it more prudent to apply ourselves to examine matters of more importance, and confine ourselves to remarks necessary on that head.

69.—From the impossibility of forming a just estimate of the value of these chattels, flocks, and other effects, we shall point out at present some debts which were decreed by the courts, and some mortgages belonging

to the proscribed, to whom restitution of their properties has not been made, which amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand and thirteen pounds, as appears in a book annexed to this report, No. 8.

70.—We take the liberty to remark here, that those debts are subject to the above-named objections—as to the circumstances, there is this difference only, that on one side they have been, as we think, liquidated by the profits of the receipts, while several of the creditors were, by his majesty's letters, in possession of the encumbered estates; on the other, the principal sum is still due on the estates in question, as it does not appear that any of the interest has been paid since the confiscations; we calculate, therefore, that this would bring the accounts to a balance.

71.—Permit us, gentlemen, to observe, that the cases adjudged in these matters, have been found only in the court of exchequer; and that we have been unable to procure them in the other courts of law, as a clause has been omitted in the patent of our commission, to empower us to obtain them; from this we are of opinion that there is much more due to the proscribed, whose properties have not been restored, than we have been able to discover.

72.—We should also calculate, among the confiscated property, two hundred and ninety-seven houses in the city of Dublin, thirty-six in Cork, two hundred and twenty-six in different towns and villages of the kingdom, sixty-one mills, twenty-eight fairs and markets, seventy-two rectorships, with tithes and rents, six ferries, and a great number of fisheries, producing in the whole two thousand and thirty-eight pounds sterling per annum, and valued to be worth fifty thousand pounds. If, as we have observed, we add to these the moneys due to the proscribed whose properties have not been restored, we are persuaded that there would be sufficient to liquidate the debts, particularly if we count the flocks and chattels of those who have benefited by the treaty of Limerick, who, according to these articles, had no claim, after having been at first deprived of them.

73.—According to our observations throughout the country, it appears to us that several estates marked down fallow-lands, are now, with the exception of those in the county of Kerry, as highly cultivated, and equal in value to any lands in the kingdom; nevertheless, we have not comprised them in our valuations, though there are many of them to be met with

74.—We have valued the confiscated properties according to what they would be let for in farms, if such were the intention.

75.—We think that the trees at present on the confiscated estates which have not been restored, may be estimated at sixty thousand pounds sterling.

76.—There were several small portions of land, each under an acre, and of different qualities, according to situation, of which we could form no correct estimate, not finding any thing to guide us, either in the leases of the families, the papers of the commissioners who preceded us, or the rolls of the surveyors; we consider that these scattered portions of land may contain about seventy or eighty thousand acres, amounting in value to a very considerable sum.

77.—We shall remark in this place, that dreadful havoc has been committed upon the woods of the proscribed, particularly on those of Sir Valentine Brown, in the county of Kerry, in which trees to the value of twenty thousand pounds have been cut down or destroyed. The loss on the estates of Lord Clancarty, now in possession of Lord Woodstock, is estimated at twenty-seven thousand pounds. Those on whom the confiscated lands have been bestowed, or their agents have been so greedy to seize upon the most trifling profits, that several large trees have been cut down and sold for sixpence each. This destruction is still carried on in many parts of the country; at the present moment, Sir John Hely, chief-justice of the common pleas, and Peter Goodwin, who together purchased from Lord Coningsby the estate of Feltrim, within six miles of Dublin, are cutting down all the avenues and groves around the castle. Great destruction and waste has been, and is still committed in the forest of Oshogness, in the county of Galway, which has been purchased by Mr. Toby Butler for two thousand five hundred pounds, which, it is said, was worth twelve thousand. We sent persons to survey and value this forest; but Toby Butler had them summoned and brought to trial for executing the commission with which we had intrusted them.

78.—Besides the above-mentioned confiscations, there are several persons concerned in the last rebellion who have not been proceeded against, and who are debarred from all benefit of any treaty or article: several of them were summoned to answer for their crimes, and have given bail, which is still in force; a few have been tried at the assizes of last summer, but were acquitted

79.—The death of several of the accused whose trials and condemnation were de-

layed, has deprived the king of many extensive estates.

80.—Nevertheless, we think it likely, from the informations which several persons offered to give if they were encouraged, and the necessary measures adopted, that a large sum might be derived from the lands subject to confiscation, which are carefully concealed.

81.—The king's interest has been so much neglected, that no research has been made into the number of estates which might or ought to be liable to confiscation in Connaught before the year 1695, by which every indulgence was allowed for the security of such property. There are fifty Catholics for one Protestant in this province, so that it is impossible for the latter to obtain justice, and scarcely does that province seem to be subject to the king, of which the following is a proof. At the last assizes in the county of Galway, nearly forty persons were accused of having been concerned in the late rebellion; but as most of the judges had been officers in the army of James II., and had taken advantage of the treaty of Limerick, it is needless to add that they were all acquitted.

82.—The house of Clanriccard has an extensive estate in this district, on which there are very few Protestant farmers. This property fell into the king's hands, by the proscription of Lord Bophin, to whom his majesty has allowed the proceeds for his life only. We are of opinion, that were these lands sold or rented to Protestants, it would tend greatly to favor the interest of the Protestant religion.

83.—We must also observe, gentlemen, that many of those on whom the confiscated lands have been bestowed, have received immense sums for several estates comprised in these grants. The whole of the money thus received amounts to sixty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds three pence farthing: for instance, Lord Athlone, whose grant was confirmed to him by an act of the Irish parliament, has sold land to the amount of seventeen thousand six hundred and eighty-four pounds twelve shillings sterling. Lord Romney has sold some for thirty thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds eleven shillings; Lord Albemarle for thirteen thousand pounds; Lord Coningsby for two thousand two hundred pounds; Mr. Thomas Keightly, for five thousand one hundred and twenty-three pounds ten shillings.

84.—Several proclamations have been issued, offering a quarter of the lands liable to confiscation, to those who would point them out. Some informers have been thus rewarded, as appears in the book No. 6; others say they have not been paid their quarter for having informed, which amount, in the whole, to about two thousand pounds per annum.

85.—We must observe here, that the confiscations, however considerable they may appear, have been rather an injury than an advantage to his majesty. This might appear extraordinary, were we not to remark, that several obscure persons, who possessed no property at the time that Ireland was reduced, are at present masters of large estates. It is impossible that they could have acquired them without seizing on confiscated lands, either by intrigue or collusion, from which they have derived considerable advantage, while the king was defrauded. His majesty has been frequently deceived in the value of the grants which he has bestowed.

86.—Nothing seems to have contributed more to this abuse, than the sale of confiscated lands by auction in the city of Dublin exclusively, instead of in the chief towns of the counties in which they were situate. Few people took the trouble of coming to the capital from the provinces, at a heavy expense, and of neglecting their domestic affairs, when they felt persuaded that the agents of men in office would prevail against them, and knowing that these would have the countenance of his majesty.

87.—When they had succeeded by their haughtiness and power in removing all competition, they placed their rates on the estates they were desirous of having, and gave whatever price they pleased, by an understanding not to oppose each other, of which the following fact is a proof. Thomas Broderick and William Connelly, who acquired vast estates, and were partly masters of these auctions, no one having confidence to enter into competition with them, have been partners in all the lands they obtained, during 1695 and the following years. They have since set them in farms to greater advantage than they had been before. It must be observed, that their conduct appeared very extraordinary, particularly that of Mr. Broderick, who was a privy counsellor, and put in nomination by Lord Capel for the office of inspector of the auctions, though he was well aware of the abuses which he had been guilty of.

88.—It was impossible that matters could have been described more correctly, whereas several of these estates were purchased by the receivers and commissioners of the revenues of the crown, under borrowed names: Mr. Culliford, under the name of Fernley, seized upon several estates for the king, which he appropriated afterwards to his own use.

89.—Besides these abuses, we shall take the liberty of observing, that an extensive estate has been let in farms, without being put up for sale, by order of the lords-justices, for at least one thousand pounds a year under its value: the lease was drawn for sixty-one years, though by a letter from his majesty, dated March 8th, 1698, it was prohibited to give leases for more than twenty-one years. The above lands belonged to Sir Valentine Brown, and Nicholas Brown, commonly called Lord Kenmare, situate in the counties of Kerry and Limerick, and let to John Blenerhasset and George Rogers, members of the Irish parliament.

90.—Having now given an account of the most essential points of our commission, we beg leave, gentlemen, to lay before you an abridgment of our estimates, before we conclude our report.

The whole of the lands confiscated since February 13th, 1688, amount in real value, according to our calculation, to two millions six hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-five pounds five shillings and ninepence, sterling.

The estates restored, in consequence of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, amount to seven hundred and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds four shillings and sixpence.

Those restored by favor, are worth two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred sixty-three pounds seven shillings and threepence.

The debts on the confiscated estates, discovered by researches, or acknowledged as legal by the court of Exchequer, amount to one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence.

To the credit of the above debts, we place what is due to the proscribed, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand and thirteen pounds thirteen shillings and tenpence, sterling; as also the houses, tithes, mills, fairs, markets, rights of lordship, ferries, &c., which we estimate at fifty thousand pounds. To counterbalance the proceeds of the leases made as large presents, we put down the fallow lands and forests on the confiscated estates, which we estimate at about sixty thousand pounds, to which we add the flocks of those who have had the benefit of the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, but from whom no accounts have been required.

In order to bring matters to a balance, we shall add those lands (of which the number of acres is not known) according to the valuation of the other estates: these amount to, at least, one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

If it were known how many estates are subject to confiscation, it would be of considerable importance; but it is impossible to form a correct account of them.

The money received for lands sold by those on whom the confiscated estates were conferred, amounts to sixty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds three shillings and a penny. We have made no mention of what is due to the proscribed whose properties have been restored, nor to the encumbrances which affect their estates.

After all that has been observed, there remain still one million six hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and forty-three pounds fourteen shillings, which we deem to be the gross value of the estates confiscated and not restored, since February 13, 1688.

We shall conclude this report by laying before you another very valuable grant, though it may not immediately come within our commission; but as it contains some of the confiscated lands, we think it prudent to mention the extent of it, lest we should incur the reproach of having been negligent in the discharge of our duty, or in any part of what you and the public expect from us.

All the personal property of King James II., with the exception of a small part given to Lord Athlone, was granted by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, on the 30th May, 1695, to Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, at present countess of Orkney; this property consisted of ninety-five thousand six hundred and forty-nine acres, producing an annual rent of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds eighteen shillings; the real value of which amounts to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and forty-three pounds nine shillings. An exact account of this property, with the number of acres in each county and barony, is given in a book joined to this report, marked No. 9.

The same property pays an annuity for life of two thousand pounds, to Lady Susanna Bellasis, and one thousand yearly to Mrs. Godfrey: all the leases of these estates expire in May, 1701, when they are to be renewed, and will bring, at least, the rents at which we have estimated them.

Francis Annesley, James Hamilton,
John Trenchard, Henry Longford,
Dublin.

The complaints of the commissioners about the innumerable abuses committed at

the time the lands of the Irish Catholics were confiscated, and the injuries sustained by the king and crown, were not new, as will appear by extracts from the proceedings of the English parliament, in which serious remonstrances were made to William upon the manner in which these confiscations were squandered and applied; his majesty's answers, and the replies of parliament, are subjoined, by which it will be seen that these altercations were carried on with acrimony.

Extract from the proceedings of the English parliament, Friday, April 4, 1690.

Resolved,—That a bill be drawn up to banish all those who have been guilty of rebellion in Ireland or elsewhere, against their majesties King William and Queen Mary; and their estates shall be confiscated, sold, and applied to the reduction of Ireland. The attorney-general, Trenchard the chief register, Sir Richard Reynell, Sir Thomas Charges, Sir William Poultney, Colonel Birch, or any three of them, shall see that this decree of parliament be carried into execution.

Extract from the sitting of parliament, January 5th, 1690. *The king's speech to both houses.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Having informed you lately that it would be necessary for me to pass into Holland about this time, I must express myself pleased at the sucessful issue of those things that have engaged your time, and to find that you are now at liberty to separate, and that it is possible for us to undertake our voyage.

I thank you with all my heart for the supplies which you have granted for continuing the war. I shall take care that they be fitly applied to the purposes for which they have been intended. I think it meet to assure you, that none of the confiscated estates, either in England or in Ireland, shall be disposed of, until this affair be regulated by the parliament in such manner as will be approved of by them.

Sitting of 4th March, 1692.

The very humble address of the house of commons to his majesty.

We, your majesty's very humble and very faithful subjects, and commons in parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration the state of your kingdom of Ireland, think that it is a duty we owe to your majesty, to place, with all possible respect and zeal, before your eyes the great abuses to which the evil administration of affairs in that kingdom has given birth.

Your Protestant subjects are exposed in it to every species of distress that a licentious soldiery and free quarters can produce. In our opinion, the withholding payment from the troops, for which we hoped and calculated that ample provisions had been made, has been the cause of these disorders and oppression.

Your majesty's troops have been recruited and made up from among the Irish Papists and others, who have been engaged in rebellion against your majesty; which circumstance has not only discouraged your good and loyal Protestant subjects, but has likewise exposed them to many imminent dangers.

Your protection has been extended to the Papists, which has debarred the Protestants from resorting to those laws which were favorable to them, and which has suspended the course of justice.

The banishment of many rebels out of the kingdom, who were excluded from benefiting by the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, has been revoked, to the great dissatisfaction of your majesty's Protestant subjects.

The confiscated estates have been farmed considerably under their value, to the heavy loss of your majesty's revenue.

The stores and chattels that have been left by King James II. in the garrisons and towns of the kingdom, have been wasted. The same is to be observed of the confiscated lands, chattels, and other effects which they contained, that might have been applied to the security and better preservation of your majesty's kingdom.

We also beg leave very humbly to represent to your majesty, that the clauses in favor of the Catholics, which have been added to the treaty of Limerick after it had been definitively concluded, signed, and the city surrendered, have given great encouragement to them, and have tended to weaken the Protestant interest.

Having with the most humble submission and ardent zeal for your majesty's service, laid open the abuses and illegal practices which have been carried on in your kingdom of Ireland, we submit our representations to your great wisdom, and beseech you with profound respect, to put a stop to them.

Let every soldier be paid the arrears due to him, and let the provinces be reimbursed for what they have suffered, and no Papists be admitted into the army.

And as the reduction of Ireland has cost

England a great deal, we humbly beseech your majesty, which you have had the goodness to promise, to allow none of the confiscated properties in Ireland to be disposed of, until this matter be regulated by parliament in the best manner.

We beseech of you to order a statement of the confiscated estates, stores, and effects, that have been left by James II., to be laid before your house of commons, that the abuses which have been committed, and the waste which has occurred, may be investigated.

We beseech, likewise, that in future none of the proscribed Papists shall be suffered to return without the advice of parliament, and that no protection be given to Irish Papists, which might impede the course of justice.

As to the article added to the treaty of Limerick, which gives so great an opportunity to Irish papists to resume possession of the estates which formerly belonged to them, and which they forfeited by their rebellion, we humbly beg of your majesty to have the articles of the treaty of Limerick, and those that have been added, laid before us, in order that we may learn by what means, and under what pretext, they have been granted, and why the said articles have been extended, and the value of the properties to which they are entitled to lay claim.

As your majesty has most graciously assured us, with that goodness with which you always join in every thing tending to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, we make no doubt of your acting in the same manner towards Ireland, the safety and preservation of which are so important to England.

The King's answer, March 10th, 1692.

Gentlemen,—I have always paid particular regard to any communication from the House of Commons, and shall take care that all abuses shall be reformed.

Sitting of Thursday, 18th January, 1699.

Resolved,—That those by whose advice the confiscated estates in Ireland have been given to individuals, and who have been the cause of granting these gifts, have involved the nation in heavy debts, and made it necessary to lay heavy taxes on the people.

That they have been guilty of a crime which reflects considerable disgrace upon the king; that the officers, or those who had been instrumental in the conferring of these grants, are guilty in the highest degree of having betrayed the confidence that was reposed in them.

Sitting of February 15th, 1699.

Resolved,—That a very humble address be presented to the king, containing the resolutions of the house of the 18th of January last, respecting the confiscated lands in Ireland.

His Majesty's answer, February 26th, 1699.

Gentlemen—I have been induced, not only by inclination, but through a love of justice, to reward faithful services, (particularly in those who assisted in the reduction of Ireland,) out of the properties in that country, the confiscation of which has devolved upon me.

The length of the war which we have maintained has obliged us to levy taxes, and has involved the nation in debt. The just and efficacious measures that shall be adopted to lighten the national burden and support the public credit, will, in my opinion, be more beneficial than any other thing, to the honor, interests, and safety of this kingdom.

Resolved,—That whoever hath advised the king to give the above reply to the address of the House of Commons, has done every thing to create a disunion and jealousy between the king and his people.

We now conclude the history of Ireland with an obvious and convincing remark from a modern author. "The prince of Orange would have thought himself but half king, were he not to rule over Ireland, as well as over England and Scotland; or, rather, he looked upon Ireland as belonging to him by right, and the loyalty of the Irish to James II. as an act of high treason that he should not leave unpunished. Still, what right had this prince to a country which had not called him to her aid? It is admitted that he reigned lawfully over England and Scotland, because these kingdoms had transferred their crown to him, but of which they had no right to dispose; however, could they make an agreement for a distinct people, and against the will of that people? Let William III. govern those parts of Great Britain that no longer acknowledge their king; but if Ireland do not wish to change her sovereign, is this first sovereign to forfeit his claim, and are his faithful subjects to be dealt with like traitors and rebels to their country? It will be said that James II. sapped the foundation of the monarchy by obstinately favoring the papists, and by an arbitrary sway of power. However false this accusation may be, I shall pass it

over in silence ; it only concerns England and Scotland, which have taken ample advantage of it. Was Ireland in the same situation ? And if then this people wished to continue Papists, if they desired to invest their king with an absolute authority, who has a right to prevent them ? The world has seen that England and Scotland dethroned James II., and that Ireland refused to follow their example ; Ireland would have erred in her allegiance, if the whole of Great Britain had belonged to William III. previously to the revolution. On the contrary, William could not lawfully ascend the throne without an express law calling him to the succession and declaring James to be dethroned : William III., therefore, had no right or claim upon the Irish, who neither sent for him nor dethroned their own king. But, as we have already observed, he did not consider his kingdom complete without Ireland, where James II. still held out ; but it has been the will of Providence that he should succeed in expelling him."

We discover, nevertheless, by the manner in which the Irish are and have been treated, that it is contrary to the principles of Magna Charta, that celebrated code in which the English nation glories, and of which they boast : the Irish are deprived of that liberty which, according even to their oppressors, should be the portion of all mankind. They are forced to submit to a hateful yoke ; they have exerted themselves in favor of their lawful prince ; their resistance to usurpation is considered as rebellion, and the confiscation of their estates and properties is the consequence.

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RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS.



Daniel O'Connell

YORK J. SADLIER & C



THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

TREATY OF LIMERICK TO THE PRESENT TIME:

BEING

A CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE ABBÉ MACGEOGHEGAN

COMPILED BY

JOHN MITCHEL.

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INTRODUCTION.

In preparing a Continuation of the valuable History of Ireland by the Abbé MacGeoghegan, the compiler has aimed only to reduce and condense into a coherent narrative the materials which exist in abundance in a great number of publications of every date within the period included in the Continuation.

That period of a century and a half embraces a series of deeply interesting events in the annals of our country—the deliberate Breach of the Treaty of Limerick—the long series of Penal Laws—the exile of the Irish soldiery to France—their achievements in the French and other services—the career of Dean Swift—the origin of a Colonial Nationality among the English of Ireland—the Agitations of Lucas—the Volunteering—the Declaration of Independence—the history of the Independent Irish Parliament—the Plot to bring about the Union—the United Irishmen—the Negotiations with France—the Insurrection of 1798—the French Expeditions to Ireland—the "Union" (so called)—the decay of Trade—the fraudulent Imposition of Debt upon Ireland—the Orangemen—the beginning of O'Connell's power—the *Veto* Agitation—the Catholic Association—Clare Election—Emancipation—the series of Famines—the Repeal Agitation—the Monster Meetings—the State Trials—the Great Famine—the Death of O'Connell—the Irish Confederation—the fate of Smith O'Brien and his comrades—the Legislation of the United Parliament for Ireland—Poor-Laws—National Education—the Tenant-Right Agitation—the present condition of the country, etc.

The mere enumeration of these principal heads of the narrative will show how very wide a field has had to be traversed in this Continuation; and what a large number of works—Memoirs, Correspondence—Parliamentary Debates—Speeches and local histories must have been collated, in order to produce a continuous story. There exist, indeed, some safe and useful guides, in the works of writers who have treated special parts or limited periods of the general History; and the compiler has had no scruple in making very large use of the collections

of certain diligent writers who may be said to have almost exhausted their respective parts of the subject.

It may aid the reader who desires to make a more minute examination of any part of the History, if we here set down the titles of the principal works which have been used in preparing the present: Doctor John Curry's "Historical Review of the Civil Wars," and "State of the Irish Catholics"—Mr. Francis Plowden's elaborate and conscientious "Historical Review of the State of Ireland," before the Union:—the same author's "History of Ireland" from the Union till 1810—the Letters and Pamphlets of Dean Swift—Harris's "Life of William the Third"—Arthur Young's "Tour in Ireland"—the Irish "Parliamentary Debates"—Mr. Scully's excellent "State of the Penal Laws"—Thomas MacNevin's "History of the Volunteers," in the "Library of Ireland"—Hardy's "Life of Lord Charlemont"—the Four Series of Dr. Madden's collections on the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen"—Hay's "History of the Rebellion in Wexford"—the Rev. Mr. Gordon's "History of the Irish Rebellion" [the work of Sir Richard Musgrave, as being wholly untrustworthy, is purposely excluded]—The "Papers and Correspondence" of Lord Cornwallis—and of Lord Castlereagh;—the "Memoirs of Miles Byrne, an Irish Exile in France," and a French officer of rank, lately deceased—the Lives and Speeches of Grattan and Curran—Sir Jonah Barrington's "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation"—Memoirs and Journals of Theobald Wolfe Tone—Richard Lalor Shiel's "Sketches of the Irish Bar"—Wyse's "History of the Catholic Association"—O'Connell's Speeches and Debates in the United Parliament.

These are the chief authorities for all the time previous to the Catholic Relief Act. As to the sketch which follows, of transactions still later, it would be obviously impossible to enumerate the multifarious authorities: but the speeches of O'Connell and of William Smith O'Brien are still, for the Irish history of their own time, what the orations of Grattan were for his; and what the vivid writings of Swift were for the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The newspapers and Parliamentary Blue Books also come in, as essential materials (though sometimes questionable) for this later period: and for the Repeal Agitation, the State Trials, the terrible scenes of the Famine, and the consequent extirpation of millions of the Irish people, we have, without scruple, made use (along with other materials) of the facts contained in "The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)"—excluding generally the inferences and opinions of the writer, and his estimate of his contemporaries. Indeed, the reader will find in the present work very few opinions or theories put forward at all; the genuine object of the writer being simply to

present a clear narrative of the events as they evolved themselves one out of the others.

Neither does this History need comment; and indignant declamation would but weaken the effect of the dreadful facts we shall have to tell. If the writer has succeeded—as he has earnestly desired to do—in arranging those facts in good order, and exhibiting the naked truth concerning English domination since the Treaty of Limerick, as our fathers saw it, and felt it;—if he has been enabled to picture, in some degree like life, the long agony of the Penal Days, when the pride of the ancient Irish race was stung by daily, hourly humiliations, and their passions goaded to madness by brutal oppression;—and further to picture the still more destructive devastations perpetrated upon our country in this enlightened nineteenth century; then it is hoped that every reader will draw for himself such general conclusions as the facts will warrant, without any declamatory appeals to patriotic resentment, or promptings to patriotic aspiration:—the conclusion, in short, that, while England lives and flourishes, Ireland must die a daily death, and suffer an endless martyrdom; and that if Irishmen are ever to enjoy the rights of human beings, the British Empire must first perish.

As the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan was for many years a chaplain to the Irish Brigade in France, and dedicated his work to that renowned corps of exiles, whose dearest wish and prayer was always to encounter and overthrow the British power upon any field, it is presumed that the venerable author would wish his work to be continued in the same thoroughly Irish spirit which actuated his noble warrior-congregation;—and he would desire the dark record of English atrocity in Ireland, which he left unfinished, to be duly brought down through all its subsequent scenes of horror and slaughter, which have been still more terrible after his day than they were before. And this is what the present Continuation professes to do.

J. M.

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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

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THE Articles of Limerick were signed on the 3d October, 1691, and the city was surrendered to the army of King William, who was then, for the first time, recognized by the body of the Irish nation as King of Ireland: and when the Irish forces, who had held Limerick and Galway so gallantly, were shipped off to France, pursuant to the capitulation, there was not left in all Ireland the slightest semblance of any power capable of resisting or troubling the new settlement of the kingdom. The timely surrender had also enabled William to bring to a close this most troublesome and costly war, at a moment when it was urgently needful for him to concentrate all his force against the great power of France.

It is therefore evident, and has always been admitted, that in return for the engagements of the treaty purporting to protect Catholic rights, the king and the English colonists received most valuable consideration. "In Ireland there was peace: the domination of the colonists was absolute." These are the words of Lord Macaulay who, of all modern historians, has uniformly exhibited the most inveterate malignity against the Irish nation.

Before proceeding to narrate in detail the manner in which the articles were observed on the part of the king and the dominant colony of English, it will be well to exhibit some other facts proving what a very valuable consideration the Catholics gave for the poor guaranty they thought they were receiving on their side. At the beginning of October the winter was closely approaching, and the army of Ginkell was almost certain to be forced to raise the siege on that account alone. The same Macaulay, in his estimate of the chances of Ginkell's success, thus sums them up—

"Yet it was possible that an attempt to storm the city might fail, as a similar attempt had failed twelve months before. If the siege should be turned into a blockade, it was probable that the pestilence which had been fatal to the army of Schomberg, which had compelled William to retreat, and which had all but prevailed even against the genius and energy of Marlborough, might soon avenge the carnage of Aghrim. The rains had lately been heavy. The whole plain might shortly be an immense pool of stagnant water. It might be necessary to move the troops to a healthier situation than the banks of the Shannon, and to provide for them a warmer shelter than that of tents. The enemy would be safe till the spring. In the spring a French army might land in Ireland—the natives might again rise in arms from Donegal to Kerry—and the war, which was now all but extinguished, might blaze forth fiercer than ever."

This historian, whose work enjoys much more popularity than credit, does not mention a circumstance which made it, in fact, certain that the war would soon have blazed forth fiercer than ever, beyond all doubt. It is that, before the signing of those articles, assurances had been sent from France to the defenders of Limerick that a considerable expedition was then on its way

to their aid, under command of Chateau Renault; which re-enforcement did actually arrive in Dingle Bay two days after the treaty was signed, "consisting," says Harris, in his Life of King William, "as appears from the minutes of a letter from the lords-justices to the king, of eighteen ships of war, six fire-ships, and twenty great ships of burthen, and brought on board eight or ten thousand arms, two hundred officers, and three thousand men." Whether the Irish commanders were or were not justified in surrendering a city which they were still capable of defending, and while in daily expectation of so powerful succor, is a question which need not here be discussed. The sequel of the story will show that they had soon cause to regret not having held out to the last extremity, though they should have been buried in the ruins of their ancient city.

It was afterwards known, too, that William was himself so sensible of the necessity of finishing this struggle and bringing his troops to re-enforce his army on the continent, that he had sent instructions to the lords-justices to issue a proclamation assuring the Irish of much more favorable conditions than they afterwards obtained by the Articles of Limerick. And the justices actually framed these instructions into a proclamation, afterwards called the secret proclamation, because, though printed, it was never published; for their lordships, learning that the defenders of Limerick were offering to capitulate, hastened to Ginkell's camp, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms as could possibly be wrung from them. So that, as Lord Macaulay complacently observes, the Dutch general "had about him persons who were competent to direct him."

In return for this full and final surrender of the last fortress which held for King James, and of the whole cause of that monarch, the Irish Catholic leaders stipulated, it must be confessed, for but a poor measure of civil and religious freedom when they put their hands to the clause engaging that "The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; *or*, as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second." But it is probable that, placing more reliance on the good faith of King William than events afterwards justified, they believed themselves secured by the remaining words of that article—"And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion." All which was duly ratified by their majesties' letters-patent. Sarsfield and Wauchop then, with their French brother-officers, in marching out of Limerick, thought that they were leaving, as a barrier against oppression of the Catholics, at least the honor of a king.

The whole history of Ireland, from that day until the year 1793, consists of one long and continual breach of this treaty.

But as there has been, both among Irish and English political writers, a great deal of wild declamation and unwarranted statement on this subject, it seems needful to give a precise view of the real purport and limitations of the engagements taken towards the Irish Catholics upon this occasion. Independently, then, of the royal promise of future parliamentary relief to "protect Catholics from all disturbance," there was the general engagement for such privileges to Catholics in the exercise of their religion "as were consistent with the laws of Ireland; *or*, as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II." And also the ninth article of the treaty, that "The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath above-mentioned (namely, the oath of allegiance), and no other." These provisions were applicable to all Catholics living in any part of Ireland. Other articles of the treaty, from the second to the eighth inclusive, related only, *first*, to the people of Limerick and other garrisons then held by the Irish; *second*, to officers and soldiers then serving King James, in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo; *third*, to "all such as were under their protection in the said counties," meaning all the inhabitants of

those counties. These three classes of persons were to be secured their properties and their rights, privileges, and immunities (as in the reign of Charles the Second), and to be permitted to exercise their several callings as freely as Catholics were permitted to do in that reign. We need not, at this day, occupy ourselves at great length with these latter specific stipulations; but attend to the general proviso in favor of all Catholics. What, then, were the rights of Catholics under King Charles the Second?—for this seems to be what is meant by the other phrase, "consistent with the laws of Ireland."

Now it is true that penal laws against Catholic priests and Catholic worship did exist in Ireland during the reign of Charles the Second: Catholics, for example, could not be members of a corporation in Ireland, nor hold certain civil offices in that reign. But there was no law to prevent Catholic peers and commons from sitting in parliament. There was also in practice so general a *toleration* as allowed Catholic lawyers and physicians to practice their professions. At the very lowest, therefore, this practical toleration must have been what the Catholics thought they were stipulating for in the Articles of Limerick. Neither did there exist in the reign of Charles the Second that long and sanguinary series of enactments concerning education, the holding of land, the owning of horses, and the like, which were elaborated by the ingenuity of more modern chiefs of the Protestant Ascendency. The first distinct breach of the Articles of Limerick was perpetrated by King William and his parliament in England, just two months after those Articles were signed.

King William was in the Netherlands when he heard of the surrender of Limerick, and at once hastened to London. Three days later he summoned a parliament. Very early in the session the English House of Commons, exercising its customary power of binding Ireland by acts passed in London, sent up to the House of Lords a bill providing that no person should sit in the Irish parliament, nor should hold any Irish office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nor should practise law or medicine in Ireland, till he had taken the oaths of allegiance *and supremacy* and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation. Th law was passed, only reserving the right o such lawyers and physicians as had been within the walls of Galway and Limerick when those towns capitulated. And so it received the royal assent. This law has given rise to keen debates; especially during the Catholic Relief Agitation; the Catholics insisting that disabilities imposed by law on account of religion, are an invasion of those privileges in the exercise of their religion, which purported to be secured by treaty; the Ascendency Party arguing that the first article of the treaty meant only that Catholic worship should be tolerated. The Catholics pointed out that by Article Nine, only the oath of allegiance was to be imposed on them, while this new law required those who should practise law or sit in the House of Parliament, to take a certain other oath, which they could not do without perjuring themselves. The Ascendency Party replied that on taking the oath of allegiance alone Catholics were tolerated in *their worship* and that this was all they had stipulated for that it still belonged to the Legislature to prescribe suitable formalities to be observed by those who aspired to exercise a public trust or a responsible profession. It is apparent that on this principle of interpretation, parliament might require the oath of supremacy from a baker or a wine-merchant, as well as from a lawyer and doctor, and then it would be lawful for a Catholic to go and hear Mass, but it would be lawful for him to do nothing else. As might be expected, the Baron Macaulay takes the Ascendency view of the question, as will appear from this specimen of his reasoning:

"The champions of Protestant ascendency were well pleased to see the debate diverted from a political question about which they were in the wrong, to a historical question about which they were in the right. They had no difficulty in proving that the first article, as understood by all the contracting parties, meant only that the Roman Catholic worship should be *tolerated as in time past.* That article was drawn up by Ginkell; and, just before he drew it up, he had declared that he would rather try the chance of arms

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than consent that Irish Papists should be capable of holding civil and military offices, of exercising liberal professions, and of becoming members of municipal corporations. How is it possible to believe that he would, of his own accord, have promised that the House of Lords and the House of Commons should be open to men to whom he would not open a guild of skinners or a guild of cordwainers? How, again, is it possible to believe that the English peers would, while professing the most punctilious respect for public faith, while lecturing the Commons on the duty of observing public faith, while taking counsel with the most learned and upright jurist of the age as to the best mode of maintaining public faith, have committed flagrant violation of public faith, and that not a single lord should have been so honest or so factious as to protest against an act of monstrous perfidy aggravated by hypocrisy?"

Whereupon it may be remarked that mere toleration of Catholic worship was *not* understood, by all the contracting parties, as being all which was meant by the treaty, inasmuch as many Catholic peers and commoners did attend in their places in the Irish parliament the very next year after this law was passed in London; and the slavish Irish parliament then, for the first time, excluded them by resolutions in obedience to the law enacted in the English Houses. As for the argument which seems intended to be conveyed in the string of questions contained in the above extract, we answer that "it is possible to believe" almost any thing of the men and the times we are now discussing; and that this narrative will tell of many other things which will seem impossible to believe, and which any good man would wish it were impossible to believe.

Macaulay, indeed, before quitting this question, does admit, as it were incidentally, and in the obscurity of a note, that although the Treaty of Limerick was not broken at that particular moment, nor by that particular statute of the 3d William and Mary, c. 2, yet, "The Irish Roman Catholics complained, and with but too much reason, that at a later period the Treaty of Limerick *was* violated." And it is remarkable that this historian endeavors to sustain his position by the authority of the Abbé MacGeoghegan. He says, "The Abbé MacGeoghegan complains that the treaty was violated some years after it was made, but he does not pretend that it was violated by Statute 3d, William and Mary, c. 2." This is extremely uncandid. The Abbé MacGeoghegan did not profess to continue his History of Ireland beyond the Treaty of Limerick; before quitting his subject, however, the venerable author does incidentally mention that this treaty was afterwards violated by many statutes, which it was not his province to arrange in chronological order; and after noticing some of the hardships thus inflicted upon the Irish people, he adds: "By *other acts*, the Irish nobility were deprived of their arms and horses; they were debarred from purchasing land, from becoming *members of the bar*, or filling any public office; and, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty, they were made subject to infamous oaths."*

Notwithstanding the very slender concessions which were apparently granted to the Catholic people by this memorable treaty, however, the Protestant English colony in Ireland was immediately agitated by the bitterest indignation against both the general and the lords-justices. They thought the Irish entitled to no articles or conditions but what would expose them to the severest rigors of war; and the "Protestant Interest," and "Ascendency" thought themselves defrauded of a legitimate vengeance, to say nothing of their natural expectations of plunder; a most unfounded apprehension, as will presently appear.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the lords-justices returned to Dublin; and on the following Sunday attended service in Christ Church Cathedral. The preacher was Doctor Dopping, bishop of Meath; and he took for the subject of his sermon the late important events at Limerick. He argued that no terms of peace ought to be observed with so perfidious a people;† a fact which, if it were not notorious and well-attested, might seem incredible; seeing that one of the worst charges brought against the Catholics at that period was that *they* taught that faith was not to be kept with heretics. The doctrine of the Bishop of Meath, however

* See page 613 of Sadlier's Edition.
† Harris's Life of King William.

was not approved by all the divines of his party, for on the next Sunday, in the same church, Doctor Moreton, bishop of Kildare, demonstrated the obligation of keeping public faith. It seems that this important question greatly occupied men's minds at that time; for it was judged necessary to settle and quiet public opinion; and to this end, on the third Sunday, in the same church, Dean Synge preached a conciliatory sort of discourse, neither absolutely insisting on observing the treaty, nor distinctly advising that it should be broken. His text was, "Keep peace with all men, *if it be possible.*" After this we hear no more of any discussions of the grand controversy in the pulpit; but in Parliament and in Council the difference subsisted, until the English Act of Resumption of Estates quieted the disputants, who then saw they lost nothing by the articles, as the Catholics gained nothing.

While these debates were proceeding in Dublin, the Protestant magistrates and sheriffs had no doubt upon the point, whether faith was to be kept with Catholics or not; they universally decided in the negative; and in less than two months after the capitulation was confirmed by the king, as we learn on the authority of William's own partial biographer, Harris, "the justices of peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties' subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties' government." It is a much heavier reproach to their majesties' government that no person appears to have been prosecuted, nor in any way brought to justice for these outrageous oppressions. It appears by a letter of the lords-justices of the 19th November, 1691 (six weeks after the surrender of Limerick), "that their lordships had received complaints from all parts of Ireland of the ill-treatment of the Irish who had submitted, had their majesties' protection, or were included in articles; and that they were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage, that some thousands of them who had quitted the Irish army, and had gone home with a resolution not to go for France, were then come back again [come back, it is presumed, to Cork, Limerick, and other seaports], and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith (add these justices), as well as law and justice, they were robbed of their substance and abused in their persons." But, still no effectual means were used by the government for repressing such wrong; so that we may well adopt the language of Dr. Curry, that these representations made by the lords-justices were only a "pretence." Indeed, Harris affirms, and every statement of this nature made by Harris is an unwilling admission, that Capel, one of these very lords-justices, did, shortly after, proceed as far as it was in his power, to infringe the Articles of Limerick.

The prospect which now opened before the Catholics of Ireland was gloomy indeed Already they were made to feel in a thousand forms all the bitterness of subjugation, and to perceive that in this reign of King William, so vaunted for its liberality, the blessings and liberties of the British Constitution, if any such there were, existed not for them; that they had no security for even such remnants of property as had been left them, no redress by the laws of the land, and no refuge from their enemies even in the pledged faith of a solemn treaty. Yet we have only arrived at the beginning of the system of grinding oppression which was soon to be put in operation against them. This preliminary chapter is devoted to an account of the immediate breaches of the Articles of Limerick which were perpetrated within the three months after their signature. We are next to trace the development of that great code of *Penal Laws*, which Dr. Samuel Johnson described as more grievous than all the Ten Pagan persecutions of the Christians.

Before finishing this chapter, it is proper to allude to one other instance of the determined mendacity of Baron Macaulay. Respecting the embarkation of Sarsfield and the Irish troops from Cork, that historian compiles from several sources the following narrative:

"Sarsfield perceived that one chief cause of the desertion which was thinning his army was the natural unwillingness of the men to

leave their families in a state of destitution. Cork and its neighborhood were filled with the kindred of those who were going abroad. Great numbers of women, many of them leading, carrying, suckling their infants, covered all the roads which led to the place of embarkation. The Irish general, apprehensive of the effect which the entreaties and lamentations of these poor creatures could not fail to produce, put forth a proclamation, in which he assured his soldiers that they should be permitted to carry their wives and families to France. It would be injurious to the memory of so brave and loyal a gentleman to suppose that when he made this promise *he meant to break it.* It is much more probable that he had formed an erroneous estimate of the number of those who would demand a passage, and that he found himself, when it was too late to alter his arrangements, *unable to keep his word.* After the soldiers had embarked, room was found for the families of many. But still there remained on the water-side a great multitude, clamoring piteously to be taken on board. As the last boats put off there was a rush into the surf. Some women caught hold of the ropes, were dragged out of their depth, clung till their fingers were cut through, and perished in the waves. The ships began to move. A wild and terrible wail rose from the shore, and excited unwonted compassion in hearts steeled by hatred of the Irish race and of the Romish faith. Even the stern Cromwellian, now at length, after a desperate struggle of three years, left the undisputed lord of the blood-stained and devastated island, could not hear unmoved that bitter cry, in which was poured forth all the rage and all the sorrow of a conquered nation."

The sad scene here related did really take place; and in after-times, when those Irish soldiers were in the armies of France, and saw before them the red ranks of King William's soldiery, that long, terrible shriek rung in their ears, and made their hearts like fire and their nerves like steel. We know that when their officers sought to rouse their ardor for a charge, no recital of the wrongs their country had endured could kindle so fierce a flame of vengeful passion as the mention of "the women's parting cry." But the dishonesty of Lord Macaulay's account is in ascribing that cruel parting to the noble Sarsfield, and in distinctly charging him with breaking his word to the soldiers, though he did not mean to break it when he gave it.

Now, by referring back to the "Military Articles" of the Treaty, we see that it was not Sarsfield, but General Ginkell, on the part of King William, who was to furnish shipping for the emigrants and their families—"all other persons belonging to them;"—that it was not Sarsfield, but Ginkell, who was to "form an estimate" of the amount of shipping required; and that it was not Sarsfield, therefore, but Ginkell, who could "alter the arrangements" at the last moment. As to General Sarsfield's proclamation to the men, "that they should be permitted to carry their wives and families to France," he made that statement on the faith of the First and several succeeding articles of the treaty, not being yet aware of any design to violate it. But this is not all: the historian who could not let the hero go into his sorrowful exile without seeking to plunge this venomous sting into his reputation, had before him the Life of King William, by Harris, and also Curry's Historical Review of the Civil Wars, wherein he must have seen that the lords-justices and General Ginkell are charged with endeavoring to defeat the execution of that First Article. For, says Harris, "as great numbers of the officers and soldiers had resolved to enter into the service of France, and to carry their families with them, Ginkell would not suffer their wives and children to be shipped off with the men; not doubting that by detaining the former he would have prevented many of the latter from going into that service. This, I say, was confessedly an infringement of the Articles."

To this we may add, that no Irish officer or soldier in France afterwards attributed the cruel parting at Cork to any fault of Sarsfield, but always and only to a breach of the Treaty of Limerick. And if he had deluded them in the manner represented by the English historian, they would not have followed him so enthusiastically on the fields of Steinkirk and Landen.

CHAPTER II.

1692—1693.

William the Third not bigoted.—Practical toleration for four years.—First Parliament in this reign.—Catholics excluded by a resolution.—Extinction of civil existence for Catholics.—Irish Protestant Nationality.—Massacre of Glencoe.—Battle of Steinkirk.—Court of St. Germains.—"Declaration."—Battle of Landen, and death of Sarsfield.

King William the Third was not personally fanatical or illiberal; and never desired to punish or mulct his subjects, whether in Ireland, in England, or in Holland, for mere differences of religion, about which this king cared little or nothing. But he was king by the support of the Protestant party; was the recognized head of that party in Europe; was obliged to sustain that party, and avenge it upon its enemies, or it would soon have deserted his interests and his cause. For the first four years of his reign in Ireland, we have even the too favorable testimony of some Irish writers to the leniency and beneficence of his administration, which the reader will find hard to conciliate with the actual facts. Mr. Matthew O'Conor, a worthy member of the "Catholic Board," gives this very remarkable testimony:

"In matters of religion, King William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophic. Equally a friend to religious as to civil liberty, he granted toleration to dissenters of all descriptions, regardless of their speculative opinions. In the early part of his reign, the Irish Catholics enjoyed the full and free exercise of their religion. They were protected in their persons and properties; their industry was encouraged; and under his mild and fostering administration, the desolation of the late war began to disappear, and prosperity, peace, and confidence to smile once more on the country."

To those who are disposed to be thankful for very small favors, the beginning of William's reign in Ireland was certainly acceptble. There was a practical toleration of Catholic worship, though it was against the law; priests were not hunted, though by law they were felons; and for a short while it seemed as if "the Ascendency" would content itself with the forfeitures of rich estates, and the exclusion of Catholic gentlemen from Parliament, from the Bar, and the practice of medicine, and Catholic traders from the guilds of their trade, and from the corporate bodies of the towns they dwelt in. This was actually the amount of the toleration granted to the Irish Catholic nation during those early years of this reign.

In 1692, the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Sydney, convened the first Irish Parliament of William's reign. It was the first Parliament in Ireland (except that convened by James) for twenty-six years. As there was then no Irish Act disqualifying Catholics from sitting in Parliament, certain peers and a few commoners of that faith attended, and took their seats; but the English Parliament of the year before having provided against this, they were at once met by the oath of supremacy, declaring the king of England head of the Church, and affirming the sacrifice of the Mass to be damnable. The oath was put to each member of both houses, and the few Catholics present at once retired, so that the Parliament, when it proceeded to business, was purely Protestant. Here then ended the last vestige of constitutional right for the Catholics: from this date, and for generations to come, they could no longer consider themselves a part of the existing body politic of their native land; and the division into two nations became definite. There was the dominant nation, consisting of the British colony; and the subject nation, consisting of five sixths of the population, who had thereafter no more influence upon public affairs than have the red Indians in the United States.

Before quitting the subject of this total abolition of civil existence for the Catholics, we may anticipate a little to observe that, by another act of the Irish Parliament, in 1697,* it was enacted, that "a Protestant *marrying* a Catholic was disabled from sitting or voting in either house of Parliament." But as Catholics could still vote at elections (though they could now vote for none but mortal enemies), even this poor privilege was taken away from them a few years later. In 1727, it was enacted that "no Catholic shall be entitled or admitted to vote at the

* 9th Wm. III., chap. 8.

election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight, citizen, or burgess; or at the election of any magistrate for any city, or other town corporate; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."* By the operation of these statutes alone, without taking account for the present of the more directly penal code, the great mass of the population of this country was debased to a point which it now requires an effort fully to comprehend. No man had to court their votes, nor consult their interest or their feelings. They had no longer any one to stand up for them in the halls of legislation, to oppose new oppressions (and the oppressions were always new and heavier from day to day), nor to expose and refute calumnies, and these were in plenty. They were not only shut out from the great councils of the nation, but every one of them, in every town and parish in Ireland, felt himself the inferior and vassal of his Protestant neighbors, and the victim of a minute, spiteful, and contemptuous tyranny, at the hands of those who were often morally and physically far his inferiors. Of the exclusion from Parliament, the able author of the *Statement of the Penal Laws* has truly observed:

"The advantages flowing from a seat in the Legislature, it is well known, are not confined to the *individual representative*. They extend to all his family, friends, and connections; or, in other words, to every Protestant in Ireland. Within his reach are all the honors, offices, emoluments: every sort of gratification to avarice or vanity: the means of spreading a great personal interest by innumerable petty services to individuals. He can do an infinite number of acts of kindness and generosity, and even of public spirit. He can procure advantages in trade, indemnity from public burdens, preferences in local competitions, pardons for offences. He can obtain a thousand favors, and avert a thousand evils. He may, whilst he betrays every valuable public interest, be, at the same time, a benefactor, a patron, a father, a guardian angel to his political adherents. On the other hand, how stands the Catholic gentleman or trader? For his own person, no office, no power, no emolument; for his children, brothers, kindred, or friends, no promotion ecclesiastical or civil, military or naval. Except from his private fortune, he has no means of advancing a child, of making a single friend, or of showing any one good quality. He has nothing to offer but harsh refusal, pitiful excuse, or despondent representation."

And the effect of the exclusion from corporations was a thousand times more galling still; because that disability presses upon individuals everywhere, in their own homes, and in every daily action of their lives. The same accurate author, writing more than a century after King William's death, thus describes the condition of Catholic tradesmen and artificers throughout the towns of Ireland:—it will show how thoroughly these penal laws did their work for generations:

"They are debased by the galling ascendency of privileged neighbors. They are depressed by partial imposts; by undue preferences and accommodation bestowed upor their competitors; by a local inquisition; by an uncertain and unequal measure of justice, by fraud and favoritism daily and openly practised to their prejudice. The Catholic gentleman, whose misfortune it may be to reside in or near to any of these cities or towns in Ireland, is hourly exposed to all the slights and annoyances, that a petty sectarian oligarchy may think proper to inflict. The professional man risks continual inflictions of personal humiliation. The farmer brings the produce of his lands to market under heavier tolls. Every species of Catholic industry and mechanical skill is checked, taxed, and rendered precarious.

"On the other hand, every species of Protestant indolence is cherished and maintained; every claim is allowed; every want supplied; every extortion sanctioned: nay, the very name of 'Protestant' secures a competence, and commands patrician pre-eminence in Ireland."

But though the inhabitants of Ireland were now, counting from the year 1692, definitively divided into two castes, there arose immediately, strange to say, a strong sentiment Irish nationality; not, indeed, amongst the depressed Catholics—they were done with

* 1 Geo. II., chap. 9.

national sentiment and aspiration for a time; but the Protestants of Ireland had lately grown numerous, wealthy, and strong. Their numbers had been largely increased, partly by English settlers coming to enjoy the plunder of the forfeited estates, and very much by conversions, or pretended conversions of Catholics who had recanted their faith to save their property or their position in society, and who generally altered or disguised their family names when these had too Celtic a sound. The Irish Protestants also prided themselves on having saved the kingdom for William and "the Ascendency;" and having now totally put down the ancient nation under their feet, they aspired to take its place, to rise from a colony to a nation, and to assert the dignity of an independent kingdom.

Even in this Parliament of 1692 the spirit of independence ventured to show itself. Two money-bills, which had not originated in Ireland, were sent over from England to be passed, or rather to be accepted and registered. One of these bills was for raising additional duty on beer, ale, and other liquors; and this they passed, to an amount not exceeding £70,000; but grounding their action upon the alleged urgency of the case, and declaring that it should not be drawn into a precedent. This was on the 21st of October, 1692. Much constitutional discussion took place upon this occasion; and honorable members stimulated one another's patriotism by recalling the rights and prerogatives of the ancient kingdom of Ireland. So, a few days after, on the 28th of October, the House of Commons rejected altogether the second English bill; which was to grant to their majesties the produce of certain duties for one year. On the 3d of November Sydney prorogued Parliament with a very angry speech; and at the same time required the clerk to enter his formal protest against the dangerous doctrine asserted in the Commons' resolutions, and haughtily affirming the right and power of the English Parliament to bind Ireland by acts passed in London. After two prorogations, this Parliament was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1793.

Not only did King William give his royal assent to the laws of exclusion made by this Parliament, but he did not make any proposal or any effort to gain for the Irish Catholics those "further securities" as engaged by the Treaty of Limerick, which were to protect them from "all disturbance" in the exercise of their religion. Yet this was but a trifling matter compared with what the same king did in the course of the next following Parliament, that convened in 1695. It is often alleged, on his behalf, that he was provoked and distressed by the furious bigotry and violence of his Irish Protestant subjects; and that he even endeavored to moderate them by the influence of Sydney, his lord-lieutenant; in short, that he was so wholly dependent on his Parliaments, both of England and of Ireland, that he could not venture to thwart their one great policy, purpose, and passion—to crush Papists; and that such opposition on his part would have cost him his crown. That was unfortunate for him; inasmuch as the actual conduct which these headstrong supporters of his obliged him to adopt, has cost him more than a crown, his reputation for good faith.

It was in February of this year, 1692, that the massacre of Glencoe befel in a remote valley of the highlands of Scotland. King William, we are assured, did not wish to perpetrate this iniquity, any more than to break the Treaty of Limerick; but certain wicked advisers in Scotland forced him to do the one deed, just as his furious Protestants of Ireland obliged him to commit the other. In Scotland it was the wicked Master of Stair, together with the vindictive Marquis of Breadalbane, who planned the slaughter; and Stair, the Secretary for Scotland, presented to the king, in his closet, and then and there induced his majesty to sign a paper in these words: "As for MacIan of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." And this order was directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland. What was intended, therefore, was military execution, without judge or jury, to be inflicted upon unarmed and unsuspecting country-people, with their wives and children. The crime, or alleged crime, was having been late in coming in and giving their submission. The king did not read the order above cited says Arch

bishop Burnet, but he signed it; and says his eloquent eulogist, Macaulay, "Whoever has seen any thing of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign documents which they have not read; and of all documents, a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness, not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend." Yet the order was not a long one; about three seconds, if his majesty could have spared so long a time from meditating on the fate of Europe, would have shown him what fate he was decreeing to the MacDonalds of Glencoe. It seems he could not give so much of his leisure, so the order was sent; and accordingly, the king's troops, having first quartered themselves amongst the simple people, in the guise of friends, and partaken of their mountain hospitality; and having taken the precaution, as they believed, to guard all the outlets of the valley, arose before dawn one winter's morning, and butchered every MacDonald, man, woman, and child, whom they could find. A few details of this performance may be interesting; they are given by Lord Macaulay, an author who was certainly not disposed to exaggerate their atrocity:

"But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise, and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverriggen, and nine other Macdonalds, were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do any thing: he would go anywhere: he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

"At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. 'Well,' said the sergeant, 'I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten.' The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

"Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief, and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. MacIan, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers; but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day."

Over thirty persons were killed there that morning, but owing to the "blunder," as Macaulay calls it, of commencing the massacre with a volley of musketry, instead of giving them the cold steel, three-fourths of the MacDonalds of Glencoe escaped the slaughter, but only to perish in the snowy mountains for want of food and shelter. Such, and so sad may be the effects of evil counsels upon the minds of benevolent monarchs, who are too deeply occupied in revolving projects on which the fate of Europe might depend.

Another event befell in the summer of this year, 1692, which deserves record. On a July morning, about the time when the Protestant Parliament in Dublin was devising cunning oaths against Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints, to drive out its few Catholic members, Patrick Sarsfield, and some of his comrades, just fresh from Limerick, had the deep gratification to meet King William on the glorious field of Steinkirk. Sarsfield and Berwick were then officers high in command under Marshal Luxembourg, when King William, at the head of a great allied force, attacked the French encampment. The attacking force was under the banners of England, of the United Provinces, of Spain and of the Empire; and it had all the advantage of effecting a surprise. The battle was long and bloody, and was finished by a splendid charge of French cavalry,

among the foremost of whose leaders was the same glorious Sarsfield, whose sword had once before driven back the same William from before the walls of Limerick. The English and their allies were entirely defeated in that battle, with a loss of about ten thousand men. Once more, and before very long, Sarsfield and King William were destined to meet again.

King James was at this time residing at the palace of St. Germain-en-laye, near Paris, upon a pension allowed him by Louis XIV., and waiting on the result of the war between France and the Allies. As William had now become very unpopular in England, it was believed by the advisers of the exiled monarch that a suitable "Declaration" issued from St. Germains, and promising, as the Stuarts were always ready to promise, such reforms and improvements in administration as should conciliate public opinion in England, might once more turn the minds of his British subjects towards their legitimate dynasty, and open a way for his return to his throne. His great counsellor on this occasion was Charles, Earl of Middleton, a Scotchman. On the 17th of April, 1693, this famous Declaration was signed and published. It promised, on the part of James, a free pardon to all his subjects who should not oppose him after his landing; that as soon as he was restored he would call a parliament; that he would confirm all such laws passed during the usurpation as the Houses should present to him for confirmation; that he would protect and defend the Established Church in all her possessions and privileges; that he would not again violate the Test Act; that he would leave it to the Legislature to define the extent of his dispensing power; and that he would maintain the Act of Settlement in Ireland. This Declaration, then, was an appeal to his English subjects exclusively; and to propitiate them, he promised to leave the Irish people wholly at their mercy—to undo all the measures in favor of religious liberty and common justice which had been enacted by his Irish Parliament of 1689, and to leave the holders of the confiscated estates, his own deadly enemies in Ireland, in undisturbed possession of all their spoils. It is asserted, indeed, in the Life of King James, that he struggled against committing himself to such unqualified support of the Protestant interest, but he was finally induced to sign the document as it stood It was sent to England, printed, and published but produced no effect whatever of the kind intended. It did produce, however, a great and just indignation among the Irish soldiers and gentlemen who had lost all their possessions, and encountered so many perils to vindicate the right of this cowardly and faithless king. Serious discontent was manifested among the Irish regiments then serving in the Netherlands and on the frontiers of Germany and Italy; and we find that the treacherous Middleton, his Scottish and Protestant adviser, who had led the king into this act of ingratitude, as useless as it was base, made great efforts to soothe the feelings of these fine troops. A letter is extant from Lord Middleton to Justin MacCarthy, then on active service in Germany, endeavoring to explain away the obnoxious points of the Declaration, and soliciting MacCarthy's influence to pacify other officers. In this letter Secretary Middleton has the assurance to say, "The king promises in the foresaid Declaration to restore the Settlement, but at th same time declares that he will recompense all those who may suffer by it, in giving them equivalents."* There was no such promise in the Declaration, and his correspondent must have known it; but, in truth, the Irish troops in the army of King Louis, the fierce exiles of Limerick, were at that time too busy in the camp and the field, and too keenly desirous to meet the English in battle, to pay much attention to any thing coming from King James. They had had enough of *Righ Seamus* at the Boyne Water.

A portion of them soon had their wish; for neither Luxembourg nor King William allowed the grass to grow under their horses' hoofs. On the 19th of July, in this year, 1693, they were in presence again on the bank of the little river Landen, and close by the village of Neerwinden. The English call that memorable battle by the first name, and the French by the second. It was near Liege in the Netherlands, that famous battle-ground which had seen, and was again to see, so many bloody days.

* The letter is in Macpherson's Collection.

This time it was the French who attacked the Allies in an intrenched position. After heavy artillery firing for some time, the French made a desperate attack on the village of Neerwinden; and the Duke of Berwick, at the head of some Irish troops, led the onset, supported and followed by the left wing of the French army, commanded by Montchevreuil. The slaughter in the village was tremendous, and here Berwick was taken prisoner. This first attack failed, and after a furious struggle the French and Irish were forced back. A fresh division, under the Duke de Bourbon, renewed the attack, and was again repulsed; but as this was the important point, Luxembourg resolved to make a final struggle for it, and the chosen forces of King Louis, led on by his renowned household troops, were launched in a resistless mass against the village. A third time it was entered, and a third time there was a scene of fearful carnage in its streets. Among the French officers in this final struggle was Patrick Sarsfield.* King William fought his army to the last; but Neerwinden being gone, the key of the position was lost, and at length the whole English and allied army gave way all along the line. The pursuit was furious and sanguinary, as the Allies kept tolerable order, and fought every step of the way. In the army of William was the Duke of Ormond, and in the wild confusion he was unhorsed; but the French soldier who brought him down espied on his finger a precious diamond, and saved his life as being certainly a prisoner of rank. He was soon after exchanged for Berwick. At length the flying army of William arrived at the little river Gette; and here the retreat was in danger of becoming a total rout. Arms and standards were flung away, and multitudes of fugitives were choking up the fords and bridges of the river, or perishing in its waters, so fiercely did the victors press upon their rear. It was here that Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who had that day, as well as at Steinkirk, earned the admiration of the whole French army, received his death-shot at the head of his men. It was in a happy moment. Before he fell, he could see the standards of England swept along by the tide of headlong flight, or trailing in the muddy waters of the Gette—he could see the scarlet ranks that he had once hurled back from the ramparts of Limerick, now rent and riven, fast falling in their wild flight, while there was sent pealing after them the vengeful shout, "*Remember Limerick!*"

The victory of the French was complete; and after two such defeats, so closely following each other, the affairs of King William went badly for a time. There was, therefore, a certain mildness and mercy observable in the administration of Ireland towards the Catholics; for as Lawless has justly observed, "The rights of Irishmen and the prosperity of England cannot exist together—a melancholy truth which the events of the present day only contribute to confirm, and which is still left to the enlightened English Government of future days to refute. The lights of history cannot be extinguished, nor her powerful voice silenced. The conclusions we have drawn are irresistible, and the idle violence which attempts to punish their publication only impresses those truths more deeply on the mind. The glories of William and of Anne—the victories of Marlborough, and the universal conquests of Chatham, have been the most disastrous epochs of Ireland. Never was the heart of our country so low as when England was the envy and the terror of her enemies. The sounds of English triumphs were to her the sounds of sorrow—the little tyrants who ruled her were inflamed with courage, and urged on with increased rancor—the unhappy Catholics of Ireland, who always constituted the nation, were doomed to be again insulted and tortured with impunity."

Accordingly, it will soon be seen that the apparent gentleness used at this time towards the ancient Irish nation, was destined to be of short continuance.

* It does not seem certain that Berwick and Sarsfield had any Irish regiments under their command at Landen. O'Connor (Military Memoir) says that Sarsfield fell in leading a charge of French troops.

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PATRICK SARSFIELD

CHAPTER III.

1693—1698.

Capel lord-lieutenant.—War in the Netherlands.—Capture of Namur.—Grievances of the Protestant colonists.—Act for disarming Papists.—Laws against education.—Against priests.—Against intermarrying with Papists.—Act to "confirm" Articles of Limerick.—Irish on the continent.

SYDNEY, the lord-lieutenant, became exceedingly unpopular with the people of the English colony in Ireland, in consequence of his continued assertion of the supreme powers of the British Parliament, and his opposition to the assertion of this new Anglo-Irish nationality. But his unpopularity was still greater on account of his known repugnance to still further and more searching penal laws against the Catholics. He was soon, therefore, recalled, and the island was ruled for a time by three lords-justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe. Between these three, serious differences of policy soon manifested themselves; the two latter being in favor of a continuance of the toleration, and of showing some slight regard to the rights of the Catholic people under the Treaty of Limerick; while Capel, as Harris confesses, was desirous of doing all in his power to infringe that treaty. The intrigues of the intolerant party finally prevailed so far as to procure the appointment of Capel as lord-lieutenant; and in 1695, he summoned a parliament, the second of this reign.

In the mean time, King William and his allies had been prosecuting the war against France with varying success, but on the whole, the advantage had rested with the French, at least, in the campaigns by land. In 1695, however, the tide began to turn in the Netherlands; and on the 26th of August, in that year, the town and fortress of Namur, one of the strongest places in Europe, defended by Marshal Boufflers, was surrendered to the allies after an arduous siege. For the first time, since first there were marshals of France, a French marshal delivered up a fortress to a victorious enemy. There was high rejoicing in England over this great event; it was, therefore, an event of evil omen for Ireland.

During the three years preceding the meeting of this parliament, there had been continual complaints made by the Protestant "Ascendency," of the favors shown to "Papists," and the consequent discouragement and depression of the Protestant interest. The great theme of discussion in Ireland at that day was whether, and how far, the Articles of Limerick ought to be considered binding; and the parliament, in 1692, had addressed the king, complaining of the restoration of certain confiscated estates to Catholics in the five counties specified in the articles; which restoration was expressly stipulated for in the treaty;* and further requesting his majesty "to have the articles of the Treaty of Limerick laid before us [the parliament], in order that we may learn by what means, and under what pretext they have been granted," etc. Considerably over a million of acres had been adjudged confiscated in consequence of the last "rebellion," and of this land, about one quarter had been restored to its right owners in pursuance of the treaty. In short, the "Irish nation," as the handful of colonists called themselves, was suffering under grievous distress and oppression; and a Mr. Stone, member of the Irish House of Commons, being examined at the bar of the English House, gave in his evidence so sad an account of the sufferings of the Protestants, as produced a serious effect upon public opinion in England. "There never was," he declared, "a House of Commons of that kingdom of greater property or better principles than those which met under Lord Sydney's administration." He boasted of their loyalty and zeal for his majesty's service, and alleged that their opposition to the money bills had been occasioned by Lord Sydney's arrogance in insisting upon the supreme sovereignty of the English crown and Parliament; and last, and worst of all, he complained "that the Papists were in actual possession of that liberty which, if extended to Protestants, would have prevented the necessity of rendering the Irish Commons obnoxious by the rejection of so many bills." In short, the pathetic narration of these pretended grievances and oppressions

* See the Address in full, in MacGeoghegan: Sadlier's Edition.

had brought about, first, the recall of Lord Sydney, and afterwards the appointment of Lord Capel as lord-lieutenant. The comparative success of William's arms in the Netherlands contributed still more effectually to give a complete triumph to the Ascendency party; and accordingly the Protestant colonists were highly gratified when Lord Capel, in opening the parliament of 1695, announced that the king was intent on a firm settlement of Ireland "upon a Protestant interest." It might have been supposed that Ireland was already pretty well settled in the interest of Protestants; but the ingenuity of this parliament found means of still further extending and improving the laws which already made Catholics outlaws in their native land.

There was no more factious opposition to the government; the parliament was obsequious, and readily passed all bills that were required at its hands. All it asked was to have the Papists delivered up, body and goods, into the hands of the Ascendency. It will give an idea of the grievances and oppressions which the Protestants now plaintively represented to parliament in petitions which poured in from all quarters, if we mention that one of these petitions was from the mayor, sheriffs, and Protestant aldermen of the city of Limerick, complaining that "they were greatly damaged in their trade by the great numbers of Papists residing there, and praying to be relieved therein." And, in act, those honest Protestants were relieved by express enactment. Another petition, gravely presented to parliament, was "A petition of one Edward Sprag, and others, in behalf of themselves and other Protestant porters, in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a Papist, employed porters of his own persuasion."* This petition was referred, like others, to the "Committee on Grievances." The grievances of persecuted Protestants, however, were soon to have an end.

Catholics had been already excluded from the legislature, from the corporations, and from the liberal professions; but we have seen that they could still damage the trade of Protestant artificers in Limerick, and even compete with Protestant coal-porters in Dublin. The parliament of Lord Capel was now about to take such order with them that it was hoped they would never trouble the Protestant interest any more. The first requisite was to effectually disarm them. Accordingly, one of the first enactments is entitled "An Act for the better securing the government by disarming the Papists."* By this act, all Catholics within the kingdom of Ireland were required to discover and deliver up by a certain day, to the justices or civil officers, all their arms and ammunition. After that day search might be made in their houses for concealed arms and ammunition; and any two justices, or a mayor or sheriff, might grant the search-warrant, and compel any Catholic suspected of having concealed arms, etc., to appear before them and answer the charge or suspicion upon his oath † The punishments were to be fine and imprisonment, or, at the discretion of the court, the pillory and whipping. It is impossible to describe the minute and curious tyranny to which this statute gave rise in every parish of the island. Especially in districts where there was an armed yeomanry, exclusively Protestant, it fared ill with any Catholic who fell, for any reason, under the displeasure of his formidable neighbors. Any pretext was sufficient for pointing him out to suspicion. Any neighboring magistrate might visit him at any hour of the night, and search his bed for arms. No Papist was safe from suspicion who had any money to pay in fines; and woe to the Papist who had a handsome daughter!

It would be difficult to imagine any method of degrading human nature more effectual than the prohibition of arms; but the parliament resolved to employ still another way. This was to prohibit education. Catholics were already debarred from being tutors or teachers; and many Catholic young men were sent for education to the schools and universities of the continent. It was therefore enacted "that if any subjects of Ireland should, after that session, go, or send any child or person, to be educated in any popish university, college, or school, or in any pri-

* Commons Journals.

* 7 Wm. III. c. 5.

† This enactment, under various new forms and names, is the law at this day.

vate family; or if such child should, by any popish person, be instructed in the popish religion; or if any subjects of Ireland should send money or things towards the maintenance of such child, or other person, already sent, or to be sent, every such offender, being thereof convicted, should be forever disabled to sue or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator, or executor to any person, or to be capable of any legacy, or deed of gift; and, besides, should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal, during their lives."* It was further enacted, that "No Papist, after the 20th January, 1695, shall be capable to have, or keep in his possession, or in the possession of any other, to his use, or at his disposition, *any horse, gelding, or mare*, of the value of £5 or more;" with the usual clauses to induce Protestants to inform, and cause search to be made for the contraband horses; the property of the horses to be vested in the discoverer.

The two acts before mentioned at once bred in Ireland a great swarm of informers and detectives, who have been a grievous plague upon the country ever since. But the penal code was still far from complete. It was thought needful to strike at the Catholics more directly through their religion itself, in which it was observed that they took much comfort. Therefore, it was enacted by the same Parliament "That all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart this kingdom before the 1st day of May, 1698." If any of them remained after that day, or returned, the delinquents were to be transported, and if they returned again, "to be guilty of high treason, and to suffer accordingly." To pretend a toleration of the Catholic religion, but to banish bishops, and thus prevent orders, can scarcely be considered a very liberal proceeding; but there were still more minute provisions made, after banishing the clergy, for the continual torture of the laity. For example, this same parliament, in 1695, enacted a statute which imposed a fine of two shillings (and, in default of payment, *whipping*) upon "every common laborer being hired, or other servant retained, who shall refuse to work at the usual and accustomed wages, upon any day except the days appointed by *this statute* to be kept holy; namely, all Sundays in the year, and certain other days named therein."

Another act was passed by this parliament "to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists," in order to obviate the possible danger of the two nations becoming gradually amalgamated by affinities and family interests; and as the Catholics, in some places, were associating together to place their interests in the hands of legal advisers, an act was passed "to prevent Papists being solicitors." It must not be omitted to mention, that the parliament which violated, by so many ingenious laws, the conditions made at the capitulation of Limerick, did also gravely and solemnly pass an act "for the confirmation of *Articles* made at the surrender of the city of Limerick—or so much thereof," said the preamble, "as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects in these kingdoms." The greater part, or almost the whole of the stipulations on behalf of the Catholics, contained in these articles, had been deliberately and avowedly violated by the very legislature which enacted this hypocritical act. It passed almost unanimously in the Commons; but unexpectedly met with vigorous resistance in the House of Lords; where, on its final passage, a formal protest against it was entered by a number of the ancient nobility, and even by some Anglican bishops. The protest was signed by the lords Duncannon, Londonderry and Tyrone, the barons of Limerick, Howth, Ossory, Killaloe, Kerry, Strabane and Kingston, and also by the bishops of Derry, Elphin, Clonfert, Kildare and Kildala. It gave these reasons for the protest:

"1. Because the title did not agree with the body of the bill; the title being an act for the confirmation of the Irish articles, whereas no one of said articles was therein fully confirmed. 2. Because the articles were to be confirmed to them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by that bill was such, that it put them in a worse condition than they were in before. 3. Because the bill omitted the material

* 4 Wm. and Mary, c. 4.

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words, 'and all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' which were by his Majesty's titles patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons had been adjudged within said articles who would, if the bill passed into a law, be entirely barred and excluded, so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate in council, some express reason ought to be assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world in that omission. 4. Because several words were inserted in the bill which were not in the articles, and others omitted, which altered both the sense and meaning thereof. Lastly, because they apprehended that many Protestants might and would suffer by the bill in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and lent money, upon the faith of said article."

Of the proceedings of this parliament, it is only necessary to add one further detail:

"A petition of Robert Cusack, gentleman, Captain Francis Segrave and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves and others, comprised under the Articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the said bill [act to confirm, &c.] there were several clauses that would frustrate the petitioners of the benefit of the same, and if passed into a law would turn to the ruin of some, and the prejudice of all persons entitled to the benefit of the said articles, and praying to be heard by counsel to said matters, having been presented and read, it was unanimously resolved that said petition should be *rejected*."

King William was all this while busily engaged in carrying on the war against Louis the Fourteenth, and his mind was profoundly occupied about the destinies of Europe. He seems to have definitively given up Ireland, to be dealt with by the Ascendency at its pleasure. Yet he had received the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick:—he had engaged his royal faith to its observance;—he had further engaged that he would endeavor to procure said Roman Catholics such further security as might preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion. And he not only did not endeavor to procure any such further security, but he gave his royal assent, without the least objection, to every one of these acts of Parliament, carefully depriving them of such securities as they had, and imposing new and grievous oppressions "upon the account of their said religion." It is expressly on account of this shameful breach of faith on the part of the King that Orange squires and gentlemen, from that day to this, have been enthusiastically toasting "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William."

The war was still raging all over Europe; and multitudes of young Irishmen were quitting a land where they were henceforth strangers and outlaws on their own soil, to find under the banners of France an opportunity for such distinction as exiles may hope to win. Brilliant reports of the achievements of the old regiments of Limerick on many a field, came to Ireland by stray travellers from the continent, and inspired the high-spirited youth of the country with an ambition to enroll themselves in th ranks of the Irish brigade. They had heard for example, of the great victories of Steinkirk and of Landen; and how at Marsiglia, on the Italian slope of the Alps, the French marshal, Catinat, obtained a splendid victory over the army of the Duke of Savoy—a victory, says Voltaire, "so much the more glorious as the Prince Eugene was one of the adverse generals;" and how the conduct of the Irish troops, who served under Catinat on that occasion, gained the applause of Europe and the thanks of King Louis. It is no wonder, therefore, seeing the depressing and humiliating condition to which they were reduced at home, that there was a large and continual emigration of the best blood of Ireland, at this time, and for a great part of the following century. These exiles were not confined to the people of the Celtic Irish clans; for all the English settlers in Ireland, down to the time of Henry the Eighth, had of course been Catholic, and these families generally adhered to the old religion Thus these old English found themselves included in all the severities of the penal laws, along with the primeval Scotic people, and they had now their full proportion in the ranks of the military adventurers who

sought service on the continent. Accordingly, among the distinguished names of the Irish brigades, by the side of the Milesian Sarsfields, O'Briens, and O'Donnells, we find the Norman-descended Dillons, Roches, and Fitzgeralds. Of the amount of that great emigration it is difficult to procure any very exact idea; but on this subject there is no better authority than the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan, who was chaplain in the brigade, and who devoted himself to the task of recording the history of his country. He affirms that researches in the office of the French War Department show that from the arrival of the Irish troops in France, in 1691, to the year 1745 (the year of Fontenoy), more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen *died* in the service of France. The statement may seem almost incredible; especially as Spain and Austria had also their share of our military exiles; but, certain it is, the expatriation of the very best and choicest of the Irish people was now on a very large scale; and the remaining population, deprived of their natural chiefs, became still more helpless in the hands of their enemies. Baron Macaulay, whose language is never too courteous in speaking of the Irish, takes evident delight in dwelling upon the abject condition of the great body of the nation at this time. He calls them "Pariahs;" compares their position, in the disputes between the English and the Irish parliament, with that of "the Red Indians in the dispute between Old England and New England about the Stamp Act;" mentions with complacency, that Dean Swift "no more considered himself as an Irishman than an Englishman born at Calcutta considers himself as a Hindoo;" and says, very truly, though coarsely, that none of the "patriots" of the seventeenth century "ever thought of appealing to the native population—they would as soon have thought of appealing to the *swine*." The truth is, that most of the choicest intellect and energy of the Irish race were now to be looked for at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and Vienna, or under the standards of France on every battle-field of Europe. The Catholics of Ireland may be said, at this date, to disappear from political history, and so remained till the era of the volunteering.

Obscure and despised as they were, however, they were not too humble to escape the curious eye of the lawyers and legislators of the "Ascendency." In fact, we have not yet advanced far beyond the threshold of the Penal Laws.

CHAPTER IV.

1698—1702.

Predominance of the English Parliament.—Molyneux.—Decisive action of the English Parliament.—Court and country parties.—Suppression of woollen manufacture.—Commission of confiscated estates.—Its revelations.—Vexation of King William.—Peace of Ryswick.—Act for establishing the Protestant succession.—Death of William.

While the ancient Irish nation lay in this miserable condition of utter nullity, the Protestant colony continued its efforts to vindicate its independence of the Imperial Parliament, but without much success. Not only was its parliament compelled to send over to London the "heads" of its bills, to be ratified there, but the British Parliament still persisted in exercising an original jurisdiction in Ireland, and to bind that kingdom by laws made in England, without any concurrence asked or obtained from the colonial legislature. It was always the firm resolve, both of the king and of the people of England, to deny and trample upon these assumed pretensions of their colony in Ireland to be an independent kingdom.

The reader will suppose that the English government should not have been very jealous of any power with which the Protestant Ascendency might be armed, when they so faithfully turned those arms against the civil and religious liberties of their Catholic countrymen. The Irish Parliament, however, presumed rather too much on its past services to England. Though they were so obedient as to forge chains for the Catholics, they should not flatter themselves with the liberty of making their own laws or regulating their own slaves. They were, for the future, to consider themselves as the humbled agents of an English Government, prompt at every call which national jealousy would give to inflict or to suspend the torture.

In short, the Irish Protestant Ascendency was soon to be taught that it was the mere agent of English empire, and must aspire to no other freedom than the freedom to oppress and trample upon the ancient Irish nation. "Your ancestors," said Mr. Curran to the Irish Parliament a hundred years after—"Your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-subjects—but they were only their gaolers; and the justice of Providence would have been frustrated if their own slavery had not been the punishment of their vice and of their folly." This appeared very plainly when Mr. William Molyneux, one of the members for Dublin University, published, in 1698, his work entitled "The case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," a production which owes its fame rather to the indignant sensation it made in England, than to any peculiar merits of its own. It professed to discuss the principles of government and of human society, and was, in fact, more abstract and metaphysical than legal. It is said that Mr. Molyneux, who was an intimate friend of John Locke, had found his principles in the writings of that philosopher, and had even submitted his manuscript to Mr. Locke's approval. The essential part of the book, however, and the only practical part, was the distinct assertion of the independent power of the Irish Parliament, as the legislature of a sovereign state; and consequent denial of the right claimed and exercised by the English Parliament to bind Ireland by its own enactments. The book at once attracted much attention, and was speedily replied to by two writers, named Carey and Atwood. A committee of the English Parliament was then appointed to examine the obnoxious pamphlet, and on the report of that committee, it was unanimously resolved "that the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown, and to the people of England," etc. The House, in a body, presented an address to the king, setting forth what they called the bold and pernicious assertions contained in the aforesaid publication, which they declared to have been "more fully and authentically affirmed by the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland, during their late sessions, and more particularly by a bill transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, entitled 'An act for the better security of his majesty's person and government;' whereby an act of parliament made in England was *pretended* to be re-enacted, and divers alterations therein made; and they assured his majesty of their ready concurrence and assistance to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm; and they humbly besought his majesty that he would discourage all things which might in any degree lessen or impair that dependence." The king promptly replied "that he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired." Such was the extreme political depression of Ireland, that this haughty procedure occasioned no visible resentment in her parliament, although the leaven of the doctrines of Molyneux was still working in men's minds; was afterwards improved by Swift and Lucas, and at length became irresistible, and ripened into an independent Irish Parliament in 1782. Meantime the proscribed Catholics took no interest in the controversy at all, and seemed insensible to its progress. As the excellent Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar, afterwards in the midst of the commotions excited by Lucas, wrote to a friend: "I am by no means interested, nor is any of our unfortunate population, in this affair of Lucas. A true patriot would not have betrayed such malice towards such unfortunate slaves as we." And he truly adds, "These boasters, the Whigs, wish to have liberty all to themselves." In short, the two parties then existing in Ireland, and termed the court and country parties, were divided mainly upon this question: Is the conquered nation to be governed and *exploited* for the sole benefit of the colonial interest? or, Are all interests in Ireland, both colonial and native, both Protestant and Catholic, to be subservient and tributary to England? Candor requires it to be stated that of these two parties, the court and the country, the former was rather more favorable to the downtrodden Catholics; a fact of which several examples will soon have to be related. At that moment the court party held the sway, and the English Parliament ruled all.

The English were not disposed to let their

predominance remain without practical fruits, as appeared in the proceedings touching the woollen-trade of Ireland. During the few first years of William's reign, there being then abundance of sheep in Ireland, and also much cheap labor, considerable progress was made in the manufacture of woollen cloths; these fabrics were exported in some quantity to foreign countries, and in many cases the Irish manufacturer was enabled to undersell the English. But England was then using great exertions to obtain the entire control of this gainful trade; and the competition of Ireland gave great umbrage. It is true that the woollen-trade in Ireland, and all the profits of its export and sale, were in the hands of the English colonists, and that the colonial parliament in Dublin would fain have extended and protected it if they had been permitted. But here, again, the English power stepped in, and controlled every thing according to its own interest. The two houses of Lords and Commons addressed King William, urging that some immediate remedy must be found against the obnoxious trade in Ireland. The Lords, after detailing the intolerable oppression which was inflicted upon deserving industrious people in England, expressed themselves thus: "Wherefore, we most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and will be ever, looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom, and *if not timely remedied*, may occasion very strict laws *totally to prohibit and suppress the same.*" Probably no more shameless avowal of British greediness was ever made, even by the parliament of England. But the king replied at once that "he would do all that in him lay to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland;" in other words, to ruin his subjects of that island. The Irish Parliament was now also assembled in Dublin. The Earl of Galway and two others were lords-justices; and they, pursuant to their instructions, recommended to parliament to adopt means for putting a stop to the woollen manufacture and to encourage the linen. The Commons, in their address, meekly replied, that "they shall heartily endeavor" to encourage the linen trade; and as to the woollen, they tamely express their hope to find such a *tempera ment* that the same may not be injurious to England." The temperament they found was in the acts which were passed in the following year, 1699, which minutely regulated every thing relating to wool. In the first place, all export of Irish woollen cloths was prohibited, except to England and Wales. The exception was delusive, because heavy duties, amounting to a prohibition, prevented Irish cloth from being imported into England or Wales. Irish wool, thereafter, had to be sent to England in a raw state, to be woven in Yorkshire; and even this export was cramped by appointing one single English port, Barnstable, as the only point where it could legally enter. All attempts at foreign commerce in Ireland were at this time impeded also by the "Navigation Laws," which had long prohibited all direct trade between Ireland and the colonies; no colonial produce, under those laws, could be carried to Ireland until after it should have first entered an English port, and been unloaded there. The object of these laws, of course, was to secure to English merchants and shipowners a monopoly of all such trade, and they had the desired effect, so that a few years afterwards, the Dean of St. Patrick's could truly write: "The conveniency of ports and harbors, which nature had bestowed so liberally upon this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."

It is noticeable that these navigation acts were not new; they had existed before the last Revolution, and had been repealed by the excellent parliament of 1689, under King James, consisting indifferently of Catholics and Protestants, and really representing an Irish nation—that same parliament which had also enacted perfect liberty for all religions, and had swept away a most foul mass of penal laws from the statute-book; but on the failure of the cause of the Stuarts, all the enactments of that parliament were ignored, and the penal laws and restrictions on trade reappeared in full force.

With such a deliberate system in full operation, not only to put down the political

pretensions, but to destroy the trade of Ireland, and all enforced directly by English statutes, it will be seen that the country party, which so proudly claimed national independence, had but very slender chances at that time. Another event still further illustrated this fact. The English Parliament, which was continually importuned by the king for grants of money to carry on his darling war against Louis XIV., found that the immense amount of confiscated lands, forfeited by the "rebellion" (as the national war was called), had been squandered upon King William's favorites, or leased at insufficient rents, also a small portion of it restored to its owners who had satisfied the government that they were innocent. That parliament therefore resolved, before making any more grants of money, to inquire how the forfeitures had been made available for the public service. A commission was appointed by a vote of parliament for this purpose, and at the same time to provide for a grant of a million and a half sterling, for military and naval expenses. The form of this commission was itself an intimation that nothing less was contemplated than resumption of all the lands granted by special favor of the king. This was very hard upon his majesty, and he regarded the proceeding with sour and silent displeasure; for, in fact, he had granted out of these forfeitures immense estates to William Bentinck, whom he created Lord Woodstock, to Ginkell, Lord Athlone, and others of his Dutch friends;—especially, he had bestowed over 95,600 acres on Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney, a lady, who in the words of Lord Macaulay, "had inspired William with a passion which had caused much scandal and unhappiness in the little court of the Hague"—where, in fact, his lawful wife resided. If the consideration of the grant was of the kind here intimated, it must be allowed that William paid the lady royally, out of others' estates. The commissioners further report great corruption and bribery in the matter of procuring pardons, and astonishing waste and destruction, especially of the fine woods, which had covered wide regions of the island. The drift of their report is, that the whole of the dealings with those confiscated lands were one foul and monstrous job.

Here, it is to be remarked that this inquiry and report were by no means in the interest of the plundered Catholics, the right owners of all those estates; on the contrary, one of the points dwelt on most bitterly by the commissioners was the restoration of a small portion of them to Catholic proprietors, under what the commissioners considered delusive pretences; and the resumption which they contemplated was to have the effect of again taking away those wrecks and remnants of the property of Catholics which had been redeemed out of the general ruin. The English House of Commons, in a violent ferment, immediately resolved "that a bill be brought in to apply all the forfeited estates and interests in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, since the 13th February, 1689, to the use of the public." Then a "Court of Delegates" was appointed to determine claims; and it was resolved by the House "that they would not receive any petitions whatever against the provisions of this bill." The report of the commission had been signed only by four commissioners out of seven, namely, by Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton and Langford, the other three having dissented. The House, therefore, came to the resolution, "that Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton, and Henry Langford, Esqs., had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; which was an implied censure on the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Levinge, the three dissentient commissioners; and the House went so far as to vote Sir Richard Levinge to be the author of certain groundless and scandalous aspersions respecting the commissioners who had signed the report, and to commit him, thereupon, prisoner to the Tower. There were long and acrimonious debates upon this question; a sharp address to the king, in pursuance of the sense of the majority, and a submissive answer from his majesty, declaring that he was not led by inclination, but thought himself obliged, in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion there.' And the

House resolved, in reply, "that whoever advised his majesty's answer to the Address of the House has used his utmost endeavor to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people." The "Bill of Resumption" of the forfeited estates finally passed, after vehement opposition, and received the reluctant royal assent, on the 11th of April, 1700, on which day his majesty prorogued the houses, without any speech, thinking there was no room for the usual expressions of satisfaction and gratitude; and not choosing to give any public proof of discontent or resentment. In all these parliamentary disputes, there was not the least question of the rights or claims of any Irish Catholic; nor does it appear that there would have been the slightest opposition to any scheme which concerned merely the resumption of lands restored to *them*. The biographer of William remarks, "that no transaction during the reign of this monarch so pressed upon his spirits, or so humbled his pride, as the resumption of the grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland by the English Parliament." This may be easily believed; but it is to be remarked, that we find no such opinion from King William's enthusiastic biographer when he was called on to set his seal to the legislative violations of the Treaty of Limerick. He could ill bear to deprive his Dutch courtiers of their Irish estates; but it was of small moment to him to beggar and oppress millions of Irishmen in violation of his own plighted faith.

In his private despatches to Lord Galway, shortly after the rising of parliament, the king says: "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings gave me; and I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure is not the least of my griefs. I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."

The short remainder of William's reign was occupied chiefly with negotiations on the continent; and with oscillations of his policy between the Whig and Tory parties; according to the use which he thought he could make of those parties respectively in promoting his views against France—the only use which he could ever see in English parties, to say nothing of Irish ones. The peace of Ryswick was signed in 1697; but in 1701, King James died at St. Germains; and his son (afterwards called the Pretender) was recognized as King James III. of England by the king and court of France, who paid their visits of condolence and congratulation at the Court of St. Germains. King William immediately recalled his ambassador from Paris; and again there was the evident and imminent necessity of a new war with France; which was all that King William lived for. He was not, however, to live much longer.

The death of the young Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, about the same time with that of King James II., gave occasion to the Act of Parliament—the last act of this reign—by which the crown of England was settled on the House of Hanover, after the demise of Anne. This act was repeated, as it were, mechanically, by the servile parliament of the Irish colony. But though a highly important settlement of the sovereign authority, it does not seem to have aroused the smallest interest in the mass of the Irish people. It seemed now to be their opinion, and indeed the opinion was just, that it mattered nothing to them for the future whether Stuarts or Hanoverians should rule in England. They had had bitter experience of the one dynasty; and did not know that they were yet to have a more terrible experience of the other.

King William had fallen into very bad health; but still occupied himself in vast projects concerning his great concern, "the destinies of Europe." His speech, on the assembling of his last parliament, the last day of the year 1701, will show how his active mind was occupied to the last. "I persuade myself," said the king, "that you are met together, full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people. The eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known. Let me conjure you to disappoint

the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. If you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity." The king meant by voting large supplies for war with France. But King William was at the end of his wars; he was destined never to make any more of his famous retreats before French marshals; and he died in little more than two months after this speech, 8th of March, 1702, his death having been hastened by a fall from his horse in riding from Kensington to Hampton Court. His death was little regretted, save in Holland, by anybody; even by the squires of the "Ascendency" in Ireland, who long toasted in their cups his "glorious, pious, and immortal memory." He had no personal quality that could endear him to any human being, unless the common quality of personal bravery may be so accounted. His religion was hatred to Papists; his fair fame was stained by faithlessness and cruelty, and he will be forever named in history the Treaty-breaker of Limerick and the assassin of Glencoe.

CHAPTER V.

1702-1704.

Queen Anne.—Rochester lord-lieutenant.—Ormond lord-lieutenant.—War on the continent.—Successes under Marlborough.—Second formal breach of the Treaty of Limerick.—Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery.—Clause against the Dissenters.—Catholic lawyers heard against the bill.—Pleading of Sir Toby Butler.—Bill passed.—Object of the Penal Laws.—To get hold of the property of Catholics.—Recall of the Edict of Nantes.—Irish on the Continent.—Cremona.

The Princess Anne, generally called at that time Anne of Denmark, because she was the wife of the Prince of Denmark, succeeded William on the throne of the three kingdoms. She was the daughter of King James II., in vindication of whose rights th Irish nation had fought so desperately, and suffered so cruelly. She was acknowledged as queen, avowedly as the last of her race, by virtue of the act establishing the succession in the House of Hanover; and her brother was an attainted and proscribed outlaw. But if the Irish people had imagined that any Stuart, or indeed any English sovereign, could either be moved by gratitude for their loyal service, or stung by resentment against the dominant Whig party, which ruined and degraded the Stuart family, to the point of interposing or interceding on behalf of the oppressed Catholics, they would have been grossly deceived. In truth, they had no such hope or expectation. They were as indifferent to the Stuarts now as the Stuarts were to them; and except some Irish officers on the continent, who still put their trust in a counter-revolution, none of the Irish took the smallest interest in the new settlement of the throne, nor cared whether a descendant of the Stuarts or of the Electress of Hanover should reign over England.

King William had died just at the moment when his able policy had succeeded in uniting the power of the Germanic Empire with that of England and Holland, for another war against Louis. Three days after her accession, the queen repaired in person, with the usual pomp and solemnity, to the House of Peers, and made a speech from the throne, expressing her fixed resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late king, whom she styled "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." And she declared "that too much could not be done for the encouragement of our allies, and to reduce the exorbitant power of France." In the conclusion of her speech she took occasion to protest "that her heart was truly English," which was considered a studied affront to the memory of the late king, whose heart was Dutch; but the allusion probably only added to her popularity. Her most influential counsellors, at first, were the Earls of Marlborough and Godolphin, who were eager for the most vigorous prosecution of the war. Lord Godolphin

was appointed Lord High Treasurer, and Marlborough Captain-General of the forces of England at home and abroad. War was declared against France simultaneously on the same day at London, Vienna, and the Hague.

Lord Rochester was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was of the Tory party, much averse to the war, and loud in his denunciations of it. But his protests at the council-board having been disregarded, he retired in high indignation to his country-seat. Shortly afterwards a message from the queen was dispatched to him, commanding him to repair to his government of Ireland, whereupon he insolently declared "that he would not go if the queen gave him the whole country." The earl then waited on her majesty and resigned his office, which was immediately conferred upon the Duke of Ormond; an evil omen for Ireland when one of the name of Butler was appointed to rule over her. But the duke did not come to Dublin for that year, as he was employed in military service abroad; this island was therefore, as usual, placed under the government of three lords-justices, Lord Mount Alexander, General Erle, and Mr. Knightley.

The military operations began with the siege of Kaisarswart, a strong place on the Rhine. The Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck conducted the siege, and Ginkell, now "Earl of Athlone," commanded the covering army. The place capitulated on the 15th of June. Shortly after, the Earl of Marlborough came over from England to take command of the allied army; and entered upon that career of brilliant achievements which entitled him to rank as the first soldier of his time. Unfortunately the English arms were successful in this campaign; and the unfailing result followed—a new code of laws to still further beggar and torture the Irish. It is an irksome and painful task to pursue the details of that terrible penal code; but the penal code is the history of Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and a prosperous one upon the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Vigo, in Spain, came over to his government in Ireland, where the Irish Commons, in a body, presented to him the first of the famous bills "to prevent the further growth of Popery." The House, says Burnett, "pressed the duke with more than usual vehemence, to intercede so effectually that it might be returned back under the great seal of England." His grace was pleased to give his promise "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner, and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of Popery."

One might indeed suppose that "Popery" had been already sufficiently discouraged; seeing that the bishops and regular clergy had been banished; that Catholics were excluded by law from all honorable or lucrative employments: carefully disarmed and plundered of almost every acre of their ancient inheritances. But enough had not yet been done to make the "Protestant interest" feel secure. The provisions of this bill "to prevent the further growth of Popery," which were so warmly recommended by the Duke of Ormond, are shortly these: the third clause enacts that if the son of a Papist shall at any time become a Protestant, his father may not sell or mortgage his estate, or dispose of it, or any portion of it, by will. The fourth clause provides that a Papist shall not be guardian to his own child; and further, that if his child, no matter how young, conforms to the Protestant religion, he reduces his father at once to a tenant for life; the child is to be taken from its father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any landed estates, or rents or profits arising out of land, or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease for any term exceeding thirty-one years; and even in such leases the reserved rent must be at least "one-third of the improved annual value;" any Protestant who *discovers* being entitled to the interest in the lease. The seventh clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the property of their Protestant relations. The tenth clause provides that the estate of a Papist who has no Protestant heir shall be *gavelled;* that is, parcelled in equal shares between all his children. Other clauses impose on Catholics the oath of abjuration and the sacramental test, to qualify for any office or for voting at any election. After several further clauses relating to qualifications for office, which were not of very great importance, as no Catholic then aspired to any office, come the 15th,

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16th, and 17th clauses, which carefully deprive the citizens of Limerick and Galway of the poor privilege promised them in the treaty, of living in their own towns and carrying on their trade there, which, it will be remembered, was grievously complained of by the Protestant residents as a wrong and oppression upon *them*.

When this bill was sent to England it somewhat embarrassed the court. Queen Anne was then in firm alliance with the great Catholic power of Austria, and the English Government, with its usual hypocritical affectation of liberality, was ever pressing the emperor for certain indulgences to his Protestant subjects. Yet the bill was not objected to on the part of the crown; it was, in fact, thought then, as it is thought now —and with justice—that what is done in Ireland is done in a corner; and that England might continue to play her part as champion of religious liberty in the world, while she herself went to the uttermost extremities of intolerant atrocity in Ireland. The bill was sent back approved, in order that it might be passed by the Irish Parliament; and the only modification it received in England was actually an additional clause imposing still further penalties and disabilities. This clause was levelled against the Protestant Dissenters, who were already a numerous and wealthy body, especially in Ulster; and was to the effect that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; according to the Test Act, which had 'till then been applicable only to that kingdom, and had never yet been imposed upon Ireland. It has been alleged by the friends of the Government of Queen Anne, that the Administration invented this plan, hoping that it would defeat the bill altogether. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, says, "It was hoped, by those who got this clause added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it." If it be indeed true that the government intended to defeat the bill by this underhand method, the plan did not succeed. Nothing was too savage for the "Ascendency," provided only that it was to aggrieve and oppress the Catholics; and for the same great object, the Dissenters themselves, though they remonstrated at first by petition, soon meekly acquiesced in their own exclusion and disabilities. The law was to ruin the Catholics; and that was enough for them.

On the return of the bill to Ireland, and before its passage in Dublin, certain Catholics prayed to be heard by counsel in opposition to it. They were Nicholas Viscount Kingsland, Colonel J. Brown, Colonel Burke, Colonel Robert Nugent, Colonel Patrick Allen, Captain French, and other Catholics of Limerick and Galway. Their petition was granted; and in pursuance of that order, three advocates for the Catholics appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. They were Sir Theobald Butler, Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice; the two first in their gowns, the third without a gown, as he appeared not for the petitioners in general, but for himself in his private capacity, as one of the aggrieved persons. It is to be observed that these Catholic lawyers were themselves "protected persons," within the meaning of the Articles of Limerick; and that they were pleading on that day not only for their clients, but for themselves—for their own liberty to plead in court and to wear their gowns. It was a very remarkable scene; and as it forms an era in the history of Irish penal laws, we shall insert here the main part of the excellent argumentative appeal of Sir Theobald Butler, as it is abstracted in several histories of the time.* The speaker opens, of course, by laying great stress upon the Articles of Limerick; he proceeds thus:

"That since the said articles were thus under the most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations granted the petitioners, by nothing less than the general of the army, the lords-justices of the kingdom, the king, queen, and parliament, the public faith of the nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and engaged, as fully and firmly as was possible for one people to pledge faith to another; that therefore this Parliament could not pass such a bill as that intituled An Act

* It will be found at full length in Plowden's Appendix and in Curry's Historical Review.

to prevent the further growth of Popery, then before the House, into a law, without infringing those articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith; of which he hoped that House would be no less regardful and tender than their predecessors who made the act for confirming those articles had been.

"That if he proved that the passing that act was such a manifest breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, he hoped that honorable House would be very tender how they passed the said bill before them into a law; to the apparent prejudice of the petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon themselves and posterity such evils, reproach, and infamy as the doing the like had brought upon other nations and people.

"Now, that the passing such a bill as that then before the House to prevent *the further growth of Popery* will be a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, I prove (said he) by the following argument:

"The argument then is (said he) whatever shall be enacted to the prejudice or destroying of any obligation, covenant, or contract, in the most solemn manner, and for the most valuable consideration entered into, is a manifest violation and destruction of every such obligation, covenant, and contract: but the passing that bill into a law will evidently and absolutely destroy the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to all intents and purposes, and therefore the passing that bill into a law will be such a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, plighted for performing those articles; which remained to be proved.

"The major is proved (said he), for that whatever destroys or violates any contract, or obligation, upon the most valuable considerations, most solemnly made and entered into, destroys and violates the end of every such contract or obligation: but the end and design of those articles was, that all those therein comprised, and every of their heirs, should hold, possess, and enjoy all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they and every of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully intituled to, in the reign of King Charles the Second; or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign in this realm: but that the design of this bill was to take away every such right, title, interest, &c., from every father being a Papist, and to make the Popish father, who, by the articles and laws aforesaid, had an undoubted right either to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of his estate, at any time of his life, as he thought fit, only tenant for life: and consequently disabled from selling, or otherwise disposing thereof, after his son or other heir should become Protestant, though otherwise never so disobedient, profligate, or extravagant: *ergo*, this act tends to the destroying the end for which those articles were made, and consequently the breaking of the public faith, plighted for their performance.

"The minor is proved by the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of the said bill, all which (said he) I shall consider and speak to, in the order as they are placed in the bill.

"By the first of these clauses (which is the third of the bill), I that am the Popish father, without committing any crime against the state, or the laws of the land (by which only I ought to be governed), or any other fault; but merely for being of the religion of my forefathers, and that which, till of late years, was the ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the express words of the second Article of Limerick, and the public faith, plighted as aforesaid for their performance, am deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c., and of all other advantages which by those articles and the laws of the land I am entitled to enjoy, equally with every other of my fellow-subjects, whether Protestant or Popish. And though such my estate be even the purchase of my own hard labor and industry, yet I shall not (though my occasions be never so pressing) have liberty (after my eldest son or other heir becomes a Protestant) to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my debts, or have leave out of my own estate to order portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or other poor relations; but during my own life my estate shall be given to my son or other heir being a Protestant, though never so

undutiful, profligate, extravagant, or otherwise undeserving; and I that am the purchasing father, shall become tenant for life only to my own purchase, inheritance and freehold, which I purchased with my own money; and such my son or other heir, by this act, shall be at liberty to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my brows, before my face; and I that am the purchaser, shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts, or portion my daughters (if any I have), or make provisions for my other male children, though never so deserving and dutiful: but my estate, and the issues and profits of it, shall, before my face, be at the disposal of another, who cannot possibly know how to distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, deserving and undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen (said he), a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to consider, whether you would not think it so, if the scale was changed, and the case your own, as it is like to be ours, if this bill pass into a law.

"It is natural for the father to love the child; but we all know (says he) that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as that bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an act as this will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

"It is but too common with the son who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one-and-twenty, to think the old father too long in the way between him and it; and how much more will he be subject to it, when by this act he shall have liberty, before he comes to that age, to compel and force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances, with which the estate might have been charged, before the passing this act.

"Is not this against the laws of God and man; against the rules of reason and justice, by which all men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way in the world to make children become undutiful, and to bring the gray head of the parent to the grave with grief and tears?

"It would be hard from any man; but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my bosom and tendered more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread, is much more grievous than from any other; and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think on't. And yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; which I hope this honorable assembly will not think of when they shall more seriously consider, and have weighed these matters.

"For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you will not, nay you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birthrights, and invest them in others before our faces.

"By the 4th clause of the bill, the popish father is under the penalty of 500*l.* debarred from being guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of his own child or children: but if the child pretends to be a Protestant, though never so young or incapable of judging of the principles of religion, it shall be taken from its own father, and put into the hands or care of a Protestant relation, if any there be qualified as this act directs, for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the popish parent; and for want of relations so qualified, into the hands and tuition of such Protestant stranger as the court of chancery shall think fit to appoint; who perhaps may likewise be my enemy, and out of prejudice to me who am the popish father, shall infuse into my child not only such principles of religion as are wholly inconsistent with my liking, but also against the duty which, by the laws of God and nature, is due from every child to its parents: and it shall not be in my power to remedy, or question him for it; and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education, how pernicious soever. Nay, if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children, being minors, I that am the popish father shall not have the liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the hands of a stranger; and though I

see it confounded before my face, it shall not be in my power to help it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case.

"The 5th clause provides that no Protestant or Protestants, having any estate, real or personal, within this kingdom, shall at any time after the 24th of March, 1703, intermarry with any Papist, either in or out of this kingdom, under the penalties in an act made in the 9th of King William, intituled, An Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists; which penalties, see in the 5th clause of the act itself.

"Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never heard of before, and against the law of right and the law of nations; and therefore a law which is not in the power of mankind to make without breaking through the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided for the security of posterity, and which you cannot infringe without hazarding the undermining the whole legislature, and encroaching upon the privileges of your neighboring nations, which it is not reasonable to believe they will allow.

"It has indeed been known, that there hath been laws made in England that have been binding in Ireland: but surely it never was known that any law made in Ireland could affect England or any other country. But by this act, a person committing matrimony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England or any other part beyond the seas (where it is lawful both by the laws of God and man so to do), if ever they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance or title to any interest to the value of 500*l.*, they shall be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by your favor, this is what, with submission, is not in your power to do: for no law that either now is, or that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in another nation; nor can any one nation make laws for any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ireland is to England; but no other nation is subordinate to Ireland; and therefore any laws made in Ireland, cannot punish me for any fact committed in any other nation, but more especially England, to whom Ireland is subordinate: and the reason is, every free nation, such as all our neighboring nations are, by the great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all nations, have an undoubted right to make, and be ruled and governed by the laws of their own making: for that to submit to any other, would be to give away their own birthright and native freedom, and become subordinate to their neighbors, as we of this kingdom, since the making of Poyning's Act, have been and are to England. A right which England would never so much as endure to hear of, much less submit to.

"We see how careful our forefathers have been to provide that no man should be punished in one country (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in another country; and surely it would be highly unreasonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the whole world, to punish me in this kingdom for a fact committed in England, or any other nation, which was not against, but consistent with the laws of the nation where it was committed. I am sure there is not any law in any other nation of the world that would do it.

"The 6th clause of this bill is likewise a manifest breach of the second of Limerick Articles, for by that article all persons comprised under those articles, were to enjoy and have the full benefit of all the rights, titles, privileges, and immunities whatsoever, which they enjoyed, or by the laws of the land then in force, were entitled to enjoy, in the reign of King Charles II. And by the laws then in force, all the Papists of Ireland had the same liberty that any of their fellow-subjects had to purchase any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases of lives, or for years, rents, or any other thing of profit whatsoever: but by this clause of this bill, every Papist or person professing the popish religion, after the 24th of March, 1703, is made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents, or profits out of the same; or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease whatsoever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years; wherein a rent, not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, shall be reserved, and made payable, during the whole term: and therefore this clause of

this bill, if made into a law, will be a manifest breach of those articles.

"The 7th clause is yet of much more general consequence, and not only a like breach of those articles, but also a manifest robbing of all the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of their birthright: for by those articles all those therein comprised were (said he) pardoned all misdemeanors whatsoever, of which they had in any manner of way been guilty; and restored to all the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatever, which, by the laws of the land, and customs, constitutions and native birthright, they, any, and every of them, were, equally with every other of their fellow-subjects intituled unto. And by the laws of nature and nations, as well as by the laws of the land, every native of any country has an undoubted right and just title to all the privileges and advantages which such their native country affords: and surely no man but will allow, that by such a native right every one born in any country hath an undoubted right to the inheritance of his father, or any other to whom he or they may be heir at law; but if this bill pass into a law, every native of this kingdom that is and shall remain a Papist is, *ipso facto*, during life, or his or their continuing a Papist, deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder, or trust of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of which any Protestant now is, or hereafter shall be seized in fee-simple-absolute, or fee-tail, which by the death of such Protestant, or his wife, ought to descend immediately to his son or sons, or other issue in tail, being such Papists, and eighteen years of age; or, if under that age, within six months after coming to that age, shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, as by law established; and every such devise, gift, remainder, or trust which, according to the laws of the land, and such native right, ought to descend to such Papist, shall, during the life of such Papist (unless he forsake his religion), descend to the nearest relation that is a Protestant, and his heirs being and continuing Protestants, as though the said popish heir and all other popish relations were dead; without being accountable for the same: which is nothing less than robbing such popish heir of such his birthright; for no other reason, but his being and continuing of that religion, which by the first of Limerick Articles, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy, as they did in the reign of King Charles II., and then there was no law in force that deprived any Roman Catholic of this kingdom of any such their native birthright, or any other thing which, by the laws of the land then in force, any other fellow-subjects were intituled unto.

"The 8th clause of this bill is to erect in this kingdom a law of *gavel-kind*, a law in itself so monstrous and strange, that I dare say this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world; a law so pernicious and destructive to the well-being of families and societies, that in an age or two there will hardly be any remembrance of any of the ancient Roman Catholic families known in the kingdom; a law which, therefore, I may again venture to say, was never before known or heard of in the universe.

"There is, indeed, in Kent, a custom called the custom of gavel-kind; but I never heard of any law for it till now; and that custom is far different from what by this bill is intended to be made a law; for there, and by that custom, the father or other person, dying possessed of any estate of his own acquisition, or not entailed (let him be of what persuasion he will), may by will bequeath it at pleasure: or if he dies without will, the estate shall not be divided, if there be any male heir to inherit it; but for want of male heir, then it shall descend in gavel-kind among the daughters and not otherwise. But by this act, for want of a Protestant heir, enrolled as such within three months after the death of such Papist, to be divided, share and share alike, among all his sons; for want of sons, among his daughters; for want of such, among the collateral kindred of his father; and for want of such, among those of his mother; and this is to take place of any grant, settlement, &c., other than sale, for valuable consideration of money, really, *bona fide*, paid. And shall I not call this a strange law? Surely it is a strange law, which, contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how ancient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws heretofore in force in this or any other kingdom.

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"The 9th clause of this act is another manifest breach of the Articles of Limerick; for by the 9th of those articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon such Roman Catholics as should submit to the Government, but the oath of allegiance appointed by an act of parliament made in England in the first year of the reign of their late majesties King William and Queen Mary (which is the same with the first of those appointed by the 10th clause of this act): but by this clause, none shall have the benefit of this act, that shall not conform to the Church of Ireland, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, appointed by the 9th clause of this act; and therefore this act is a manifest breach of those articles, &c., and a force upon all the Roman Catholics therein comprised, either to abjure their religion or part with their birthrights; which, by those articles, they were, and are as fully and as rightfully intituled unto as any other subjects whatever.

"The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th clauses of this bill (said he) relate to offices and employments which the Papists of Ireland cannot hope for enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace and favor extraordinary: and therefore, do not so much affect them, as the Protestant Dissenters who (if this bill pass into a law) are equally with the Papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the Government, to which, by right of birth and the laws of the land, they are as indisputably intituled, as any other their Protestant brethren; and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom made them rebels (which the presence of a king they had before been obliged to own and swear obedience to gave them a reasonable color of concluding it did not), yet surely the Dissenters did not do any thing to make them so; or to deserve worse at the hands of the Government than any other Protestants; but, on the contrary, it is more than probable that if they (I mean the Dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and Londonderry, the settlement of the Government, both in England and Scotland, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland (as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them, but the bravery of those people, who were mostly Dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since; unless their close adhering to, and early appearing for the then Government, and the many faithful services they did their country. were crimes), I say (said he) if they had got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms waiting only their coming to join them, it is easy to think what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms: and these Dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom than any other Protestants: and to pass a bill now to deprive them of their birthrights (for those their good services), would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever the Papists may be supposed to have deserved, the Dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present Government as any other people whatsoever: and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their example.

"By the 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of this bill, all Papists, after the 24th of March, 1703, are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tenements, or coming to dwell in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs of either, and even such as were under the articles, and by virtue thereof have ever since lived there, from staying there; without giving such security as neither those articles, nor any law heretofore in force, do require; except seamen, fishermen, and day-laborers, who pay not above forty shillings a year rent; and from voting for the election of members of Parliament, unless they take the oath of abjuration; which, to oblige them to, is contrary to the 9th of Limerick Articles; which, as aforesaid, says the oath of allegiance, and no other, shall be imposed upon them; and, unless they abjure their religion, takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, cortrary to the privilege of right, the laws of nations, and the

great charter of Magna Charta which provides that no man shall be disseized of his birthright, without committing some crime against the known laws of the land in which he is born or inhabits. And if there was no law in force, in the reign of King Charles the Second, against these things (as there certainly was not), and if the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that then were in force (as for certain they have not); then with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, intituled, *An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*, are directly against the plain words and true intent and meaning of the said articles, and a violation of the public faith and the laws made for their performance; and what I therefore hope (said he) this honorable house will consider accordingly."

It is but just to mention the arguments by which this earnest reasoning was met in the Irish House of Commons. It was objected, then, that the counsel for the Catholics had not demonstrated how and when (since the making of the Articles of Limerick) the Papists of Ireland had addressed the queen or Government, when all other subjects were so doing; or had otherwise declared their fidelity and obedience to the queen. Further it was urged, by way of reply, "That any right which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the bill was in their own power to remedy, *by conforming*, as in prudence they ought to do; and that they ought not to blame any but themselves." It was still further argued that the passing of this bill would not be a breach of the Treaty of Limerick, because the persons therein comprised were only to be put into the same state they were in the reign of Charles the Second; and because in that reign there was no law in force which hindered the passing of *any other law* thought needful for the future safety of the Government: lastly, that the House was of opinion that the passing of this bill was needful at present for the security of the kingdom; and that there was not any thing in the Articles of Limerick to prohibit them from so doing. It is not needful to comment on the excessive insolence of the subterfuge.

The same counsel were heard before the Lords: and here it was admitted, on the part of the petitioners, that the legislative power cannot be confined from altering and making such laws as shall be thought necessary, for securing the quiet and safety of the Government; that in time of war or danger, or when there shall be just reason to suspect any ill designs to disturb the public peace, no articles or previous obligations shall tie up the hands of the legislators from providing for its safety, or bind the Government from disarming and securing any who may be reasonably suspected of favoring or corresponding with its enemies, or to be otherwise guilty of ill practices: "Or indeed to enact any other law," said Sir Stephen Rice, "that may be absolutely needful for the safety and advantage of the public; such a law cannot be a breach either of these, or any other like articles. But then such laws ought to be in general, and should not single out, or affect, any one particular part or party of the people, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood hitherto unimpeached, ever since the ratification of the aforesaid Articles of Limerick. To make any law that shall single any particular part of the people out from the rest, and take from them what by right of birth, and all the preceding laws of the land, had been confirmed to and entailed upon them, will be an apparent violation of the original institution of all right, and an ill precedent to any that hereafter might dislike either the present or any other settlement, which should be in their power to alter; the consequence of which is hard to imagine."

The Lord Chancellor having then summed up all that was offered at the bar, the House of Lords proceeded to pass the bill without delay. And it is really remarkable that in neither House did one single peer or commoner offer a word of remonstrance against its passage. A few days after, on the 4th of March, it received the royal assent.

The penal code might now be considered tolerably complete; and the nine-tenths of the population of Ireland was thus effectually brought down under the feet of the other one-tenth; so absolutely subjugated, indeed, that they could not possibly be depressed lower, unless they had been actually bought



and sold as slaves. Forbidden to teach or to be taught, whether at home or abroad, deprived of necessary arms for self-defence, or even for the chase; disabled from being so much as game-keepers, lest any of them should learn the use of firearms; and provision being made for gradually impoverishing the Catholic families who still owned any thing, and preventing the industrious from making themselves independent by their labor—it would be hard to point out any people of ancient or modern times who groaned under a more ingenious, torturing, and humiliating oppression. Yet one peculiarity is to be remarked in the administration of these laws:—they were so applied, for generations, as to allow a bare toleration to Catholic worship, provided that worship were practised in mean and obscure places, provided there were no clergy in the kingdom but simple secular priests; who were also compelled to register their names and the parishes "of which they pretended to be popish priests"—the penalty for saying mass out of those registered parishes being transportation, and in case of return, *death*. On these terms, then, it was practically permitted to Catholics to attend at the service of their religion, although this was contrary to an express law, namely, to the "Act of Uniformity," which required all persons not having lawful excuse to attend on the services of the Established Church. But throughout all this reign of Anne, and the two succeeding reigns, there was no such relaxation as this allowed in any matter relating to property, privilege, or trade: in all these matters the code was executed with the most rigorous severity. So that it is plain the object of the Ascendency was not so much to convert Catholics to Protestantism, as to convert the goods of Catholics to Protestant use. This is the main difference between the Catholic persecutions on the continent at that period and the Protestant persecutions in Ireland: and it fully justifies the reflection of a late writer —"It may be a circumstance in favor of the Protestant code (or it may not), that whereas Catholics have really persecuted for religion, 'enlightened' Protestants only made a pretext of religion; taking no thought what became of Catholic souls, if only they could get possession of Catholic lands and goods. Also we may remark, that Catholic governments in their persecutions always really desired the conversion of misbelievers (albeit their methods were rough); but in Ireland, if the people had universally turned Catholic, it would have defeated the whole scheme."

The recall of the Edict of Nantes, which edict had secured toleration for Protestantism in France, is bitterly dwelt upon by English writers as the heaviest reproach which weighs on the memory of King Louis the Fourteenth. The recall of the edict had taken place in 1685, only a few years before the passage of this Irish "Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." The differences between the two transactions are mainly these two: *first*, that the French Protestants had not been guaranteed their civil and religious rights by any treaty, as the Irish Catholics, thought they held theirs by the Treaty of Limerick; *second*, that the penalties denounced against French Protestants by the *recalling* edict bore entirely upon their religious service itself, and were truly intended to induce and force the Huguenots to become Catholics; there being no confiscations except in cases of relapse, and in cases of quitting the kingdom; but there was nothing of all the complicated machinery above described, for beggaring one portion of the population, and giving its spoils to the other part. We may add, that the penalties and disabilities in France lasted a much shorter time than in Ireland; and that French Protestants were restored to perfect civil and religious equality with their countrymen in every respect forty years before the "Catholic Relief Act" purported to emancipate the Irish Catholics, who are not, indeed, emancipated yet. Mr. Burke, in his excellent tract on the penal laws, comparing the recall of the Nantes Edict with our Irish system, says with great force—

"This act of injustice, which let loose on that monarch such a torrent of invective and reproach, and which threw so dark a cloud over all the splendor of a most illustrious reign, falls far short of the case in Ireland. The privileges which the Protestants of that kingdom enjoyed antecedent to this revocation, were far greater than the Roman Catholics of Ireland ever aspired to under a contrary establishment. The number of their sufferers, if considered absolutely, is not the

half of ours; if considered relatively to the body of each community, it is not perhaps a twentieth part; and then the penalties and incapacities which grew from that revocation are not so grievous in their nature, nor so certain in their execution, nor so ruinous by a great deal to the civil prosperity of the state, as those which were established for a perpetual law in our unhappy country."

Readers will turn with pleasure from the gloomy and painful scene presented by Ireland in that dismal time, to the other half of Ireland, the choicest of the whole nation; which was to be found in all the camps and fields of Europe, wherever gallant feats of arms were to be done. The gallant Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, had long been dead, having fallen on the field of Staffardo under Marshal Catinat, in 1790; where a brigade of Irish troops had been serving in the French army before the surrender of Limerick. The arrival of Sarsfield, with so many distinguished officers and veteran troops, gave occasion to the formation of the "New Irish Brigade;" and we have seen with how much distinction that corps had fought against England on so many fields of the Netherlands. In the new war which followed the accession of Queen Anne, bodies of the Irish forces served in each of the great French armies. There were four regiments of cavalry, Galway's, Kilmallock's, Sheldon's, and Clare's—the last commanded by O'Brien, Lord Clare, constantly employed in these wars—and at least seven regiments of infantry. All these corps were kept more than full by new arrivals of exiles and emigrants.

It will afford a relief from the irksome tale of oppression at home, to tell how some of these exiles acquitted themselves when they had the good luck to meet on some foreign field either Englishmen or the allies of England. About the time when the lawyers of the "Ascendency" were elaborating in Dublin their bill for the plunder of Catholic widows and orphans, it happened that there were two regiments, Dillon's (one of Mountcashel's old brigade) and Burke's, called the Athlone regiment, which formed part of the garrison of Cremona on the bank of the Po. The French commander was the Duke de Villeroy, who had just brought his whole army into Cremona, after an unsuccessful affair with Prince Eugene at Chiari. Cremona was then, as it is now, a very strong fortified town; and the duke intended to rest his forces there for a time, as it was the depth of winter. The enterprising Prince Eugene planned a surprise: he had procured for himself some traitorous intelligence in the town, and some of his grenadiers had already been introduced by a clever stratagem. Large bodies of troops had approached close to the town by various routes; and all was ready for the grand operation on the night of the 2d of February, 1702. Villeroy and his subordinates were of course much to blame for having suffered all the preparations for so grand a military operation to be brought to perfection up to the very moment of execution. The marshal was peacefully sleeping: he was awaked by volleys of musketry. He dressed and mounted in great haste; and the first thing he met in the streets was a squadron of Imperial cavalry, who made him prisoner, his captor being an Austrian officer named MacDonnell Prince Eugene, with Count Stahremberg, Commerci, and seven thousand men, were already in the heart of the town, and occupying the great square. It was four o'clock on a February morning, when all this had been accomplished; and Prince Eugene thought the place already won, when the French troops only began to turn out of their beds, and dress. Alarm was soon given. The regiment des Vaisseaux and the two Irish regiments are the only corps mentioned by M. de Voltaire as having distinguished themselves in turning the fortune of that terrible morning; and as Voltaire is not usually favorable, nor even just to the Irish, it is well to transcribe first his narrative of the affair. "The Chevalier d'Entragues was to hold a review that day in the town of the regiment des Vaisseaux, of which he was colonel; and already the soldiers were assembling at four o'clock at one extremity of the town just as Prince Eugene was entering by the other. D'Entragues begins to run through the streets with the soldiers; resists such Germans as he encounters, and gives time to the rest of the garrison to hurry up. Officers and soldiers, pell-mell, some half-armed, others almost naked, with

out direction, without order, fill the streets and public places. They fight in confusion, intrench themselves from street to street, from place to place. Two Irish regiments, who made part of the garrison, arrest the advance of the Imperialists. Never town was surprised with more skill, nor defended with so much valor. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men: Prince Eugene had not yet brought in more than four thousand. A large detachment of his army was to arrive by the Po bridge: the measures were well taken; but another chance deranged all. This bridge over the Po, insufficiently guarded by about a hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized by a body of German cuirassiers, who, at the moment Prince Eugene was entering the town, were commanded to go and take possession of it. For this purpose it was necessary that having first entered by the southern gate, they should instantly go outside of the city in a northern direction by the Po gate, and then hasten to the bridge. But in going thither the guide who led them was killed by a musket-ball fired from a window. The cuirassiers take one street for another. In this short interval, the Irish spring forward to the gate of the Po: they fight and repulse the cuirassiers. The Marquis de Praslin profits by the moment to cut down the bridge. The succor which the enemy counted on did not arrive, and the town was saved."* But the fighting was by no means over with the repulse of Count Merci's reinforcements: a furious combat raged all the morning in the streets; and Mahony and Burke had still much to do. At last the whole Imperialist force was finally repulsed; and the soldiers then got time to put on their jackets. Colonel Burke lost of his regiment seven officers and forty-two soldiers killed, and nine officers and fifty soldiers wounded. Dillon's regiment, commanded that day by Major Mahony, lost one officer and forty-nine soldiers killed, and twelve officers and seventy-nine soldiers wounded.

* Some of the Irish accounts of this achievement are too glowing, perhaps, as is natural. Even according to Voltaire's narration, the Irish soldiers really did every thing which he says was done at all; beat Prince Eugene's troops in the city itself, and saved the Po Gate from the other detachment under the Count Merci.

King Louis sent formal thanks to the two Irish regiments, and raised their pay from that day.

In the campaigns of 1703 the Irish had at least their full share of employment and of honor. Under Vendôme, they made their mark in Italy, on the fields of Vittoria, Luzzara, Cassano, and Calcinato. On the Rhine, they were still more distinguished; especially at Freidlingen and Spires, in which latter battle a splendid charge of Nugent's horse saved the fortune of the day. After this year the military fortune of France declined; but, whether in victory or defeat, the Brigade was still fighting by their side; nor is there any record of an Irish regiment having behaved badly on any field.

At the battle of Hochstet or Blenheim, in 1704, Marshal Tallard was defeated and taken prisoner by Marlborough and Eugene. The French and Bavarians lost 10,000 killed, 13,000 prisoners, and 90 pieces of cannon. Yet amid this monstrous disaster, Clare's dragoons were victorious over a portion of Eugene's famous cavalry, and took two standards. And in the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, where Villeroy was utterly routed, Clare's dragoons attempted to cover the wreck of the retreating French, broke through an English regiment, and followed them into the thronging van of the Allies. Mr. Forman states that they were generously assisted out of this predicament by an Italian regiment, and succeeded in carrying off the English colors they had taken.

At the sad days of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, some of them were also present; but to the victories which brightened this time, so dark to France, the Brigade contributed materially. At the battle of Almanza (13th March, 1707,) several Irish regiments served under Berwick. In the early part of the day the Portuguese and Spanish auxiliaries of England were broken, but the English and Dutch fought successfully for a long time; nor was it till repeatedly charged by the *élite* of Berwick's army, including the Irish, that they were forced to retreat. 3,000 killed, 10,000 prisoners, and 120 standards, attested the magnitude of the victory. It put King Philip on the throne of Spain. In the siege

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of Barcelona, Dillon's regiment fought with great effect.

In their ranks was a boy of twelve years old; he was the son of a Galway gentleman, Mr. Lally or O'Lally, of Tulloch na Daly, and his uncle had sat in James's Parliament of 1689. This boy, so early trained, was afterwards the famous Count Lally de Tollendal, whose services in every part of the globe make his execution a stain upon the honor as well as upon the justice of Louis XVI. When Villars swept off the whole of Albemarle's battalions at Denain, in 1712, the Irish were in his van.

The treaty of Utrecht and the dismissal of Marlborough put an end to the war in Flanders, but still many of the Irish continued to serve in Italy and Germany, and thus fought at Parma, Guastalla, and Philipsburg.

It was not alone in the French service that our military exiles won renown. The O'Donnells, O'Neills, and O'Reillys, with the relics of their Ulster clans, preferred to fight under the Spanish flag: and in the war of the "Spanish Succession," Spain had five Irish regiments in her army; whose commanders were O'Reillys, O'Garas, Lacys, Wogans, and Lawlesses. For several generations a succession of Irish soldiers of rank and distinction were always to be found under the Spanish standard; and in that kingdom those who had been chiefs in their own land were always recognized as "grandees," the equals of the proudest nobles of Castile. Hence the many noble families of Irish race and name still to be found in Spain at this day. The Peninsular War, in the beginning of the present century, found a Blake generalissimo of the Spanish armies; while an O'Neill commanded the troops of Aragon; and O'Donnells and O'Reillys held high grades as general officers. All these true Irishmen were lost to their own country, and were forced to shed their blood for the stranger, while their kindred at home so much needed their counsels and their swords: but it was the settled policy of England, and the English colony, now and for long after, to make it impossible for men of spirit and ambition to live in Ireland, so that the remaining masses of abject people might be the more helpless in the hands of their enemies.

But it is time to turn away from those stirring scenes of glory on the continent, at least for the present, and look back upon the sombre picture presented by one unvarying record of misery and oppression at home.

CHAPTER VI.

1704—1714.

Enforcement of the Penal Laws—Making informers honorable—Pembroke lord-lieutenant—Union of England and Scotland—Means by which it was carried—Irish House of Lords in favor of an Union—Laws against meeting at Holy Wells—Catholics excluded from Juries—Wharton lord-lieutenant—Second Act to prevent growth of Popery—Rewards for "discoverers"—Jonathan Swift—Nature of his Irish Patriotism—Papists the "common enemy." The Dissenters—Colony of the Palatines—Disasters of the French, and Peace of Utrecht—The "Pretender."

During all the rest of the reign of Anne, the law for preventing the growth of Popery was as rigorously executed all over the island, as it was possible for such laws to be: and there was the keen personal interest of the Protestant inhabitants of every town and district, always excited and kept on the stretch to discover and inform upon such unfortunate Catholics as had contrived to remain in possession of some of those estates, leaseholds, or other interests which were now by law capable of being held by Protestants alone. Every Catholic suspected his Protestant neighbor of prying into his affairs and dealings for the purpose of plundering him. Every Protestant suspected his Catholic neighbor of concealing some property, or privately receiving the revenue of some trust, and thus keeping him, the Protestant, out of his own. Mutual hatred and distrust kept the two races apart; and there was no social intercourse or good neighborhood between them. Informers of course were busy, and well rewarded; yet there were many of the Catholic families who cheated their enemies out of their prey, by real or pretended conversions to the Established Church, or else by secret trusts vested legally in some friendly Protestant; who ran, however, very heavy risks by this kind procceding.

For on the 17th of March, a few days after the passage of the Act of 1704, the

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Commons passed unanimously a resolution, "that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put it in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." Again, in June, 1705, they "resolved, that the saying or hearing of Mass, by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the *Pretender*," although it was then very well known that the Irish Catholics were not thinking in the least of the Pretender, or of placing their hopes in a counter-revolution to bring in the Stuarts. This resolution, therefore, was simply intended to make Papists odious and to stimulate the zeal of informers, against those who said or heard Mass in any other manner, or under any other condition than those prescribed for registering "the pretended Popish priests." But as it was still difficult to induce men to discover and inform upon unoffending neighbors, and as in fact the trade of informer was held infamous by all fair-minded men, the Commons took care also to resolve *unanimously*, "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the Government." The informers being now, therefore, honorable by law, and taken under the special favor of the Government, gave such new and extensive development to their peculiar industry as made it for long after the most profitable branch of business in this impoverished country, and afforded some compensation for the ruin of the woollen manufacture and other honest trades.

The Earl of Pembroke, lord-lieutenant in the year 1706, made a speech to the Parliament, in which he endeavored to soothe the feelings of the Dissenters disabled by the Sacramental Test, and to combine all Protestants in a cordial union against the hated Papists. He recommended them to provide for the security of the realm against their foreign and domestic enemies—by which latter phrase he meant Catholics—and added "that he was commanded by her majesty to inform them that her majesty, considering the number of Papists in Ireland, would be glad of an expedient for the strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects in that kingdom." Fear of the "common enemy"—the established parliamentary term to describe Catholics, was often urged as an inducement to mitigate the disabilities of Dissenters; and this controversy continued many years. The Established Church party was resolved not to relax any part of their code of exclusion; and had perfect confidence that the Dissenters, though pressed themselves by one portion of the penal code, would never, under any provocation, make common cause with Catholics. And this confidence was well-founded. The Dissenters preferred to endure exclusion by the Test, rather than weaken in any way the great Protestant interest; and the few representatives whom the Ulster Presbyterians had in the Commons never, in a single instance, gave a voice against any new rigor or penalty imposed upon the "common enemy."

It was in the year 1707 that the English Government at length accomplished its long desired project of an Union between England and Scotland. There was much indignant resistance against the measure by patriotic Scotsmen; and it needed much intrigue and no little bribery, judiciously distributed (as in Ireland ninety-three years later), to overcome the opposition. An English historian * gives this simple account of the matter: "Exclusive of the methods used to allay the popular resentment and the sacrifices made to national prejudice, other means were adopted to facilitate the final passing of the Act of Union. By the report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, delivered in some years after this time, it appears that the sum of twenty thousand pounds, *and upwards*, was remitted at the present juncture to Scotland, which was distributed so judiciously that the rage of opposition suddenly subsided; and the treaty, as originally framed, received, without any material alteration, the solemn sanction of the Scottish Parliament—the general question being carried by a majority of 110 votes." In vain the patriots fought against the influence of the Court. In vain did Fletcher of Saltoun earnestly declare in his place in Parliament, "that the country was *betrayed* by the Commissioners. In

* Belsham. History of Great Britain from the Revolution. Book V.

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vain did Lord Belhaven, in a speech yet famous in Scotland, pathetically describe Caledonia as sitting in the midst of the Senate, looking indignantly around and covering herself with her royal robe, attending the fatal blow, breathing out with passionate emotion *Et tu quoque, mi fili!* The measure was carried, and Scotland became a province. How similar all this to the scenes enacted in our own country, almost a century later! But for the name of Lord Somers, the great engineer of the Scottish Union, we must substitute Castlereagh, make the bribery larger, and the intrigues darker.

It is worth noting that the Irish House of Lords, when the Union with Scotland was in agitation four years before, in 1703, addressed the queen in favor of a similar measure for Ireland. They now, in 1707, did so again, beseeching her majesty to extend the benefits of her royal protection equally over all her kingdoms. The House of Commons did not favor this proceeding; nor was it at that time regarded with complacency in England. Nothing further, therefore, was done upon the suggestion made by their lordships, who had probably got scent of bribery going on in Scotland, and naturally bethought them that they had a country to sell as well as other people. They were disappointed for that time; but many of their great-grandsons in 1800 derived benefit by the delay in concluding that transaction, and received a price for their services, twenty times more princely than what could have been commanded in the time of Lord Somers.

The agitation in Scotland arising from the Act of Union, although entirely confined to the Presbyterian people of that kingdom, furnished a new excuse for outrage upon Irish Catholics. There was in truth a plot, extending through the southwest of Scotland, for raising an army, inviting the "Pretender" (Anne's brother), and so getting rid of the Union by establishing again the dynasty of their ancient kings. On the first discovery of this project in 1808, forty-one Catholic gentlemen were at once arrested and imprisoned in Dublin Castle, without any charge against them whatsoever, but, as it appeared, only to provoke and humble them. It is indeed wonderful to read of the ingenious malignity with which occasions were sought out to torment harmless country people by interdicting their innocent recreations and simple, obscure devotions. In the County Meath, as in many other places in Ireland, is a holy well, named the "Well of St. John." From time immemorial, multitudes of infirm people, men, women, and children, had frequented this well, to perform penances and to pray for relief from their maladies. Those invalids who had been relieved of their infirmities at these holy wells, either by faith or by the use of cold water, frequently resorted, in the summer-time, to the same spot, with their friends and relations; so that there was sometimes a considerable concourse of people on the annual festival of the Patron Saint to whom the wells were dedicated. Such had been the origin of "Patrons" in Ireland. On these occasions the young and the old met together. A little fair was sometimes held, of toys or other articles of small value, and the day was passed by some in religious exercises, by others in harmless society and amusement. But amusement, or recreation, protection of saints, or benefit of prayers, was not presumed to exist for Catholics; and these innocent meetings were naturally assumed to have some connection with "bringing in the Pretender," and overthrowing the glorious Constitution in Church and State. They were, therefore, strictly forbidden by a statute of this reign,* which imposed a fine of ten shillings (and in default of payment, *whipping*) upon every person "who shall attend or be present at any pilgrimage, or meeting held at any holy well, or imputed holy well." The same act inflicts a fine of £20 (and imprisonment until payment) upon every person who shall build a booth, or sell ale, victuals, or other commodities at such pilgrimages or meetings. It further "requires all magistrates to demolish all crosses, pictures, and inscriptions that are anywhere publicly set up, and are the occasions of Popish superstitions"—that is, objects of reverence and respect to the Catholics. Thus, in Ireland, were made penal and suppressed those Patron fairs,

* 2d Anne, c. 6.

which indeed have been the origin of the most ancient and celebrated fairs of Europe, as those of Lyons, Frankfort, Leipzig, and many others.

One other enactment of 1708 will show what kind of chance Catholics had in courts of justice; and will bring us down to the period of the *second* Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery." This law enacted, "That from the first of Michaelmas Term, 1708, no Papist shall serve, or be returned to serve, on any grand-jury in the Queen's Bench, or before Justices of Assize, oyer and terminer, or gaol-delivery or Quarter Sessions, unless it appear to the court that a sufficient number of Protestants cannot then be had for the service: and in all trials of issues [that is, by petty juries] on any presentment, indictment, or information, or action on any statute, for any offence committed by Papists, in breach of such laws, the plaintiff or prosecutor may challenge any Papist returned as juror, and assign as a cause that he is a Papist, *which challenge shall be allowed.*" The spirit of this enactment, and the practice it introduced, have continued till the present moment; and at this very time, on trials for political offences, Catholics who have been summoned are usually challenged and set aside.

In May, 1709, Thomas Earl of Wharton being then lord-lieutenant, with Addison, of the Spectator, as secretary, there was introduced into the House of Commons a "Bill to explain and amend an Act intituled an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." It was introduced by Mr. Sergeant Caulfield: was duly transmitted to England by Wharton, was approved at once, and on its return was passed, of course. Its intention was chiefly to close up any loophole of escape from the penalties of former statutes, and guard every possible access by which "Papists" might still attain to independence or a quiet life. Some, for example, had secretly purchased annuities—by this statute, therefore, a Papist is declared incapable of holding or enjoying an annuity for life. It had been found, also, that paternal authority or filial affection had prevented from its full operation that former act of 1704 which authorized a child, on conforming, to reduce his father to a tenant for life. Further encouragement to children seemed desirable: therefore by this new law, upon the conversion of the child of any Catholic, the chancellor was to compel the father to discover upon oath the full value of his estate, real and personal; and thereupon make an order for the independent support of such conforming child, and for securing to him, after his father's death, such share of the property as to the court should seem fit:—also to secure jointures to popish wives who should desert their husbands' faith. Thus distrust and discord and heartburning in every family were well provided for. One clause of the Act prohibits a Papist from teaching, as tutor or usher, even as assistant to a Protestant schoolmaster; and another offers a salary of £30 to such popish priests as should conform. But one thing was still wanting: it was known that, notwithstanding the previous banishment of Catholic archbishops, bishops, &c., there were still men in the kingdom exercising those functions, coming from France and from Spain and braving the terrible penalties of transportation and death, in order to keep up the indispensable connection of the Catholic flock with the Head of the Church. It was known that this was indeed an absolute necessity, at whatsoever risk; and that to pretend a toleration of Catholic worship while the hierarchy was banished, was as reasonable as to talk of tolerating Presbyterianism without Presbyterians, or courts without judges, or laws or juries. Therefore, this Act for "explaining and amending," assigned stated rewards to informers for the discovery of an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For such a prize the informer was to have £50: for discovering any monk or friar, or any secular clergyman not duly registered, £20: for discovering a popish school-teacher or tutor, £10. Any two justices are also empowered to summon before them any Papist over eighteen years, and examine him upon oath as to the time and place he last heard Mass, and the names of the parties present, as well as concerning the residence of any Papist priest or schoolmaster; and in case of the witness refusing to testify there was a penalty of £20, or twelve months' imprisonment. The informers were expected, after this, to be more dili-

gent and devoted than ever; and a proclamation of the same year ordering all registered priests to take the abjuration oath before the 25th of March, 1710, under the penalty of *præmunire*, gave additional stimulus and opportunity to the discoverers. The trade of "priest-hunting" now became a distinct branch of the profession; and many a venerable clergyman was dogged by these bloodhounds, through various disguises, and waylaid by night on his way to baptize or confirm or visit the dying. The captured clergy were sometimes brought in by batches of four and five; and the laws were rigorously put in force: if it was a first offence they were transported; but if any bishop who had once been transported was caught in Ireland again, he was hanged. Such is the main substance of the act for "explaining and amending," generally called the Second Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery." Lord Wharton, by commission, gave it the royal assent; and for the zeal he had shown in recommending and hastening the Act, the House of Commons voted his lordship an address, "gratefully acknowledging her majesty's most particular care of them in appointing his excellency their chief governor, and earnestly wishing his long continuance in the government," &c. His excellency desired the speaker to inform them "that he was extremely well pleased and satisfied." Than this Lord Wharton no more profligate politician, no more detestable man, had ever been sent over to rule in Ireland. It is true that the well-known character given of him by Dean Swift must be taken with some allowance; because Wharton was a Whig, had been a Dissenter, and was still favorable to relaxation of the code against Dissenters. These circumstances were quite enough to rouse all the furious ire of the Dean of St. Patrick's, and draw from him a torrent of his foulest abuse. Besides, if the dean was enraged against Lord Wharton, it certainly was not for his tyranny to the Catholics, but rather for his partiality to the Dissenters: whereby, indeed, as we shall see, Wharton soon got into great disfavor with that very Parliament which had lately praised him so highly.

Jonathan Swift had already lived many years in Ireland, first as Vicar of Kilroot near Carrickfergus, and afterwards (in 1699) as Rector of Agher and Rector of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocese of Meath. He did not become Dean of St. Patrick's till 1713; nor much concern himself with Irish politics till several years later: but he was a country clergyman in Ireland during all the period of the enactment of the whole penal code, both in William's reign and in Anne's; he was himself witness to the ferocious execution of those laws, and the bitter suffering and humiliation of the Catholic people under them; yet neither then, nor at any later time, not even when in the full tide of his fame and popularity as a "patriot," did he ever breathe one syllable of remonstrance, or of censure against those laws. Swift is called an Irish patriot, and he was so, if zealous vindication of the claim of the English colony to rule the nation, and *to be* the nation, together with utter and acrimonious disdain of the great mass of the people and total indifference to their grievous wrongs, can constitute a patriot. But in truth the history of this extraordinary genius is a signal illustration of the position already stated—that in Ireland were two nations, and that to be a patriot for the one was to be a mortal enemy to the other. The period of Dean Swift's leadership in Irish (Colonial) politics had not yet arrived; and all his writings upon Irish affairs are dated after his appointment to the deanery: but it may be stated once for all, that this "Irish patriot" never once, in his voluminous works and correspondence, called himself an Irishman, but always an Englishman; that he sought preferment only in England, where he wished to live with the "wits" at Button's coffee-house; that when named to the Dublin deanery he quitted London with a heavy heart, to come over to his "exile in Ireland," over which he mourned in his letters as pathetically as Ovid exiled to Tomi; that he never, in all the numerous publications he issued on Irish affairs, gave one word or hint betraying the least consciousness or suspicion of any injustice being done to the Catholics; and lastly, that far from feeling any community of race or of interest with the Irish, we find him thus expressing himself in a letter to his friend Mr. Pope, in 1737: "Some of those who highly esteem

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you are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom and the savage old Irish (who are only the vulgar, and some gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the kingdom), but the English colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many counties in England," &c. Much will have to be said concerning Swift and his labors, a few years later in the narrative. For the present it is enough to point out that his furious denunciation of Lord Wharton and his administration in Ireland was by no means on account of that nobleman's urging on the bill for crushing Papists.

Lord Wharton had been brought up a Dissenter; though he had long ceased to regard any form of religion, or any tie of morality. He was, however, a Whig, and by party connections in England, was favorable to some relaxation of penal laws against the Irish Presbyterians. In his speech proroguing this Parliament of 1709, he said to the Houses that "he made no question but they understood too well the true interest of the Protestant religion in that kingdom not to endeavor to make *all Protestants* as easy as they could, who were willing to contribute what they could to defend the whole against the *common enemy*." But the majority of the Irish Commons belonged to the Tory party; and very soon dissensions and jealousies arose between them and the lord-lieutenant, on account of his obvious bias in favor of the Dissenters. The government of England also soon came into the hands of the Tory party through a series of intrigues regarding foreign politics, which are not necessary to be here detailed: and on the 7th Nov., 1811, the English Lords and Commons made a long address to the queen, complaining of Wharton for "having abused her majesty's name, in ordering *nolle prosequi* to stop proceedings against one Fleming and others for disturbing the peace of the town of Drogheda by setting up a meeting-house"—a thing not seen in Drogheda, they say, for many years. They further complained, in this Address, of Presbyterians, "for tyranny in threatening and ruining members who left them; in denying the common offices of Christianity; in printing and publishing that 'the Sacramental Test is only an engine to advance a State faction, and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes.'" They therefore recommended that her majesty should withdraw the yearly bounty of £1,200, then allowed to Dissenting Ministers—the small beginning of that *regium donum*, or royal bounty, which has been gradually much increased, to reconcile the Presbyterians somewhat to their disabilities under the Test law. During all the rest of this reign, and the three following, no representations on the part of the Dissenters of the injustice of this law, and no protestations of their loyalty to the English crown and House of Hanover, availed in the least to procure a relaxation of the odious Test. Their efforts in this direction only drew upon them, a few years later, the savage raillery of Swift, who maintained that the very Papists were quite as well entitled to relief as they.

It was in this year, 1809, that the scheme originated, of inducing Protestant foreigners to come to Ireland, and of offering them naturalization. Accordingly, on the request of certain lords and others of the council, eight hundred and seventy-one Protestant Palatine families from Germany were brought over, and the sum of £24,850 5s. 6d. appointed for their maintenance out of the revenue, on a resolution of the Commons "that it would much contribute to the security of the kingdom if the said Palatines were encouraged and settled therein." The German families actually were settled as tenants and laborers in various parts of the country. The scheme of the framers of this measure "seems to have been," says Dr. Curry, "to drive the Roman Catholic natives out of the kingdom, which effect it certainly produced in great numbers;" but the plan was not found to answer so far as the Germans themselves were concerned. They were neither zealous for the queen's service nor for the ascendency of the Anglican Church. It seems that only four, out of this great body, enlisted in her majesty's army, though she was then engaged in a war with France, the very power which had ravaged their Palatinate, and left them homeless. The lords, in an address to the queen in 1711, complain of "that load of debt which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them." As for Dean Swift and the

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Tories, the way in which the German immigration was regarded by them is apparent from a passage in the Dean's "History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne." He says, "By this Act, any foreigner who would take the oaths to the Government, and profess himself a Protestant, *of whatsoever denomination*, was immediately naturalized, and had all the advantages of an English-born subject, at the expense of a shilling. Most Protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church government, so that all the acquisitions by this Act would increase the number of Dissenters"—which in Dr. Swift's eyes was as bad as increasing the number of Papists. Accordingly, he indicates his opinion of the whole scheme a little lower down, where he says, "It appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the public was a loser by every individual amongst them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer for such an importation than a man can be fatter by a wen." The law for naturalization of Protestants was in fact soon repealed; though no measures were spared to drive the Catholics away. And even such of the Roman Catholic natives as were afterwards willing to return, were not permitted; for in 1713 the Commons ordered that "an address should be made to her majesty, to desire her that she would be pleased not to grant licenses to Papists to return into the kingdom."

It was even dangerous for them to attempt, or endeavor to hear, what passed in the House of Commons concerning themselves. For in the same year, an order was made there, "that the sergeant-at-arms should take into custody all Papists that were or should *presume* to come into the galleries."* The Palatines, or their descendants, still remain in Ireland. They generally "conformed;" not having any particular objection against any religion; but caring little for the Ascendency, or the Whig or Tory politics of the country, at least for a generation or two.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was lord-lieutenant after Wharton. The duke had deserted the Catholic Church, and, like other converts, was more bitter against the communion he had left than those who were born Protestants. He was also a Tory. The Irish Parliament was dissolved; and on a new election, the majority of the members were found to be Whigs. The short remainder of this reign, so far as affairs of State in Ireland are concerned, is quite barren of interest, the great affair being a quarrel of the House of Commons against Sir Constantine Phipps, the lord chancellor, because he was a noted Tory and close friend of the celebrated Doctor Sacheverell, the clergyman who preached the divine right of kings, and was therefore held an enemy to the "glorious Revolution," and friend of the "Pretender."

All these matters were quite unimportant to the great body of the nation. The Catholics were either emigrating to France, or else withdrawing themselves as much as possible from observation; some of them conforming and changing their names; others reduced to the most pitiful artifices in order to preserve the little patrimony that was left in their hands; but most of them sinking into the condition of tenants or laborers in the country (all profitable industry in the towns being prohibited to them); and it is from this time forward that thousands of the ancient gentry of the country, and even chiefs of powerful clans, stripped of their dignities and possessions, and too poor, or too old to emigrate, had to descend to the position of cottiers and serfs under the new possessors of the land, who hated and oppressed them, both as despoiled Irish and as proscribed Catholics; and who hate them quite as bitterly to the present hour.

In the mean time, the war of the Allies against France had been attended with many brilliant successes, under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Some of the most signal defeats ever sustained by the arms of France were inflicted by the duke, particularly Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. But on the Court revolution which displaced the Whigs, Marlborough was deprived of his command, and the Duke of Ormond sent out in his place. Shortly afterwards the Peace of Utrecht was signed (11th April, 1813), by which treaty France recognized the Protestant succession in England, and the "Pretender" was com-

* Commons Journ., Vol. III.

pelled to depart from that kingdom; the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain was provided against, though a French Bourbon remained on the throne of Spain; and to the great loss and humiliation of France, it was agreed that the harbor of Dunkirk should be demolished. This treaty gave repose for a time to the Irish soldiers abroad.

The last year of Anne, therefore, was a year of peace abroad, but of violent party strife and political conspiracy at home. All the world expected a struggle for the succession at the moment of the queen's death; and King James the Third, called in England "Pretender," was known to have a large party both in that country and in Scotland, ready to assert his hereditary right. The agitation extended to Ireland; but did not reach the Catholic population, which was quite indifferent to Stuart or Hanoverian. The queen died on the 1st of August, 1814, the last of the house of Stuart recognized as sovereign of England, and leaving behind her, as to her Irish administration, so black a record that it would have been strange indeed if the Irish nation had ever desired to see the face of a Stuart again. Yet it is probable that she was secretly a Catholic, like all her family: and it is certain that she was bitterly displeased at the "Protestant succession," now secured by law to the House of Hanover. It is needless here to enter into the controversy as to whether she was altogether a stranger to the plots for setting aside that succession, and bringing in her Catholic brother. She was known to be deeply grieved and provoked by the zeal of politicians, both in England and Ireland, who, desirous of gaining favor with the coming dynasty, endeavored to get an act of attainder passed against "the Pretender;" and a bill for that purpose in Ireland, which also offered a large reward for his apprehension, was only defeated by a hasty prorogation. Yet "the queen hated and despised the Pretender, to my knowledge," is the assertion of Swift in his "Remarks on Burnet's History." Perhaps she did: most sovereigns hate their heirs-apparent, even when these are their own sons; but there is abundant evidence that she hated the Elector of Hanover and his mother very much worse.

CHAPTER VII.

1714—1723.

George I.—James III.—Perils of Dean Swift—Tories dismissed—Ormond, Oxford, and Bolingbroke impeached—Insurrection in Scotland—Calm in Ireland—Arrests—Irish Parliament—"Loyalty" of the Catholics—"No Catholics exist in Ireland"—Priest-catchers—Bolton lord-lieutenant—Cause of Sherlock and Annesley—Conflict of jurisdiction—Declaratory Act establishing dependence of the Irish Parliament—Swift's pamphlet—State of the country—Grafton lord-lieutenant—Courage of the priests—Atrocious Bill.

The succession of the Elector of Hanover had been in no real danger, notwithstanding the plotting of a few Jacobites in England; although the Whig party anxiously endeavored to represent the Tories as desirous of "bringing in the Pretender." The distinction, however, between Tories and Jacobites is important to be borne in mind; and a well-known letter of Dean Swift, who, being a Tory, had been accused of Jacobitism, is conclusive upon this point. In fact, although the English people and the English colony of Ireland were at that time nearly equally divided into Whigs and Tories, there were but few Jacobites save in Scotland and the northern counties of England. Accordingly, on the death of Anne, the Elector of Hanover was duly proclaimed in both islands by the title of King George the First. In Ireland, the proclamation was made by torchlight, and at midnight; and great efforts were made to produce the impression that there was imminent danger of a Jacobite insurrection "to bring in the Pretender." This affectation of alarm seems to have been intended to bring odium, not so much on the Catholics, as on the Tories: some arrests were made, and it was alleged that on one of the parties arrested letters were found written by Dr. Swift. The populace of Dublin must at that period have been violently Hanoverian; for Lord Orrery tells us that on the dean's return to Ireland after the proclamation of the new king, he dared hardly venture forth, and was pelted by mobs when he made his appearance. The bitterness and fury of party spirit at that day is curiously illustrated by the story of the outrages and insults which the dean had to encounter, even at the hands of persons

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of rank and title. Lord Blaney attempted to drive over him on the public road; and Swift petitioned the legislature for protection to his life. He was advised by his physician, he said, to go often on horseback, on account of his health; "and there being no place in winter so convenient for riding as the strand towards Howth, your petitioner takes all opportunities that his business or the weather will permit, to take that road." Here he details the scene of Lord Blaney's attempting to overturn him and his horse, at the same time threatening his life with a loaded pistol, and prays protection accordingly. There is no doubt, however (without questioning the sincerity of the dean's zeal for the House of Hanover), that several of his most intimate friends, especially Lord Bolingbroke and Bishop Atterbury, were engaged in the plot, along with the Duke of Ormond, to prevent the succession of King George; and that the suspicions as to Swift's Jacobitism were at least plausible. Swift was excessively mortified, or rather irritated, by the popular manifestations against him. He was very covetous of influence and popularity, and his high, fierce spirit could ill brook the least demonstration of public reproach. He denounced the people of Dublin as a vile, abandoned race; but we hear no more of his Jacobitism, and not much of his Toryism, except that to the last hour of his life he hated and lampooned Dissenters.

Immediately after the accession of George I., all Tories were instantly dismissed from office, and the Government placed entirely in the hands of Whigs; which had been the very object of denouncing Tories as Jacobites. When the English Parliament met, articles of impeachment were quickly found against the Duke of Ormond, and the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, for high treason, in having contributed to bring about the Peace of Utrecht by traitorous means, and with a view of changing the Protestant succession. Bolingbroke and Ormond avoided the trial on the impeachment by going to the continent, where they both offered their services to King James III. (or the Pretender), then holding a kind of court in Lorrain, having been exiled from France at the peace. The party which adhered to the exiled prince was in fact making urgent preparations for a rising both in Scotland and in England; and on the 15th of September, 1715, the Earl of Mar set up the standard of insurrection, proclaimed King James the Third at Castletown in Scotland, and quickly collected an army of ten thousand men. These forces were gathered from both Highlands and Lowlands, and consisted both of Catholics and Protestants. The Duke of Argyle, with his powerful clan of Campbells, was zealous for King George, and with other Highland tribes and some regular troops met the Earl of Mar at Sheriffmuir, where a bloody but indecisive battle took place. A portion of the Jacobite force, marched southward into England, were encountered at Preston, in Lancashire, by the King's troops, and, after a short fight, obliged to surrender at discretion. Mar still kept his banner displayed, until King James the Third in person landed at Peterhead, on the east coast of Scotland, in December; but very soon afterwards, on the approach of Argyle with a superior force, the enterprise was abandoned. The Prince and the Earl of Mar escaped by sea; the other leaders of the insurrection, both in England and in Scotland, were arrested, tried, and some of them executed. The rebellion was at an end, and from that day the exiled Prince may truly be termed, not James the Third, but the "Pretender."

This Scottish insurrection is of small moment to Irish history, save in so far as it furnished a pretext for fresh atrocities upon the unresisting people. There was no insurrection or disturbance whatever during all these events. We do not even hear of any Irish officer of distinction who came from the continent to join the Pretender's cause in Scotland; and the Earl of Mar, who afterwards published a narration in Paris, affirms that the Duke of Berwick, who was very popular with the Irish troops in France, had been urged to take the chief command of the movement, probably in order to draw some Irish regiments into it, but that "the Duke of Berwick positively refused to repair to Scotland," though he was half-brother to the Pretender. The insurrection of 1715 was therefore exclusively a Scottish and English affair. Some writers on this period of Irish history, who are en-

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titled to respect,* have given the Irish Catholics the very doubtful praise of loyalty, for their extreme quietness and passiveness at this time. It is true that they cared not for the Stuart family; yet, considering the excessive and abject oppression under which they were then groaning, and the slender prospect they had of any mitigation of it, we may assume that any revolution which would overturn the actual order of things, and give them a chance of redeeming their nationality, would have been desirable. But they were disarmed, impoverished, and discouraged; could not own a musket, nor a sabre, nor a horse over five guineas' value; had no leaders at home, nor any possibility of organizing a combined movement; so closely were they watched, and held down with so iron a hand. If they took no part, therefore, in the insurrections of 1815 and of 1845, it may be said (in their favor, not to their dishonor) that it was on account of exhaustion and impotence, not on account of loyalty. If they had been capable, at that time, of attachment to the Protestant succession, and of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover, they would have been even more degraded than they actually were.

However, as the Pretender was a Catholic, and as the Irish Government knew that the oppressed Catholics of that country, if not always ready for insurrection, ought to have been so, numerous arrests were made during the Scottish insurrection. There were still some forlorn Catholic peers dwelling in their dismal country-seats, debarred from attending Parliament, endeavoring to attract no remark, and too happy if they could secretly keep in their stables a few horses for hunting. There were also still some landed gentlemen, though sadly stripped of their possessions, who tried to keep one another in countenance, and drank in private the health of King Louis, and the mole whose mole-hill killed William of Orange. It was desirable for the Government to take precautions against these sad relics of the once proud nation. Accordingly, the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, with a great number of untitled gentlemen, were suddenly seized upon and shut up in Dublin Castle, "on suspicion." They were released when the insurrection was over.

In the mean time the Irish Parliament met, and was opened by lords-justices. The Houses, especially the Commons, were filled with the most fiery zeal for the Protestant succession, and most desirous of ingratiating themselves with the new dynasty. They passed acts for recognizing the king's title—for the security of his person and government—for attainting the Pretender, and offering a reward of £50,000 for his apprehension. The Commons also presented an address to the new king, entreating his majesty, for the security of the Government and for the Protestant interest, to remove the Earl of Anglesea from all offices of honor and trust. Lord Anglesea was a member of the Council, and one of the vice-treasurers of the kingdom: he was a Tory, was suspected of being a Jacobite; and the reasons assigned in the address for removing him were, that he had caused or procured the disbanding of great part of the army in Ireland; and that he had connived at the enrolment of Irish Catholics for foreign service. "They had information," they said, "that many Irish Papists had been, and continued to be, shipped off from Dublin and other ports for the service of the Pretender." As usual, the main business of the Parliament was taking further precautions against the "common enemy," for which the Pretender's insurrection in Scotland served as a false pretence. The lords-justices, in their speech to this Parliament, bear complacent testimony to the calmness and tranquillity in which Ireland had remained during the troubles, which Mr. Plowden, with great simplicity, takes as a compliment to the "loyalty" of the Catholics—instead of being (what it was) a congratulation upon the Catholics being so effectually crushed and trodden down that they could not rise. This amiable writer cannot conceal his surprise at what he terms "the inconsistency of rendering solemn homage to the exemplary loyalty of the Irish nation in the most perilous crisis, and punishing

* Mr. Plowden, and Doctor Curry. They both wrote at a much later period; and both with a view of pointing out the folly of the Penal Code, as Irish Catholics had always, they said, been "loyal" to the House of Hanover.

them, at the same time, for a disposition to treachery, turbulence, and treason." Nay, he is still more astonished at finding that "this very speech, which bore such honorable testimony to the tried loyalty of the Irish Catholics, bespoke the disgraceful policy of keeping and treating them, notwithstanding, as a separate people—'We must recommend to you,' said the lords-justices, 'in the present conjuncture, such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland than that of Protestant and Papist.'"

It may here be observed, once for all, to put an end to this delusion about Catholic loyalty in Ireland, that the Catholics would not have been permitted to be loyal, even if they had been base enough to desire it—that some abject attempts by some of them to testify their loyalty were repulsed, as will be hereafter seen—that when a viceroy or lord-justice speaks of "the nation," at the period in question, he means the Protestant nation exclusively—nay, that the *law* was, that no Catholics existed in Ireland at all. It was long a favorite fiction of Irish law,* "that all the effective inhabitants of Ireland are to be presumed to be Protestants—and that, therefore, the Catholics, their clergy, worship, &c., are not to be supposed to exist, save for reprehension and punishment." Indeed, in the time of George II., Lord-Chancellor Bowes declared from the bench, "that the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic;" and Chief-Justice Robinson made a similar declaration.† It appears plain, then, that the "loyalty" of the Catholics towards the House of Hanover, if indeed there has ever been any such loyalty, could not have sprung up in their hearts in the reign of George I., or of George II.

No new enactments were made in this session of Parliament in aggravation of the Penal Code; but a resolution was passed recommending to magistrates the indispensable duty to put the existing laws into immediate and rigorous execution, and denouncing those who neglected to do so as "enemies of the Constitution;" no slight nor harmless imputation at that period, nor one which any magistrate would willingly incur. In fact, the penal laws against Catholics were put in force at this time, and during all the remainder of the reign of George I., with even more than the customary ferocity, as a design to bring in the Pretender was supposed to lurk in every Mass. In many places chapels were shut up, priests were dragged from their hiding-places, sometimes from the very altars, in the midst of divine service, hurried into the most loathsome dungeons, and from thence banished forever from their native country.* "To the credit of those times," however, observes Brenan, the ecclesiastical historian, "it must be remarked, that the description of miscreants usually termed *priest-catchers* were generally Jews who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood, for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy. The most notorious among them was a Portuguese Jew, named Gorzia (or Garcia). By means of this wretch seven priests had been apprehended in Dublin, and banished the kingdom. Of this number, two were Jesuits, one was a Dominican, one a Franciscan, and three were secular priests." These last were probably "unregistered" priests; or else had not taken the abjuration oath, which was then legally obligatory upon them all, under cruel penalties. Indeed, by means of the various statutes made against them, it may be affirmed generally that every priest in Ireland, whether regular or secular, was now liable to transportation and to death; because out of one thousand and eighty "registered" priests, only thirty-three ever took the oath of abjuration. The remainder stood firm, and set at defiance the terrors which surrounded them.†

Although the rebellion of the Presbyterians in Scotland was the sole pretence for this severity, and the very same law which banishes popish priests prohibits also Dissenters to accept of or act by a commission in the militia or array, yet so partial were the resolutions of that parliament, that, at the same time that they ordered the former

* See "Scully's State of the Penal Laws," p. 333.
† Ibid., p. 334.

* Curry's Review. Brenan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland.
† Hibernia Dominicana.

to be rigorously prosecuted, they resolved, unanimously, "that any person who should commence a prosecution against any of the latter who had accepted, or should accept of a commission in the array or militia, was an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest." Thus of the only two main objects of the same law, its execution as to one of them was judged highly meritorious, and it was deemed equally culpable even to attempt it against the other; though the law itself makes no difference between them. Such was the justice and consistency of our legislators of that period.

In the year 1719, the Duke of Bolton being lord-lieutenant, occurred the famous case of Sherlock against Annesley, which provoked the Irish House of Lords into a faint and impotent assertion of their privileges, opened up once more the whole question between English dominion and Irish national pretensions, and ended in settling that question in favor of England; setting it, in fact, definitively at rest until the year 1782.

That cause was tried in the Irish Court of Exchequer, between Esther Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, in which the latter obtained a decree, which on an appeal to the Irish House of Lords was reversed. From this sentence Annesley appealed to the English House of Lords, who confirmed the judgment of the Irish Exchequer, and issued process to put him into possession of the litigated property. Esther Sherlock petitioned the Irish Lords against the usurped authority of England, and they, having taken the opinion of the judges, resolved that they would support their honor, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving effectual relief to the petitioner. Sherlock was put into possession by the Sheriff of Kildare; an injunction issued from the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, pursuant to the decree of the English Lords, directing him to restore Annesley; the sheriff (let his name be honored!), Alexander Burrowes, refused obedience. He was protected in a contumacy which so nobly contrasts the wonted servility of the judges, by the Irish Lords, who addressed a powerful State paper to the throne, recapitulating the rights of Ireland, her independent parliament, and peculiar jurisdiction. They went further, for they sent the Irish barons to jail; but the king having the address of the Irish Lords laid before the English House, the latter reaffirmed their proceedings, and supplicated the throne to confer some mark of special favor on the servile judges, who, in relinquishing their jurisdiction, had betrayed the liberties of their country. An Act was at once passed in the English Parliament, enacting and declaring that the king, with the advice of the Lords and Commons of England, "hath had of right, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

"And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the same kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever."

This Declaratory Act is the last of the statutes claiming such a jurisdiction. The Irish Parliament had to submit for the time; but the principles of Molyneux, soon after enforced with far greater power by Swift, worked in men's minds, and at last brought forth Flood and Grattan, and caused the army of the Volunteers to spring out of the earth. Once more, however, it should be borne in mind that this constitutional question was a question between Protestant England and her Protestant colony alone; and that the Catholic Irish nation had at that time no more favor or indulgence to hope for at the hands of a parliament in Dublin than of a parliament in London.

The Declaratory Act did not pass the English Parliament without opposition, especially in the Commons, where Mr. Pitt made himself conspicuous by his argument against it. It was finally carried by 140 votes against 88. The Duke of Leeds, in the Lords, made a powerful protest against the bill, but in vain.

In the same year, 1719, an act was passed in the Irish Parliament "for granting some

ease and indulgence to the Protestant Dissenters in the exercise of their religion." The Duke of Bolton, in his speech, was pleased to commend this act most warmly, as a step towards consolidating the Protestant interest against the common enemy. The duke earnestly pleads for the necessity of union: "in the words," he says, "of one of those excellent bills passed this day—I mean an union in interest and affection amongst *all* his majesty's subjects." The viceroy did not even feel it necessary to say "all his majesty's Protestant subjects," knowing that this would be understood; so firmly established was the State maxim, that the law knows not of the existence of an Irish Catholic.

The year 1820 is memorable for the publication of Dean Swift's first pamphlet on Irish affairs—his "*Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufacture.*" He had now been for seven years Dean of St. Patrick's: he had witnessed the enactment of many a penal law against Catholics: within hearing of his own deanery-house the Protestant mob, led on by *priest-catchers*, had dragged clergymen in their vestments out of obscure chapels amidst the lamentations of their helpless flocks, but he had never, in any of his numerous writings, uttered a syllable of remonstrance against this tyranny. It might be supposed that in this first of his Tracts relating to an Irish subject, and a subject, too, in which people of all religions were deeply interested, he might delicately convey some hint that neither the manufacturing nor any other material interest of a country could be promoted or developed while the great mass of its people were held in degrading slavery, disquieted in their property, and outraged in their persons by the extraordinary laws which he saw in operation around him. But not one word of all this does he write. He was well enough aware, however, of the growing misery and destitution of the country people; and says in this tract, "Whoever travels this country, and observes the face of nature, or the faces, and habits, and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where either law, religion, or common humanity is professed."

Again: "I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords, who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in France, or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers will, in a very few years, be utterly at an end."

It is very singular, also, that although he justly attributes the decay of manufactures to the greedy commercial policy of England in suppressing the woollen trade and other branches of industry—and although, at the moment he wrote, all the island was ringing with the Sherlock-and-Annesley case and the Declaratory Act, this future author of the Drapier's Letters never thinks of suggesting that laws for governing Ireland should be made in Ireland, in order that the English monopolists might no longer have the power of ruining our country by their own laws. It seems the time was not yet ripe for such a pretension on the part of Irish patriots; though, that the dean very well knew the nature of the grievances he complains of, is evident from his savage sarcasm about the fate of Arachne. Ireland was becoming covered with herds of sheep, to produce wool for the English market, while English laws prevented its manufacture at home.

"The fable, in Ovid, of Arachne and Pallas, is to this purpose: The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving: they both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, turned her into a spider, enjoining her to spin and weave forever, out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass. I confess that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence; which, however, is fully executed upon us by England, with further additions of rigor and severity, for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them."

Swift had not yet ventured to take the leading part which he soon after bore in Irish politics; nor did he ever take any

part in them with a broadly national aim. He lived at that time very much with his friends Sheridan and Doctor Delany; and his friends, as well as himself, wished to be considered Englishmen.*

The Catholic people remained all these years perfectly quiet and subdued. In them, all national aspiration seemed dead; so that the numerous enterprises projected all over Europe in favor of the Pretender, never counted upon them. One of these enterprises was undertaken by the Spaniards, under the auspices of Cardinal Alberoni; and the Duke of Ormond was placed in command of a Spanish squadron, to effect a landing somewhere in the British Islands. The Irish Catholics remained quite unmoved: they were, in the words of Mr. Plowden, "sternly loyal." It would be more accurate to say they were utterly prostrate, hopeless, and indifferent; and if they had been otherwise, the name of the Duke of Ormond would have been enough to repel them from any cause in which he was to be a leader.

The Duke of Grafton, as lord-lieutenant, prorogued the session of Parliament, and in his speech was pleased particularly to recommend to them to keep a watchful eye upon the Papists; "since I have reason to believe," says he, "that the number of popish priests is daily increasing in this kingdom, and already far exceeds what by the indulgence of the law is allowed." The members of Parliament, in times of recess, and when they were at their country-seats, must have followed the viceroy's exhortation, and kept a watchful eye upon the Papists; for the horror and alarm of the Protestant interest became more violent than ever before; and when Parliament assembled, in 1723, it was in an excellent frame of mind to do battle with the common enemy. The Duke of Grafton, on meeting Parliament, recommended several new laws—"particularly for preventing more effectually the eluding of those in being against popish priests," and the members had generally brought to town shocking tales illustrating the audacity of those outlawed ecclesiastics, in celebrating their worship, sometimes even in the open day. It was full time, they said, to take decisive measures.

And in truth the ardent zeal and constancy, utterly unknown to fear, of the Irish Catholic priests during that whole century, are as admirable in the eyes of all just and impartial men as they were abominable and monstrous in the eyes of the Protestant interest. They often had to traverse the sea between Ireland and France, in fishing smacks, and disguised as fishermen, carrying communications to or from Rome, required by the laws of their church, though they knew that on their return, if discovered, the penalty was the penalty of high treason, that is death. When in Ireland, they had often to lurk in caves, and make fatiguing journeys, never sure that the priest-hunters were not on their trail; yet all this they braved with a courage which, in any other cause, would have been reckless desperation. The English colonists could not comprehend such chivalrous devotion at all; and could devise no other theory to account for it than that these priests must be continually plotting with foreign Catholics to overthrow the Protestant interest and plunder *them* of their newly-gotten estates. This was the secret terror that always urged them upon fresh atrocities.

Accordingly, a series of resolutions was agreed upon and reported by the Commons; that Popery had increased, partly owing to the many shifts and devices the priests had for evading the laws, partly owing to the neglect of magistrates in not searching them out and punishing them—that "it is highly prejudicial to the Protestant interest that any person married to a popish wife should bear any office or employment under his majesty." This measure was thought needful, inasmuch as some magistrates, having married Catholics, were observed to be remiss in taking informations against their wives' confessors, knowing that they would have no peace in their houses afterwards. The resolutions further recommended, that

* In remonstrating with Mr. Pope on "having made no distinction in his letters between the English gentry of this kingdom and the savage old Irish," Swift adds, "Dr. Delany came to visit me three days ago on purpose to complain of those passages of your letters." Delany was the son of a convert; and though of pure Irish breed, at once took rank, in his own opinion, as an Englishman. There have always been many Englishmen of this species in Ireland.

no *convert* (to the Established Church) should be capable of any office, nor practise as a solicitor or attorney for seven years after his conversion, nor "unless he brings a certificate of having received the sacrament thrice in every year during the said term;" further, that all converts should duly enroll their certificates of conversion in the proper office. On the basis of these resolutions a bill was prepared; and the language and behavior of Parliament on this occasion seems to have been even more vindictive and atrocious than had ever been witnessed before, even in an Irish legislature. One of the most zealous promoters of this bill, in a labored speech, informed the House, that of all countries wherein the reformed religion prevailed, Sweden was observed to be most free from those irreconcilable enemies to all Protestant governments, the Catholic priests; and that this happy exemption, so needful to the Protestant interest, was obtained by a wholesome practice which prevailed in that fortunate land, namely, the practice of *castrating* all popish priests who were found there. A clause to this effect was introduced into the new bill.* It passed both Houses, and was presented on the 15th of November to the Duke of Grafton, with an earnest request that his Grace "would recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty." His Grace was pleased to return this answer: "I have so much at heart a matter which I recommended to the consideration of Parliament, at the beginning of this session, that the House of Commons may depend upon a due regard, on my part, to what is desired." With the Duke's recommendation the bill was, as usual, forwarded to England. No objection to it had occurred either to his Grace, or to any peer or commoner in Ireland; but an Irish agent in France presented a memorial on the subject to the Duke of Orleans, then regent. The two nations were at peace, and Cardinal Fleury, French prime minister, had considerable influence with Mr. Walpole. A strong representation was made by order of Fleury against the new bill.* As it has never suited British policy that its measures in Ireland should become the subject of discussion and notoriety amongst the civilized nations of the continent (where English reputation for liberality has to be maintained); the Council disapproved the bill; and this was the first occasion on which any penal law against Catholics met with such an obstacle in England. Some writers on Irish history have been inclined to carry this failure of so atrocious a bill to the credit of human nature; and Mr. Plowden, after narrating the French interposition, says, with his usual amiable credulity, "but surely it needed no Gallic interference," &c.

At any rate, the bill was lost. The dependence of Ireland upon the crown of England saved the Catholics for once from at least one ignominious outrage. But there were already laws enough in existence to satisfy, it might be thought, the most sanguinary Protestantism.

His Grace the lord-lieutenant, in his speech to that Parliament, at the close of the session, in order to console them for the loss of their favorite bill, gave them to understand, "that it miscarried merely by its not having been brought into the House before the session was so far advanced." And after earnestly recommending to them, in their several stations, the care and preservation of the public peace, he added, "that, in his opinion, that would be greatly promoted by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions that such persons only should be put into the commissions of the peace as had *distinguished* themselves by their steady adherence to the *Protestant interest*."

Everybody knew what that meant — increased vigilance in hunting down clergymen, and in discovering and appropriating the property of laymen; nor is there any reason to think that his Grace's exhortations were addressed to unwilling ears.

* Curry's Review. Plowden.

* Brenan, Eccl. Hist. Plowden. Curry.

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CHAPTER VIII.

1723–1727.

Swift and Wood's Copper — Drapier's Letters — Claim of Independence — Primate Boulter — Swift popular with the Catholics—His feeling towards Catholics—Desolation of the Country—Rack-rents — Absenteeism — Great Distress — Swift's modest Proposal—Death of George I.

While the Irish Parliament was so earnestly engaged in their measures against popish priests, Dean Swift, who had lived in great quiet for three or four years, writing Gulliver's Travels in the country, suddenly plunged impetuously into the tumult of Irish politics. His indignation was inflamed to the highest pitch—not by the ferocity of the legislature against Catholics, but by Wood's copper halfpence. The country, he thought, was on the verge of ruin, not by reason of the tempest of intolerance, rapacity, fraud, and cruelty, which raged over it on every side, but by reason of a certain copper coinage to the amount of £108,000, for which one William Wood had taken the contract and received the patent. Here was the crying grievance of Ireland.

It is necessary that the history of this transaction should be taken out of the domain of rhetoric, and established upon a basis of fact. A great scarcity and need of copper money was felt in Ireland; and this is not denied by the dean. William Wood, whom Swift always calls "hardwareman and bankrupt," but who was, in fact, a large proprietor, and owner or renter of several extensive iron works in England,* proposed to contract for the supply needed, and his proposal was accepted. The national, or rather colonial, jealousy was at once inflamed; and already, long before Dean Swift's first letter on the subject, the two Houses had voted addresses to the crown, accusing the patentee of fraud, affirming that the terms of the patent had been infringed as to the quality of the coin, and that its circulation would be highly prejudicial to the revenue and commerce of the country. The Commons, with great exaggeration, declared that even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss of at least 150 per cent.; and indeed the whole clamor rested on partial or ignorant misrepresentation. Wood's coin was as good as any other copper coinage of that day; and the assertion of its opponents (repeated by Swift), that the intrinsic was no more than one-eighth of the nominal value of the metal, must be taken with great caution. If this assertion had even been true, the matter would have been of little consequence, because when coinage descends below gold and silver, it comes to be only a kind of counters for the convenience of exchange, deriving its value from the sanction of the government which issues it; and being receivable in payment of taxes, it has for all its purposes the whole value which it denotes on its face.* From the specimens, however, of Wood's halfpence preserved in the British Museum, and *fac-similes* of which are given in some editions of Swift's works, it is clear that the coins were of a goodly size, and with a fair impression; and by an assay made at the mint, under Sir Isaac Newton and his two associates, it was proved that in weight and in fineness these coins rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent.† However, the clamor was so violent, that "the collectors of the king's customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost everybody else," says Swift in his first letter of "M. B. Drapier." So that the crusade against Wood and his halfpence was already in full progress before the dean wrote a word on the subject.

It is observable further, that this matter concerning Wood and his coinage did not really touch the great question of Irish national independence, or the insolent claim of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland; because the matter of coining money belongs to the royal prerogative; and not one man of the English colony in Ireland, not Swift himself, pretended to question the

* Coxe. Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

* The present base coinage of cent and three-cent pieces in the United States is an example of this. It is intrinsically of no value at all, being composed of the vilest of metal; yet it answers all the purposes of small change, without injury to anybody.

† Report of the Committee of the Privy Council. Swift replied that Wood must have furnished the committee with coins specially made for examination; which is quite possible.

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authority of the King of England. In short, no more trifling occasion ever produced so brilliant and memorable a result. It seemed to be but an occasion, no matter how silly, that Swift wanted. Any peg would do to hang his essays upon; and he used the affair of Wood, as Rabelais had used the legend of Gargantua and Pantagruel, to introduce under cover of much senseless ribaldry, the gravest opinions on politics and government. Early in 1724 appeared the first letter, written in the character of a Dublin shopkeeper. It was soon followed by six others, besides letters to William Wood himself, "Observations on the Report of the Lords of the Council," "Letter to the whole People of Ireland," and many ballads and songs which were calculated for the Dublin ballad-singers. These productions were remarkable not only for their fierce sarcasm and denunciation directed against Wood himself, but for the constantly insinuated, and sometimes plainly expressed, assertion of the national right of Ireland (namely, of the English colony in Ireland) to manage her own affairs. This, in fact, was always in his mind. "For my own part," observes M. B. Drapier, "who am but one man, of obscure origin, I do solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that is liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by *a law of my own country;* and if that shall even happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people." Indeed, while he seems to be directing all the torrent of his indignation against the unlucky hardwareman, he very plainly personifies in him the relentless domination of England, and really labors to excite, not personal wrath against Wood, but patriotic resentment against the British Government. A very admirable example, both of his style of denunciation, and of his exquisite art in insinuating his leading idea amidst a perfect deluge of witty ribaldry, is seen in this excellent passage: "I am very sensible," says the worthy Drapier, "that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen; but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All my assistance was some informations from an eminent person, whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavoring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage. I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armor of Saul; and therefore chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (Wood I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say, for Wood's honor, as well as my own, that he resembles Goliah in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose. For Goliah had a helmet of brass on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was 5000 shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living God. Goliah's conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of Mr. Wood: if he prevail against us, *then shall we be his servants;* but if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition. He shall never be a servant of mine, for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

But in the fourth letter of "M. B. Drapier," Dean Swift disclosed and developed without reserve his real sentiments, which, he says, "have often swelled in my breast," on the absolute right of the Irish nation (that is, of the English colony there) to govern itself independently of the English Parliament. On this point he thoroughly adopts and maintains the whole doctrine of Mr. Molyneux ("an English gentleman born here"), and denounces the usurpation of the London Parliament in assuming to bind Ireland by their laws. The proof that Swift, in affirming the rights of the Irish nation, meant only the English colony, is seen clearly enough in a passage of this very letter.

"One great merit I am sure we have which those of English birth can have no pretence to—that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England, for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate—the privilege of being governed by

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laws to which we do not consent—a ruined trade—a house of peers without jurisdiction—almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence." Rising and warming as he proceeds, he at length fairly declares, "In this point we have nothing to do with English ministers, and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance or to enforce it, for the report of the committee has given me a surfeit. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."

For printing this letter, Harding, the printer, was prosecuted; but when the indictment against him was sent up to the Dublin grand-jury, every man of them had in his hand a copy of another letter, entitled "Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury," &c., which it seems they took to heart, for they threw out the bill. A proclamation was then issued from the Castle offering a reward for discovery of the author, and signed by Lord Carteret, then viceroy. Everybody knew the author; but public spirit in Dublin was then so high and inflamed that the government could not venture to arrest the Dean. On the very day the proclamation was issued, he publicly taunted Carteret at the *levée* with thus persecuting a poor, honest tradesman, as he called "the Drapier;" adding, "I suppose your lordship expects a statue in copper for this service you have done to Wood." In short, the cause of the halfpence was utterly lost: nobody would take them or touch them; the English government had to withdraw the patent; William Wood turned his old copper to some other use in the hardware line; but received from the English Government a compensation in the shape of a pension of three thousand pounds for eight years.*

From this time the Dean was the most popular man in Ireland; he became the idol of the shopkeepers and tradespeople. The Drapier was a sign over hundreds of shops; the Drapier was an honored toast at all merry-makings; and precisely as he grew in popularity in Ireland, he became a more intolerable thorn in the side of the king's servants in that country, and especially of Primate Boulter. Boulter was appointed Primate in this very year, and one of the earliest letters published in his elaborate correspondence shows the extreme uneasiness with which that devoted servant of the English interest and doer of "the king's business" regarded the spirit aroused by the common resentment of all the people of all religions and races against the copper of Wood. He says in this letter: "I find by my own and others' inquiries that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between Papists and Jacobites and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them: so that 'tis questionable whether, if there were occasion, justices of the peace could be found who would be strict in disarming Papists." For the next eighteen years this Primate Boulter was the real governor of Ireland. Thirteen times in that period he was one of the lords justices, and as he had the full confidence of Walpole, and was fully imbued with that minister's well-known principle (the principle, namely, that all could be done by intrigue and corruption), we find him really dictating to successive viceroys of Ireland, and also warning the English Government from time to time who were the persons in Ireland that deserved encouragement and employment as the "king's servants," and who they were that merited reprobation as the "king's enemies," who obstructed him in doing the king's business. It is needless to observe that he became instantly a bitter enemy to Dean Swift, and more than once cautioned the ministry against whatever representations might come from that quarter.*

Whether Swift so intended or not, he became, in fact, highly popular with the Catholics of the kingdom. Not that he ever spoke of them without disdain and aversion.

* Coxe, Life of Walpole.

* Letter dated 10th Feb., 1725, from the Primate to Duke of Newcastle.

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"The Popish priests," says he, "are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors." (*Letter concerning Sacramental Test.*) In short, whenever he does allude to them at all, it is always with a view of intimating that he has no appeal to make to *them*, not regarding them as a part of the nation. In the famous prosecuted letter itself—although it is addressed "To the Whole People of Ireland"—he takes occasion thus to repel one of the assertions of Wood: "That *the Papists* have entered into an association against his coin, although it be notoriously known that *they* never once offered to stir in the matter." In his address, then, to the "Whole People," he speaks of the Papists as "they." But notwithstanding this, Catholic farmers had wool and grain to sell; they also had their daily traffic, and if the introduction of that perilous copper was to be so fatal to the Protestants, it could not be good for them. Moreover, the bold assertion of Ireland's right to independence pleased them well. They knew, it is true, that they were not for the present considered as active citizens; yet being five to one,* they also felt that if the heavy pressure of British domination were once taken off, they or their children could not fail to assert for themselves a recognized place in a new Irish nation. Up to the present date, the Irish Catholic freeholders voted at elections to Parliament (though their suffrage was cramped by oaths, and they could only vote for a Protestant candidate), and they could still make their weight felt in the scale either of Whig or Tory, either in favor of the king's servants or the king's enemies, as Dr. Boulter called them respectively. No wonder, therefore, that the primate began to view with great alarm a community of feeling arising between the Catholics and either of the Protestant parties, and he soon cast about for a remedy, and found one.

Dean Swift was never openly attacked by the primate, but he had been for some years subjected to the spy-system, which is always so essential an arm of English government in Ireland, and had found it necessary to use great precautions in securing his manuscripts, as well as his ordinary letters, from the vigilant espionage of the government.* When Wood's patent was withdrawn, and all apprehensions were over concerning the half-pennies, he was desirous to withdraw for a while from the capital and from the neighborhood of Dr. Boulter's detectives, and went to the quiet retreat of Quilca, in the County Cavan, where his friend Dr. Sheridan had a house. Here he finished "Gulliver," which had been suspended for a while, and prepared it for the press; enjoying, by the shore of Lough Ramor, the conversation of Stella, and the "blessings of a country life," which he describes to be

> "Far from our debtors,
> No Dublin letters,
> Not seen by your betters."

The next year Swift went to England, but before he went Primate Boulter wrote to Sir Robert Walpole a letter which well illustrates the vigilance of that prelate in the king's service, and also the estimation in which he held Dr. Swift. He says, "The general report is that Dean Swift designs for England in a little time, and we do not question his endeavors to misrepresent his majesty's friends here wherever he finds an opportunity. But he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fomenter of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to disserve any of his majesty's faithful servants by any thing that is known to come from him; but we could wish some eye were had to what shall be attempted on your side the water."

No further political event of much consequence occurred in Ireland during the short remainder of the reign of George I. All accounts of that period represent the country as sinking lower in misery and distress. Swift's graphic tracts and letters give a painfully vivid picture of the desolation of the rural districts. He laments often the wanton and utter destruction of timber, which had left bare and hungry-looking great regions that had but lately waved with ancient woods. New proprietors, under the various

* Primate Boulter writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "There are probably in this kingdom five Papists at least to one Protestant." This was in the year 1727.

* Roscoe's Life of Swift; Sir Walter Scott's Life.

confiscations, had always felt, in those times of revolutions, that their possessions were held by a precarious tenure; there might at any moment be a new confiscation, or a new resumption; therefore, as the woods would bring in their value at once they were felled remorselessly, and often sold at a mere trifle for the sake of getting ready money. It has been already seen that "the commissioners of confiscated estates" in King William's time* speak of this destruction of the forests as a grievous loss to the nation. They estimate that on one estate in Kerry trees to the value of £20,000 had been cut down or destroyed; on another estate £27,000 worth;" and in some cases they say, "Those on whom the confiscated estates have been bestowed, or their agents, have been so greedy to seize upon the most trifling profits that large trees have been cut down and sold for sixpence each." The consequence of all this wanton waste was soon lamentably observable in the nakedness of this once well-wooded island, where in Dean Swift's time it would have been impossible, as he tells us, to find timber either for ship-building or for the houses of the people.

The condition of the farmers and laboring people was extremely hard in the latter years of this reign. As Catholics were subjected to severe restrictions if they lived in trading and manufacturing towns, their only resource was to become tenants for short terms, or at will, to an alien and hostile race of landlords, and this at most oppressive rents. "Another great calamity," says Swift,† "is the exorbitant raising of the rent of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent; leases granted but for a small term of years; tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; and it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse homespun frieze." Another of the evils complained of by the Dean is the prevalence of absenteeism, which carried over to England, according to his estimate, half a million sterling of Irish money *per annum*, with no return. Another still was the propensity of proprietors to turn great tracts of land into sheep pastures, which, of course, drove away tenants, increased the wretched competition for farms, and still more increased rents. It was this which made Swift exclaim, with his bitter humor, "Ajax was mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but we shall never be sober till we are of the same way of thinking." To all these miseries must be added the decay of trade and commerce, caused directly by the jealous and greedy commercial policy of England; and this grievance pressed quite as heavily upon the Protestant as on the Catholic.

So uniform has been the system of English rule in Ireland, that the description of it given a century and a half ago fits with great accuracy and with even heavier aggravations at this day. The absentee rents are now ten times as great in amount as they were then; and although the prohibition against exporting woollen cloth is now no longer in force, yet its effect has been perpetuated so thoroughly that the Irish do not now, as they did then, even manufacture woollen cloth for home consumption. In the year 1723 a petition was presented to Parliament from the woollen drapers, clothiers and weavers of Dublin, setting forth the decay and almost destruction of their industry, the sore distress and privations of thousands of families that had once lived comfortably by prosecuting these trades, and asking for inquiry and relief. But an Irish Parliament, absolutely controlled by an English Privy Council, was quite incapable of applying any remedy; so the affairs of trade had fallen from bad to worse, until at the close of this reign there was imminent danger of a destructive famine, that scourge which foreign domination has made so familiar to Ireland. It was in 1729 that Swift wrote and published his "Modest Proposal" for relieving the miseries of the people by cooking and

* See their report at the end of MacGeoghegan's History.

†"The present miserable state of Ireland."

eating the children of the poor—a piece of the fiercest sarcasm, steeped in all the concentrated bitterness of his soul; which, however—so grave is the irony—has been sometimes taken by foreign writers as a serious project of relief.

King George died on the 11th of June, 1727, just after settling the preliminaries of a peace with the Emperor and Spain, which was shortly afterwards signed at Seville (but to the exclusion of the Emperor) by the ministers of France, England and Spain. Thus our exiles on the continent were deprived for a time of the pleasure of meeting their hereditary enemies on the field. But further opportunities were happily to arise for them.

CHAPTER IX.

1727–1741.

Lord Carteret lord-lieutenant—Primate Boulter ruler of Ireland—His policy—Catholic Address—Not noticed—Papists deprived of elective franchise—Insolence of the "Ascendency"—Famine—Emigration—Dorset lord-lieutenant—Agitation of Dissenters—Sacramental Test—Swift's virulence against the Dissenters—Boulter's policy to extirpate Papists—Rage against the Catholics—Debates on money bills—"Patriot Party"—Duke of Devonshire lord-lieutenant—Corruption—Another famine—Berkeley—English commercial policy in Ireland.

The accession of George II. occasioned no great excitement in Ireland. Lord Carteret was continued as lord-lieutenant, but the corrupt and domineering churchman, Primate Boulter, a fit instrument of the odious minister, Sir Robert Walpole, still directed the course of government, and always to the same end—the depression and discouragement of the Patriot party, as the assertors of Irish legislative independence began to be termed, the complete establishment of English sovereignty, and the eternal division of Irish and English, of Catholic and Protestant.

The new king had acquired a reputation for a certain degree of liberality and tolerance, as indeed the first George also had before becoming king of England; because, in the electoral dominions in Germany, the Catholic religion was freely tolerated, and not subjected to the savage penalties and humiliating oaths which made that worship almost impossible in Ireland. The Irish Catholics, therefore, when the young king mounted the throne, conceived certain delusive hopes of a relaxation in the Penal Code. They were still smarting under the lash of the Popery laws, which had never yet been so cruelly laid on as during the reign of George the First; but as they remembered that the two last and severest of these laws were said to have been enacted as a punishment for their neglect in not having addressed Queen Anne on her coming to the throne, they were now induced to think they should avoid giving the like offence on the present auspicious occasion. An humble congratulatory address was therefore prepared, testifying unalterable loyalty and attachment to the king and to his royal house; and it met with the kind of reception which might have been expected. It was presented with all due respect to the lords justices at the Castle of Dublin, by Lord Delvin and other persons of the first quality among them; but so little notice was then taken either of their address or themselves, that it is not yet known whether it was ever transmitted to be laid before his majesty, as it was humbly desired it should be; or whether even an answer was returned by their excellencies that it should be so transmitted.

In other words, they and their abject "loyalty" were wholly ignored; and they received one additional lesson, if they still needed it, that they were to consider themselves not his majesty's subjects, but the "common enemy."

They were soon to have still another lesson. Primate Boulter, having observed with apprehension that the "Patriot" party was popular with the Catholics, and afraid of the results of this influence upon the next elections, took care to have a bill prepared, which was hurried through Parliament, for the entire disfranchisement of "Papists." Plowden and other writers affirm that the disfranchising clause was introduced into the bill by a kind of surprise or deception; but, however that may be, it passed both Houses and received the royal assent, enacting that "No Papist shall be entitled or admitted to

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vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight, citizen or burgess; or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate, any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."* The Catholics were by this law deprived of the very last vestige of civil right, and of the only poor means they possessed of making a friend or influencing any public measure. They remained utterly disfranchised for sixty-six years; and during all that period were as completely helpless as the beasts of the field.

Another transaction of this year may be considered as a lesson not only to the Catholics, but to the new king, supposing that they should dream of receiving some indulgence, or that he should imagine his German liberality would do for Ireland. In the year 1727 application had been made by certain Catholics to the late king for the reversal of some outlawries incurred by several "rebellious," and which had been most iniquitously obtained, and had actually reduced some of the most ancient, noble, and opulent Roman Catholic families of the kingdom, with their numerous descendants, to absolute beggary. The Commons then sitting, and justly apprehending from his majesty's supposed equity and commiseration, that such application might meet with some success, resolved upon a petition, wherein, among other things, they tell his majesty plainly, and even with a kind of menace, "that nothing could *enable them* to defend *his right and title* to his crown so *effectually* as the enjoyment of those estates, which have been the forfeitures of the rebellious Irish, and were then in the possession of his Protestant subjects; and therefore, that they were *fully assured* that he would discourage all applications or attempts that should be made in favor of such *traitors* or their descendants, so dangerous to the *Protestant interest* of this kingdom." This petition produced the wished-for effect. The king, in his answer, assured the Commons "that he would for the future discourage all such applications and attempts."

But the Commons, not content with this assurance, and still fearing that those Popish solicitors, who had been employed by the Catholics in their late unsuccessful attempt, might prevail upon their clients to renew their application at another more favorable juncture, brought in a bill absolutely disqualifying all Roman Catholics from practising as solicitors, the only branch of the law profession which they were then permitted to practise.

Lord Carteret, in proroguing that Parliament, took occasion to congratulate it upon the several excellent laws which it had passed, amongst others the law "for *regulation* of elections." At this date, then, the Catholics of Ireland may be said to disappear from history. But it was impossible to extinguish, or to keep down everywhere and forever, the Irish race. An historian, who certainly shows no anxiety to say any thing soothing or flattering of our countrymen, observes well:

"There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition: but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland, at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a marshal of France. Another became prime minister of Spain.* If he had staid in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who drank the glorious and immortal memory. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George II. and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George III."†

Carteret's administration, apart from the oppression of the Catholics, or perhaps, in part, on account of that very oppression, is usually praised by English historians for its wisdom and humanity. He certainly promoted some few trifling measures tending to the improvement of trade; but nothing touching, or in the slightest degree trenching upon, the domain of English monopoly, still less upon the absolute sovereign powers of the English Parliament over Ireland and all things Irish. The primate, in fact, managed both the Irish Parliament and the Irish elections; besides taking great pains to fo-

* 1 Geo. II., chap. 9, sec. 7.

* Wall. † Macaulay's England.

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ment quarrels and jealousies between Protestants and Protestants, between English and Irish, and even between the down-trodden Catholics. There had been differences of opinion amongst the latter on the policy of presenting their address of congratulation and loyalty; and the primate writes to Lord Carteret with great complacency on the 20th July: "I hear this day that the address yesterday presented by some Roman Catholics occasions great heats and divisions amongst those of that religion here;" which he intimates may produce a good effect. He had his agents in all the counties canvassing and intriguing for the king's friends; and previous to an election he once writes to assure the lord-lieutenant that "the elections will generally go well."* In short, by the disfranchisement of five-sixths of the people, by a judicious distribution of patronage and place amongst the rest, and by the ever-ready resource of the indefatigable primate, the Parliament had become perfectly manageable, and the "Patriot" party was effectually kept down. Swift has described the Irish Parliament at this time as being

> "Always firm in its vocation,
> For the Court, against the nation."

So that Lord Carteret's administration was naturally considered in England as quite a success.

But the famine that had been so greatly feared, now really visited the country with great severity, and slew its thousands for two years. No register, nor even approximate estimate of the amount of destruction of human life caused by this famine was made at the time, but in many counties people fed on weeds and garbage. Ireland was then importing corn, and it is mentioned, as a remarkable fact, that between two and three hundred thousand pounds worth of grain was imported in one year during the dearth. The famine returned a few years later, in 1741; and, in fact, famine may be said to have become an established institution of the country and constant or periodical agent of British government from this time forth. There now began a very considerable emigration to America and the West Indies, and this emigration was almost exclusively of Protestants from the North of Ireland. Primate Boulter, in one of his letters, complains of this circumstance, but takes care, at the same time, to libel the emigrating Dissenters, alleging that most of them were persons who, having contracted debts they could not or would not pay, were flying the country to avoid their creditors. He takes care not to tell his correspondent in England the true reasons of this movement: first, decline of trade and hunger and hardship; next, the oppression of the Test Act, and of the "Schism" Act, a new law which had been very lately extended to Ireland by the sole authority of the British Parliament. The migration of Protestant Dissenters from Ulster, which commenced in Lord Carteret's administration, afterwards took large proportions, and Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were in a great measure peopled by these "Scotch Irish," as they are called in the United States.

Carteret was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset, in 1731, but the change made no alteration in the even tenor of the Government, seeing that Primate Boulter was still really and effectively the viceroy of the country. The Catholics were now giving no trouble—too happy if they could avoid observation; but there arose a most vehement agitation on the part of the Dissenters. These Presbyterians had contributed powerfully to the subjugation of Ulster under King William; had fought at Derry and at Newtownbutler, as well as at the Boyne and Aughrim; were devoted adherents to the Protestant succession and the House of Hanover, and had always aided and applauded the enactment of penal laws against the "common enemy." Now, when the common enemy was put down under foot, never, it was hoped, to rise again, the Dissenters naturally enough thought they should be entitled to the privilege of sitting in Parliament and entering the municipal corporations without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, which was contrary to their conscience, but was imposed on them by law. They even made a merit of not having made common cause with the Catholics, although joined

* Boulter's Correspondence.

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with them in a common injury on the passage of the "Act to prevent the further growth of Popery;" they had preferred to endure disabilities and insults themselves rather than in any way embarrass the Government in its measures against the common enemy. For this base compliance they had their reward, and remained subject to the Test Act for three generations afterwards.

In their attempts to obtain a relaxation of this code during Dorset's administration, the Catholics found, of course, the sternest and most uncompromising opponent in the primate; but—what they had not perhaps expected—the most indefatigable, the most efficient, the most offensive and disdainful enemy they had, was the Dean of St. Patrick's. For once the primate and the dean were on the same side. It does not appear, indeed, that there was the least chance at that time of breaking down in favor of Dissenters the strong barriers that fenced round the interest of the Established Church on every side; but there was much discussion by political pamphlets, and for two years Swift poured forth in very powerful papers his horror of Puritans and scorn of Scotchmen. The most remarkable of these productions is that entitled "Reasons; humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the Sacramental Test *in favor of the Catholics*." This, like his "Modest Proposal," is a master-piece of cold and biting irony; intended to show that the Dissenters could not urge a single plea in favor of their own emancipation which the very Papists could not bring forward with still greater force. The writer seems throughout to plead the cause of the Catholics, "called by their ill-willers Papists," with so much earnestness, that very intelligent Catholic writers, as Plowden, Lawless, Curry, and others, have quoted it as a serious argument on their behalf. Indeed, it is not wonderful if straightforward, unsophisticated minds that understand no joking on so grave a subject, have been sometimes mystified by passages like this:

"And whereas another author among our brethren, the Dissenters, has very justly complained that by this persecuting Test Act great numbers of true Protestants have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employment; we do affirm that the Catholics can bring many more instances of th same kind; some thousands of their religion have been forced by the Sacramental Test to retire into other countries rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in Parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belongs to them as fellow-Christians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the same author, 'That if we [Catholics] are incapable of employment, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience,'" &c.

It gives us a singular idea of the narrowness of this "Irish patriot's" idea of patriotism, that he could conceive no more effectual way of casting odium and ridicule on the pretensions of Dissenters, than by showing that even the Papists themselves might plausibly urge similar pretensions; and although he was aware of the effect of these penal laws in driving both Catholics and Dissenters away from their native land, to carry their energy, their industry, and their resentments into foreign countries, he was yet earnestly in favor of retaining the whole system of penal laws unbroken against them both. The controversy soon died out, and was only occasionally and faintly renewed during the remainder of the century; but it is impossible to refrain from the expression of a regret that the sovereign genius of Swift could not raise him up to a loftier and more generous idea of patriotism for the country of his adoption—or, as he always called it, of his *exile*—than this narrow and intolerant exclusiveness, which would drive from their native land both Catholics and Protestants who could not take the sacrament as he administered it. He opposed English domination over Ireland, yet equally opposed the union of Irishmen to resist it. Therefore the verdict of history must forever be, that he was neither an English patriot nor an Irish one. As was said long afterwards of O'Connell, "he was a bad subject and a worse rebel." Yet the tone of independent

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thought which rings through his inimitable essays, and the high and manly spirit with which he showed Irishmen how to confront unjust power, did not pass away; they penetrated the character of the whole English colony, and bore fruit long after that unquiet and haughty heart lay at rest in the aisle of St. Patrick's. *Ubi sæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit.*

The disfranchised Catholics being now deprived of their last and only means of gaining the favor and indulgence of their neighboring magistrates, by promising to vote for their party (all parties being alike to the Catholics), were made to feel the full atrocity of the penal laws. It seems really to have been the design of Primate Boulter to wear down that population by ill-usage, to force them to fly the country, to get rid of them somehow altogether, so that the island might lie open to be wholly peopled by English Protestants.

Boulter was by no means the inventor of this policy; neither was he the last who acted upon it; but none ever pursued it with more diabolical malignity. If any clergyman desired to win the primate's favor, he forthwith preached furious and foaming sermons against the execrated Papists. If any pamphleteer desired to make himself conspicuous as a "king's servant," and so gain a profitable place, he set to work to prove that all Catholics are by nature and necessity murderers, perjurers, and adulterers. The resolutions passed so frequently in both Houses of Parliament, exhorting magistrates to be active in enforcing the laws against the common enemy, had sometimes been only partially effective, because the Catholics had a way of influencing country gentlemen to a certain extent. But now, under the primate's auspices, it was not intended that such resolutions should be a dead letter.

On the 9th of March, 1731, it was "Resolved unanimously that it is the indispensable duty of all magistrates and officers to put the laws made to prevent the further growth of Popery in Ireland in due execution." It was also at the same time resolved, *nem. con.* (being the end of the session), "that the members of that house, in their respective counties and stations, would use their utmost endeavors to put the several laws against Popery in due execution."

These frequent resolutions of the Commons, aided by inflammatory anniversary sermons and equally inflammatory pamphlets, occasionally preached and published, diffused such a spirit of rancor and animosity against Catholics, among their Protestant neighbors, as made the generality of them believe that the words Popery, rebellion, and massacre really signified the same thing, and thereby excited such real terrors in these latter as often brought the liberties and sometimes the lives of the former into imminent danger. The most shocking fables that had been invented concerning the Irish insurrection in 1641, and of the English gunpowder treason in 1605, were studiously revived and aggravated in these sermons and pamphlets, with a degree of virulence and exaggeration which surpassed the most extravagant fictions of romance or poetry, and possessed their uninformed, though often well-meaning, hearers and readers with lasting and general abhorrence of these people. The crimes, real or supposed, of Catholics dead more than a century before, were imputed, intentionally, to all those who survived them, however innocent, of the same religious persuasion.

Doctor Curry affirms that by all these means the popular passion was so fiercely incensed against Papists as to suggest to some Protestants the project of destroying them by massacre at once; and that "an ancient nobleman and privy councillor," whom the author, however, does not name, "in the year 1743, on the threatened invasion of England by the French, under the command of Marshal Saxe, openly declared in council 'that as the Papists had begun the massacre on them, about a hundred years before, so he thought it both reasonable and lawful, on their parts, to prevent them, at that dangerous juncture, by first falling upon them.'"

The same respectable author, who was a contemporary of the events he relates, states that "so entirely were some of the lower northern Dissenters possessed and influenced by this prevailing prepossession and rancor against Catholics, that in the same year, and

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for the same declared purpose of prevention, a conspiracy was actually formed by some of the inhabitants of Lurgan to rise in the night-time and destroy all their neighbors of that denomination in their beds. But this inhuman purpose was also frustrated by an information of the honest Protestant publican in whose house the conspirators had met to settle the execution of their scheme, sworn before the Rev. Mr. Ford, a justice of the peace in that district, who received it with horror, and with difficulty put a stop to the intended massacre."*

The Irish House of Commons, during Lord Dorset's administration, was chiefly occupied by debates on money and finances. The latter years of Carteret's term had been much disquieted on account of an attempt, made by the king's servants, to get a vote of £274,000 to the crown. The country party resisted vigorously; and then began a series of acrimonious debates on monetary affairs, which "the Patriots" treated with a view to assert, as often and as strongly as possible, the right of the Irish Legislature to control at least the matter of Irish finances. In this first session, held in the Duke of Dorset's government, the question came up again under another form on the vote for the supplies. The national debt, on Lady Day, 1733, was £371,312 13s. 2d.,† and for the payment of the principal and interest the supplies were voted from session to session. A gross attempt was now made to grant the supplies, set aside to pay the debt and the interest, to the king and his successors forever.

This proposition was violently resisted by the Patriots, who asserted that it was unconstitutional to vote the sum for a longer period than from session to session. The Government, defeated in this attempt, sought to grant it for twenty-one years, and a warm debate ensued. Just as the division was about taking place, the Ministerialists and Patriots being nearly equal, Colonel Tottenham, an Oppositionist, entered. He was dressed in boots, contrary to the etiquette of the House, which prescribed full dress. His vote gave the majority to the Patriots, and the Government was defeated by *Tottenham in his boots.* This became one of the toasts of patriotism, and was given in all the social meetings.

But such triumphs of the country party were rare, and their effects were precarious. Every such event as this, however, stimulated and kept alive the aspiration after independent nationality; and the same Duke of Dorset, when he was in Ireland as viceroy for the second time, had an opportunity to verify and measure the progress of that national spirit.

In 1737 Dorset was recalled, and was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, a nobleman of great wealth, who kept a splendid court in Dublin, and by the expenditures thereby occasioned made himself extremely popular amongst the tradesmen of that city.* In fact, the English Government and its crafty chief, Sir Robert Walpole, saw the necessity of counteracting the perilous doctrines of the "Patriots," by all the arts of seduction, by the charm of personal popularity, and especially by corruption—an art which, under Sir Robert Walpole, reached, both in England and in Ireland, a degree of high development, which it had never before attained in any country. As it was that minister's avowed maxim that "every man has his price," he saw no reason to except Irish patriots from that general law; and Primate Boulter was precisely the man to test its accuracy in practice. All the influence of the Government was now needed to overcome the resolute bearing of the Opposition upon the grand subject of "supplies." The Patriots were determined, if the Irish Parliament was to be politically subordinate to that of England, that they would at least endeavor to maintain its privilege of voting its own money. It is in these debates we first find amongst the Patriot party the names of Sir Edward O'Brien, of Clare, and his son, Sir Lucius O'Brien, an illustrious name then, both at home and abroad, destined to be more illustrious still before the close of that century, and to shine with a yet purer fame in the present age. Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Shannon, and Antony Malone, son of that Malone who had pleaded

* Curry's Historical Review. † Plowden.

* He also built Devonshire Quay, at his own expense, and presented it to the city.

along with Sir Toby Butler against the penal laws of Queen Anne's time, were also leading members of the Opposition.

In 1741 there was another dreadful famine. It is irksome to record, or to read the details of this chronic misery; but in the History of Ireland the gaunt spectre of Famine must be a prominent figure of the picture, while English connection continues. The learned and amiable Dr. George Berkeley was then Bishop of Cloyne. A season of starvation first, and then, in due rotation, a season of pestilence, thinned the people miserably; and the good bishop's sympathies were strongly moved. In a letter to Mr. Thomas Prior, of Dublin, he writes thus, under date the 19th May, 1741:—"The distresses of the sick and poor are endless. The havoc of mankind in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and some adjacent places, hath been incredible. The nation, probably, will not recover this loss in a century. The other day I heard one from the county of Limerick say that whole villages were entirely dispeopled. About two months since I heard Sir Richard Cox say that five hundred were dead in the parish, though in a county, I believe, not very populous. It were to be wished people of condition were at their seats in the country during these calamitous times, which might provide relief and employment for the poor. Certainly, if these perish, the rich must be sufferers in the end."

It was while under the impression of these terrible scenes of suffering that Berkeley wrote his celebrated pamphlet, entitled "The Querist," which sets forth, under the form of questions, without answers, the bishop's views of the evils and requirements of his country; for Berkeley, unlike Swift, called himself *an Irishman*. Two or three of his queries will show the drift of the work. "Whether a great quantity of sheepwalk be not ruinous to a country, rendering it waste and thinly inhabited?" "Whether it be a crime to inquire how far we may do without foreign trade, and what would follow on such a supposition?" "Whether, if there were a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not, nevertheless, live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?" Such queries as these, though very cautiously expressed, showed plainly enough that the excellent bishop attributed all the evils of Ireland to the greedy commercial policy of England; and accordingly this pamphlet was quite enough to stop his promotion. The next year there was a vacancy for the primacy; and as Berkeley was the most learned and famous man in the Irish Church (Swift being then in his sad dotage), the friends of the Bishop of Cloyne naturally thought him entitled to the place, especially since Sir Robert Walpole owed him some compensation for having broken faith with him in the matter of his Bermuda missionary college. But Berkeley himself expected no such favors. He writes to Mr. Prior with a touching simplicity: "For myself, though his excellency the lord-lieutenant might have a better opinion of me than I deserved, yet it was not likely that he would make *an Irishman* primate." And assuredly, Berkeley was not the kind of man needed to "do the king's business" in Ireland. Dr. Hoadley was the person appointed, and was soon succeeded by the notorious George Stone.

It would require a large volume to detail the numberless and minutely elaborated measures by which the English Government has at all times contrived to regulate the trade and industry of Ireland in all their parts with a view to her own profit; a system whereby periodical famines are insured in an island endowed by nature with such boundless capacity for wealth. We have seen that both Swift and Berkeley attacked the extensive "sheepwalks." In those years, corn was brought from England to Ireland because it suited the interest of England then to discourage agriculture here, and to encourage sheep-farms, all her efforts being directed to secure the woollen trade to herself. Accordingly it was forbidden the Irish to export black cattle to England, and, therefore, sheep became the more profitable stock; but as the Irish could make nothing of the wool, they had to send it in the fleece, and thus Yorkshire was supplied with the raw material of its staple manufacture. But afterwards, when England had full possession of the woollen manufacture, and that of Ireland was utterly destroyed, it became apparent to the English, that the best use

they could make of Ireland would be to turn it into a general store farm for agricultural produce of all kinds. Anderson (*History of Commerce*) explains the matter thus: "Concerning these laws, many think them hurtful, and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening their black cattle *for us*, than to turn their lands into sheepwalks as at present; in consequence of which, in spite of all the laws, they supply foreign nations with their wool."

It is observable that this English writer, when he says many think the laws regulating Irish commerce "hurtful," means hurtful to the English. Therefore, the system was afterwards so far changed, that England was willing to take any kind of agricultural produce from us, and to give us, in return, manufactured articles made either of our own or of foreign materials. So it has happened that Irishmen have been permitted ever since to sow, to reap, and to feed cattle *for them*, as Anderson recommended. But which of the systems bred more Irish famines we shall have other and too many opportunities of inquiring.

CHAPTER X.

1741—1745.

War on the Continent—Dr. Lucas—Primate Stone—Battle of Dettingen—Lally—Fontenoy—The Irish Brigade.

King George II., like his predecessor, felt much more personal interest in German politics and the "balance of power" on the Continent, than in any domestic affairs of the English nation. He had adhered to the "Pragmatic sanction," that favorite measure of the Austrian Emperor Charles VI., for securing the succession of the possessions of the House of Austria to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary. On the 20th of October, 1740, the Emperor Charles died, and all Europe was almost immediately plunged into general war. King Frederick, styled the Great, was then king of Prussia; and as the Austrian army and finances were then in great disorder, and he could expect no very serious opposition, he suddenly set up his claim to the Austrian duchy of Silesia, and marched an army into it, in pursuance of that usual policy of Prussia, which elaborately prepares and carefully conceals plans of aggression until the moment of putting them in execution, and then makes the stealthy spring of a tiger. France embraced the cause of the Elector of Bavaria and candidate for the imperial throne; sent an army into Germany under Marshal Broglie, and after some successes over the Austrians, caused the elector to be proclaimed emperor at Prague. In April, 1741, King George II. delivered a speech to both Houses of his Parliament, informing them that the Queen of Hungary had made a requisition for the aid of England in asserting her title to the throne, pursuant to the Pragmatic sanction; and thereupon he demanded war supplies. Some honest and uncorrupted members of Parliament protested against this new Continental war; but Sir Robert Walpole still ruled the country with almost absolute sway; and to hold his place he supported the policy of the king. So began that long and bloody war: a war in which Ireland had no concern, save in so far as it was an occasion for larger exactions from the Irish Parliament; and also gave to her exiled sons some further opportunities of meeting their enemies in battle.

It was in 1741 that the famous Dr. Lucas first appeared in the political arena. He was a man of great energy and honesty; fully imbued with the opinions of Swift on the rights and wrongs of his country, that is of the English colony. He was even more offensively intolerant than Swift towards the Catholics; but within the sacred limits of the "Protestant interest" he supported the principles of freedom; and if he fell very far short of his great model in genius, he perhaps equalled him in courage. Charles Lucas was born in 1713, and his family was of the farming class in Clare county. He established himself as an apothecary in Dublin, where he was elected a member of the Common Council. He there found abuses to correct. The appointment of aldermen had been a privilege usurped by the board of aldermen, while the right appertained to the whole corporate body. Having agitated this subject for a while, he

grew bolder with his increasing popularity, and published some political tracts on the sovereign right of the Irish Parliament. This attracted attention and excited alarm; for, "to make any man popular in Ireland," as the primate bitterly remarks, "it is only necessary to set up the Irish against the English interest." Henceforward Dr. Lucas pursued, in his own way, an active career of patriotism, as he understood patriotism; and the reader will hear of him again.

In 1742 the primacy of the Irish Church being vacant, by the death of Dr. Boulter, Hoadley was first appointed to the See of Armagh, but was soon after succeeded by that extraordinary prelate, George Stone, bishop of Derry. It had long been Sir Robert Walpole's policy to govern Ireland mainly through the chief of the Irish Established Church, and Stone was a man altogether after his own heart. He was English by birth, and the son of a keeper of a jail; was never remarkable for learning, and his character was the worst possible; but he had qualities which, in the minister's judgment, peculiarly fitted him to hold that wealthy and powerful see—that is to say, he would scruple at no corruption, would revolt at no infamy, to gain adherents "for the court against the nation;" and would make it the single aim of his life to maintain the English interest in Ireland; and this not only by careful distribution of the immense patronage of Government, but by still baser acts of seduction. Memoirs and satires of that time have made but too notorious the mysteries of his house near Dublin, where wine in profusion and bevies of beautiful harlots baited the trap to catch the light youth of the metropolis. Primate Stone was a very handsome man, of very dignified presence and demeanor; and with such a man for lord-justice and privy councillor, the Duke of Dorset was able to prevent any dangerous assertion of independence during his viceroyalty. There were, however, continual debates over the question of supplies, the rapidly increased expenses of the public establishments, and the notorious corruption practised by Government.

So long as the common interest of the Protestants was kept secure against the mass of the people, all was well; but during the Devonshire administration alarm was taken about that vital point, on account of a bill to reverse an attainder which Lord Clancarty had succeeded in having presented to the Irish Parliament during the preceding viceroyalty, and which there seemed to be some danger might be passed. The Clancarty estate, which would have been restored by this attainder, was valued at £60,000 *per annum;* and it was then in the hands of many new proprietors who had purchased under the confiscation titles, and who now, of course, besieged and threatened Parliament with their claims and outcries. It was also found that other persons, whose lands had been confiscated (unjustly as they said they were ready to prove), had instituted proceedings for the recovery of certain pieces of land or houses. In short, there were eighty-seven suits commenced; and the House felt that it was time to set at least that affair at rest. If Papists were to be allowed to disquiet Protestant possessors by alleging injustice and illegality in the proceedings by which they had been despoiled, it was clearly perceived that there would be an end of the Protestant interest, which, in fact, reposed upon injustice and illegality from the beginning. Therefore, a series of very violent resolutions was passed by the Commons, denouncing all these proceedings as a disturbance of the public weal, and declaring all those who instituted any such suits, or acted in them as lawyer or attorney, to be public enemies. It may be remembered that not only were Catholic barristers debarred from practice, but, by a late act, Catholic solicitors too; so that after these resolutions there could not be much chance of success in any lawsuit for a Catholic. Thus the Protestant interest was quieted for that time.

Meanwhile, war was raging over the Continent, and King George II., with his son, the Duke of Cumberland, had gone over to take command of the British and Hanoverian troops, operating on the French frontier, while Central Germany was fiercely debated between the Empress Queen, allied with England, and Frederick of Prussia, allied with France. The first considerable battle after the king took command was at Dettingen

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the 27th of June, 1743. This place is on the Mein or Mayn river, and very near the city of Frankfort. The French were commanded by the *Maréchal de Noailles;* the allies by King George ostensibly, but really by the Earl of Stair. The day went against the French, and ended in almost a rout of their army, which would have become a total rout but for the exertions of the Count de Lally, then acting as *aide-major-general* to Noailles. The maréchal himself gives him this very high testimony: "He three several times rallied the army in its rout, and saved it in its retreat by his advice given to the council of war after the action."* As this celebrated soldier will reappear in the narrative, and especially on one far greater and more terrible day, it may be well to give some account of him. His father was Sir Gerard Lally (properly O'Mullally), of Tullindal; and had been one of the defenders of Limerick, and one of those who volunteered for France with Sarsfield. Sir Gerard became immediately an officer in the French service, and his son, the Count Lally, was born at Romans, in Dauphiné, when his father was there in garrison. He first mounted a trench at the siege of Barcelona, in Spain, when he was twelve years of age, but already a captain in Dillon's regiment. This was in 1714. We next hear of him planning a new descent upon some point of England or Scotland, in order to retrieve the fortunes of "the Pretender," and had actually a commission for this purpose from King James III. To conceal his plans, he announced that he was preparing to make a campaign as volunteer under his near relative Maréchal de Lascy (De Lacy), who then commanded the Russian army against the Turks. Cardinal Fleury induced him to lay aside every other design and to go to Russia, not in a military but in a civil capacity; in short, as a diplomatist with special mission. As this mission was to endeavor to detach Russia from English alliance, and so weaken England in the war, he gladly accepted, for the great object of Lally's life, to the very last, was to strike a mortal blow at England in any part of the earth or sea. He did not succeed in his Russian embassy, and left St. Petersburg in a fit of impatience, for which the cardinal rebuked him; then served under Noailles in the Netherlands, who particularly requested him to act as the chief of his staff. It is thus we find him at the disastrous battle of Dettingen; but for the repulse that day both Lally and the French were soon to have a choice revenge. After the battle, a regiment of Irish infantry was created for him, and attached to the Irish brigade. The brigade consisted now of seven regiments, and it saw much service that year and the next under the Count de Saxe, who took the various towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes, in the Netherlands, all which the Duke of Cumberland endeavored to prevent without avail, and without coming to a battle.

In this year, 1744, however, great preparation was made on both sides for a decisive campaign. The French army was increased in the Netherlands, and on the other side the English court had at length prevailed on the States-General of Holland to join the alliance against France. In September of that year, the allies, then in camp at Spire, were reinforced by 20,000 Dutch, who were time enough, unluckily for them, to take a share in the great and crowning battle of Fontenoy.

It might be supposed that the incidents of this famous battle have been sufficiently discussed and described to make them generally known; but, in fact, the plain truth of that affair (especially as it affects the Irish engaged) is very difficult to ascertain with precision, and for the very reason that there are so many accounts of it handed down to us by French, Irish, and English authorities, all with different national prejudices and predilections. Reading the usual English accounts of the battle, one is surprised to find in general no mention of Irishmen having been at Fontenoy at all; the English naturally dislike to acknowledge that they owed that mortal disaster in great part to the Irish exiles whom the faithlessness and oppression of their own Government had driven from their homes and filled with the most intense passion of vengeance: the French, with a sentiment of national pride equally natural, wish to appropriate to

* Letter of Maréchal de Noailles, quoted in Biog. Univ., art. *Lally*.

French soldiers, as far as possible, the honor of one of their proudest victories; but if we read certain enthusiastic Irish narratives of Fontenoy, we might be led to suppose that it was the Irish brigade alone which saved the French army and ruined the redoubtable column of English and Hanoverians. It is well, then, to endeavor to establish the simple facts by reference to such authorities as are beyond suspicion.

In the end of April, 1745, the Maréchal de Saxe, now famous for his successful sieges in the Netherlands, opened trenches before Tournay, on the Scheldt river, which, in this place, runs nearly from south to north. King Louis, with the young dauphin, "not to speak of mistresses, play-actors, and cookery-apparatus (in wagons innumerable) hastens to be there," says Carlyle.* Tournay was very strongly fortified, and defended by a Dutch garrison of nine thousand men, and Saxe appeared before it with an army of about seventy thousand men. The allies determined at all hazards to raise the siege, and King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland, hastened over from England to take command of the allied forces — English, Dutch, Hanoverian, and Austrian—destined for that service. Count Königseck commanded the Austrian quota, and the Prince of Waldeck the Dutch. The army was mustered near Brussels on the 4th of May, and thence set forth, sixty thousand strong, for Tournay, passing near the field of *Steinkirk*—a name remembered in the English army. On Sunday, the 9th of May (*new style*), the duke reached the village of Vazon, six or seven miles from Tournay, in a low, undulating country, with some wood and a few streams and peaceable villages. The ground which was to be the field of battle lies all between the Brussels road and the river Scheldt. Tournay lay to the north-west, closely beleaguered by the French, and the Maréchal de Saxe, aware of the approach of the allies, had thrown up some works, to bar their line of advance, with strong batteries in the villages of Antoine and Fontenoy, and on the edge of a small wood, called *Bois de Barri*, which spreads out towards the east, but narrows nearly to a point in the direction of Tournay. In these works, connected by redans and *abatis*, and mounted with probably a hundred guns, the Maréchal took his position with fifty-five thousand men, leaving part of his force around Tournay and in neighboring garrisons. Near the point of the wood is a redoubt called "redoubt of Eu," so called from the title of the Norman regiment which occupied it that day. On a hill a little farther within the French lines the king and the dauphin took their post.

And now Saxe only feared that the allies might not venture to assail him in so strong a place; and the old Austrian, Königseck, was strongly of opinion that the attempt ought not to be made; but the Duke of Cumberland and Waldeck, the Dutch commander, were of a different opinion, and, in short, it was determined to go in. Early in the morning of the 11th the dispositions were made. The Dutch and Austrians were on the enemy's left, opposite the French right, and destined to carry St. Antoine and its works; the English and Hanoverians in the centre, with their infantry in front and cavalry in the rear, close by the wood of Barri. The map contained in the "Memoirs of Maréchal Saxe" gives the disposition of the various corps on the French side; and we there find the place of the Irish brigade marked on the left of the French line, but not the extreme left, and nearly opposite the salient point of the wood of Barri. The brigade was not at its full strength; and we know not on what authority Mr. Davis* states that all the seven regiments were on the ground. There were probably four regiments; certainly three—Clare's, Dillon's, and Lally's—Lord Clare being in chief command. Neither Clare, nor Dillon, nor Lally was Irish by birth, but all were sons of Limerick exiles. Of their troops ranked that day under the green flag, probably not one had fought at Limerick fifty-four years before. They were either the sons of the original "Wild-geese," or Irishmen who had migrated since, to fly from the degradation of the

* Life of Frederick. Mr. Carlyle, who devotes many pages to a minute account of the battle of Fontenoy, does not seem to have been made aware, in the course of his reading, of the presence of any Irish troops at all on that field.

* Note to his splendid ballad of "Fontenoy."

penal laws, and seek revenge upon their country's enemies. Judging from the space which the brigade is made to occupy on the map, it appears likely that its effective force at Fontenoy did not exceed five thousand men, or the tenth part of the French army.

The various attacks ordered by the Duke of Cumberland on the several parts of the French line were made in due form, after some preliminary cannonading. None of them succeeded. The Dutch and Austrians were to have stormed St. Antoine, their right wing at the same time joining hands with the English and Hanoverians opposite Fontenoy. But they found the fire from Antoine too heavy, and, besides, a battery they were not aware of opened upon them from the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and cut them up so effectually that after two gallant assaults they were fain to retire to their original position. Of course the English have complained ever since that it was the Dutch and Austrians who lost them Fontenoy. In the mean time the English and Hanoverians were furiously attacking the village of Fontenoy itself, but had no better success. Before the attack a certain Brigadier-General Ingoldsby had been detached with a Highland regiment, "Semple's Highlanders," and some other force, to silence the redoubt of Eu, on the edge of the wood, which seriously incommoded the English right. Ingoldsby tried, but could not do it (on which account he underwent a court-martial in England afterwards). So the duke had to make his attack on Fontenoy with the guns of that redoubt hammering his right flank. The attack was made, however, and made with gallantry and persistency, three times, but completely repulsed each time with considerable loss. Nothing but repulse everywhere—right, left and centre; but now the Duke of Cumberland perceived that between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, with its redoubt of Eu, there was a passage practicable, though with great peril and loss from the cross-fire. "Sire," said Saxe to the king on the evening of that triumphant day, "I have one fault to reproach myself with—I ought to have put one more redoubt between the wood and Fontenoy; but I thought there was no general bold enough to hazard a passage in that place."* In fact, no general ought to have done so. However, as Carlyle describes this advance, "His Royal Highness blazes into resplendent *Platt-Deutsch* rage, what we may call spiritual white heat, a man *sans peur* at any rate, and pretty much *sans avis*—decides that he must and will be through those lines, if it please God; that he will not be repulsed at his part of the attack—not he, for one; but will plunge through by what gap there is (nine hundred yards Voltaire measures it), between Fontenoy and that redoubt, with its laggard Ingoldsby, and see what the French interior is like."† In fact, he did come through the lines, and saw the interior.

He retired for a space, rearranged his English and Hanoverians in three thin columns, which, in the advance, under heavy fire from both sides, were gradually crowded into one column of great depth, full sixteen thousand strong.‡ They had with them twelve field-pieces—six in front and six in the middle of their lines.§ The column had to pass through a kind of hollow, where they were somewhat sheltered from the fire on each flank, dragging their cannon by hand, and then mounted a rising ground, and found themselves nearly out of direct range from the guns both of Fontenoy and the redoubt of Eu—fairly in sight of the French position. In front of them, as it chanced, were four battalions of the *Gardes Françaises*, with two battalions of Swiss guards on their left, and two other French regiments on their right. The French officers seem to have been greatly surprised when they saw the English battery of cannon taking position on the summit of the rising ground. "English cannon!" they cried; "let us go and take them." They mounted the hill with their grenadiers, but were astonished to find an army in their front. A heavy discharge, both of artillery

* Voltaire. Louis XV. His account of the battle is in general very clear and precise; but Voltaire, both in this work and in his poem of Fontenoy, though he cannot altogether avoid all mention of the Irish troops, takes care to say as little about them as possible.

† Life of Frederick.

‡ Davis, both in his ballad and his note on this battle, by some unaccountable oversight, states it at six thousand.

§ Voltaire.

and musketry, made them quickly recoil with heavy loss. The English column continued to advance steadily, and the French guards, with the regiment of Courten, supported by other troops, having re-formed, came up to meet them. It is at this point that the ceremonious salutes are said to have passed between Lord Charles Hay, who commanded the advance of the English, and the Comte d'Auteroche, an officer of the French grenadiers—the former taking off his hat and politely requesting Messieurs of the French Guards to fire—the latter, also, with hat off, replying, "After you, Messieurs." D'Espagnac and Voltaire both record this piece of stage-courtesy. But Carlyle, though he says it is a pity, disturbs the course of history by means of "a small irrefragable document which has come to him," namely, an original letter from Lord Hay to his brother, of which this is an excerpt: "It was our regiment that attacked the French Guards; and when we came within twenty or thirty paces of them, I advanced before our regiment, drank to them (to the French), and told them that we were the English Guards, and hoped they would stand till we came quite up to them, and not swim the Scheldt, as they did the Mayn at Dettingen; upon which I immediately turned about to our own regiment, speeched them, and made them huzzah. An officer (d'Auteroche) came out of the ranks, and tried to make his men huzzah. However, there were not above three or four in their brigade that did," &c. In fact, it appears that the French, who, according to that chivalrous legend, "never fired first," did fire first on this occasion; but both *Gardes Françaises* and Swiss Guards were driven off the field with considerable slaughter. And still the English column advanced, with a terrible steadiness, pouring forth a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery, suffering grievously by repeated attacks, both in front and flank, but still closing up its gapped ranks, and showing a resolute face on both sides. There was some confusion in the French army, owing to the surprise at this most audacious advance, and the resistance at first was unconcerted and desultory. Regiment after regiment, both foot and horse, was hurled against the redoubtable column, but all were repulsed by an admirably sustained fire, which the French called *feu d'enfer*. Voltaire states that among the forces which made these ineffectual attacks were certain Irish battalions, and that it was in this charge that the Colonel Count Dillon was killed. And still the formidable column steadily and slowly advanced, calmly loading and firing, "as if on parade," says Voltaire, and were now full three hundred paces beyond the line of fire from Fontenoy and the redoubt of the wood, resolutely marching on towards the French headquarters. By this time Count Saxe found that his batteries at Fontenoy had used all their balls and were only answering the guns of the enemy with discharges of powder. He believed the battle to be lost, and sent two several times to entreat the king to cross the Scheldt, and get out of danger, which the king, however, steadily refused to do.

Military critics have said that at this crisis of the battle, if the English had been supported by cavalry, and due force of artillery, to complete the disorder of the French—or, if the Dutch, under Waldeck, had at that moment resolutely repeated their assault upon St. Antoine, the victory was to the Duke of Cumberland, and the whole French army must have been flung into the Scheldt river. Count Saxe was now in mortal anxiety, and thought the battle really lost, when the Duke de Richelieu rode up at full gallop and suggested a plan, which was happily adopted. It was the thought of that same Colonel Count de Lally, who has been heard of before at Dettingen.* In fact, this famous plan does not appear to have required any peculiar strategic genius to conceive, for it was neither more nor less than to open with a battery of cannon right in front of the advancing column, and then attack it simultaneously with all the reserves, including the king's household cavalry, and the Irish brigade, which still stood motionless near the western point of the wood of Barri, and now abreast of the English column on

* "It is said the Jacobite Irishman, Count Lally, of the Irish brigade, was prime author of this notion."—Carlyle. Frederick. This is the only indication in all Carlyle's labored account of the battle that he was aware even of the presence of one Irishman.

its right flank. There was also in the same quarter the French regiment of Normandie, and several other corps which had already been repulsed and broken in several ineffectual assaults on the impregnable column.* A French authority † informs us that "this last decisive charge was determined upon, in the very crisis of the day, in a conversation rapid and sharp as lightning between Richelieu, galloping from rank to rank, and Lally, who was out of patience at the thought that the devoted ardor of the Irish brigade was not to be made use of." He had his wish, and at the moment when the battery opened on the front of the column, the brigade had orders to assail its right flank and to go in with the bayonet.

The English mass was now stationary, but still unshaken, and never doubting to finish the business, but looking wistfully back for the cavalry, and longing for the Dutch. Suddenly four guns opened at short range straight into the head of their column; and at the same moment the Irish regiments plunged into their right flank with bayonets levelled and a hoarse roar that rose above all the din of battle. The words were in an unknown tongue; but if the English had understood it, they would have known that it meant "*Remember Limerick!*" That fierce charge broke the steady ranks, and made the vast column waver and reel. It was seconded by the regiment of Normandie with equal gallantry, while on the other flank the cavalry burst in impetuously, and the four guns in front were ploughing long lanes through the dense ranks. It was too much. The English resisted for a little with stubborn bravery, but at length tumbled into utter confusion and fled from the field, leaving it covered thickly with their own dead and their enemies'. They were not pursued far, for, once outside of the lines, their cavalry was enabled to cover their retreat. The allies lost nine thousand men, including two thousand prisoners, and the French five thousand. So the battle of Fontenoy was fought and won.*

It cost the Irish brigade dear. The gallant Dillon was killed, with one-fourth of the officers and one third of the rank and file; but the immediate consequences to France were immense—Tournay at once surrendered; Ghent, Oudenarde, Bruges, Dendermonde, Ostend, were taken in quick succession; and the English and their allies driven back behind the swamps and canals of Holland.

None of all the French victories in that age caused in Paris such a tumult of joy and exultation. In England there were lamentation, and wrath, and courts-martial; but not against the Duke of Cumberland, for the king's son could do no wrong. In Ireland, as the news came in, first, of the British defeat, and, then, gradually, of the

* The Marquis d'Argenson, minister of Foreign Affairs, was present in the battle, and immediately after wrote a narrative of it, which he addressed to M. de Voltaire, then "Historiographer to the King." He says: "A false *corps de reserve* was then brought up; it consisted of the same cavalry which had at first charged ineffectually, the household troops of the king, the carbineers of the French guards, who had not yet been engaged, and a body of Irish troops, which were excellent, especially when opposed to the English and Hanoverians."

† Biog. Univ. Lally.

* M. de Voltaire, though he gives a long account of this battle, and cannot avoid naming at least the Irish brigade, has not one word of praise for it. This is the more notable, as he had D'Argenson's Memoir before him, who speaks of them as proving themselves excellent troops, *especially against the English*. But Voltaire always grudges any credit to the Irish troops, and never speaks of them at all in his histories when he can possibly avoid it. D'Argenson himself was well known to be no friend of theirs, and would not have praised them on this occasion if their bravery had not attracted the notice of all. Indeed, in the same letter to Voltaire this courtier says very emphatically—"The truth, the positive fact, without flattery, is this—*the king gained the battle himself*."

The services of the brigade, however, on that great day, were too notorious in the French army to be altogether concealed. The Memoir cited before from the *Biographie Universelle* says: "It is notorious how much the Irish brigade contributed to the victory by bursting at the point of the bayonet into the flank of the terrible English column, while Richelieu cannonaded it in front."

English historians scarce mention the brigade at all on this occasion; but Lord Mahon is a creditable exception. He says Count Saxe "drew together the household troops, the whole reserve, and every other man that could be mustered; but foremost of all were the gallant exiles of the Irish brigade." Voltaire, however, speaking of the troops who charged on the right flank, takes care to say "*Les Irlandais les secondent.*" But, perhaps, the best attestation to the services of the brigade was the imprecation on the Penal Code wrung from King George when he was told of the events of that day, "Cursed be the laws which deprive *me* of such subjects!"

glorious achievements of the brigade and the honors paid to Irish soldiers, a sudden but silent flush of triumph and of hope broke upon the oppressed race; and many a gloomy countenance brightened with a gleam of stern joy, in the thought that the long-mourned "Wild geese" would one day return, with freedom and vengeance in the flash of the bayonets of Fontenoy.

CHAPTER XI.

1745—1753.

Alarm in England—Expedition of Prince Charles Edward—"A Message of Peace to Ireland"—Viceroyalty of Chesterfield—Temporary Toleration of the Catholics—Berkeley—The Scottish Insurrection—Culloden—"Loyalty" of the Irish—Lucas and the Patriots—Debates on the Supplies—Boyle and Malone—Population of Ireland.

The battle of Fontenoy was an event in the history of Ireland—not only by the reflected glory of Irish heroism, but because disaster to England was followed, as usual, by a relaxation of the atrocities inflicted upon Irish Catholics, under the Penal Code. England, indeed, was in profound alarm, and not without cause, for, not only had the campaign in the Netherlands gone so decidedly against her, but almost immediately after it became known that preparations were on foot in France for a new invasion on behalf of Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender." The prince was now twenty-five years of age. He had been wasting away his youth at Rome, where his father, James III., then resided. In 1742 he was recalled to France, and some hopes were held out of giving him an armed force of French, Scotch, and Irish, to assert his father's rights to the crown of England. For three years he had waited impatiently for his opportunity; but the times were then so busy that nobody thought of him. It was the Cardinal de Tencin who one day advised him to wait no longer, but go with a few friends to some point in the north of Scotland. "Your presence alone," said the cardinal, "will create for you a party and an army; then France must send you succor." In short, the prince consulted with a few of his friends, chiefly Irish officers; an armed vessel of eighteen guns was placed at his disposal by an Irish merchant of Nantes, named Walsh; a French ship-of-war was ordered to escort him; and on the 12th of June, just one month after Fontenoy, he set sail with only seven attendants upon his adventurous errand. The seven who accompanied him were the Marquis of Tullibardine, brother to the Duke of Athol, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel O'Sullivan ("who was appointed," says Voltaire, "*Maréchal des Logis* of the army not yet in being"), a Scotch officer named MacDonald, an Irish officer named Kelly, and an English one named Strickland. They landed on the bare shore of Moidart, in the highlands, where the prince was quickly joined by some of the Jacobite clans, the MacDonald, Lochiel, Cameron, and Fraser. The Dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, however, who controlled other powerful clans, kept aloof and prepared to take the part of the reigning king. King George was at this moment in Hanover; but the lords of his council of regency made the best arrangements possible for resistance in a country so nearly stripped of all its regular troops, and set a price upon the prince's head.

In this emergency it was necessary to think of Ireland, as it was considered certain that the prince must have had agents in that country to stir up its ancient Jacobite spirit; besides, it was known that the principal chiefs of the enterprise were officers of the Irish brigade, coming flushed from Fontenoy; and the Government thought it was not in the nature of things that there could be tranquillity in Ireland. There must surely be an arrangement either for stirring an insurrection in the island itself or for sending fighting men to Scotland. On the whole, it was judged needful, in this dangerous crisis of British affairs, to show some indulgence to the Irish, and, accordingly, in the month of September, just as Prince Charles Edward was leading his mountaineers into Edinburgh, an amiable viceroy was sent to Dublin, bearing what might be called a "message of peace to Ireland." This was the Earl of Chesterfield, who had a reputation for gallantry, accomplishments, and an easy disposition. What Lord Chesterfield's secret instructions were, we can

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only judge by the course of his administration. He at once put a stop to the business of priest-hunting, and allowed the Catholic chapels in Dublin and elsewhere to be opened for service. On the 8th of October he met Parliament; and although in his speech on that occasion he recommended the Houses to turn their attention to the laws against Popery and consider whether they needed any amendment, yet this was expressed in a cold and rather equivocal manner, which greatly disgusted the fierce and gloomy bigots of the "Ascendency." He recommended no new penal laws, thinking probably there were quite enough already, and did not even introduce that traditional exhortation to the Houses—to exercise extreme vigilance in putting in force that Penal Code which they already had in such high perfection.

He soon made it evident, in short, that active persecution was to be suspended, although that indulgence was contrary to law; and those too zealous magistrates who had earned distinction by active prosecution of Papists under former viceroys found only discouragement and rebuke at the Castle. Chancellors, judges, and sheriffs were made to understand that if they would do the king's business aright this time, they must leave the "common enemy" in peace for the present. But Lord Chesterfield, immediately on coming over, employed many confidential agents, or, in short, spies, to find out what the Catholics were doing, thinking of, and talking about—whether there were any secret meetings—above all, whether there was any apparent diminution in the numbers of young men at fairs and other gatherings; in short, whether there was any migration to Scotland, or any uneasy movement of the people, as if in expectation of something coming.* Nothing of all this did he find, and, in truth, nothing of the kind existed. The people were perfectly tranquil, not much seeming even to know or to care what was going on in Scotland, enjoying quietly their unwonted exemption from the actual lash of the penal laws, and even repairing to holy wells again without fear of fine and whipping. It is true the lash was still held over them, and they were soon to feel it; true, also, that they were still excluded from all rights and franchises as strictly as ever. Not one penal law was repealed or altered; but there was at least forbearance towards their worship and their clergy. They might see a venerable priest now walking, in daylight, even from his "registered" parish into another, to perform some rite or service of religion, without fear of informers, of handcuffs, and of transportation. Nay, bishops and vicars apostolic could venture to cross the sea, and ordain priests and confirm children, in a quiet way; and it was believed that not even a monk could frighten Lord Chesterfield, who, in fact, had lived for years in France, and respected a monk quite as much as a rector of the Establishment.

Having once satisfied himself that there was no insurrectionary movement in the country, and none likely to be, he was not to be moved from his tolerant course by any complaints or remonstrances. Far from yielding to the feigned alarm of those who solicited him to raise new regiments, he sent four battalions of the soldiers then in Ireland to reinforce the Duke of Cumberland. He discouraged jobs, kept down expenses, took his pleasure, and made himself exceedingly popular in his intercourse with Dublin society; and not having forgotten the precepts which he had given to his son, the old beau (he was now fifty-two) pretended, from habit, to be making love to the wives of men of all parties. When some savage Ascendency Protestant would come to him with tales of alarm, he usually turned the conversation into a tone of light badinage, which perplexed and baffled the man. One came to seriously put his lordship on his guard by acquainting him with the fact that his own coachman was in the habit of going to Mass. "Is it possible?" cried Chesterfield; "then I will take care the fellow shall not drive *me* there." A courtier burst into his apartment one morning, while he was sipping his chocolate in bed, with the start-

* Plowden. This worthy writer, as well as his predecessor, Dr. Curry, is very emphatic in establishing the "loyal" attitude of the Irish people upon this occasion. Dr. Curry takes pains to prove "that no Irish Catholic, lay or clerical, was any way engaged in the Scottish rebellion of 1715." It is probable that Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Kelly, and other French-Irish officers, who fought in Scotland, were Frenchmen by birth, like Lally, Dillon, and Clare,

ling intelligence that "the Papists were rising" in Connaught. "Ah!" he said, looking at his watch, "'tis nine o'clock; time for them to rise." There was evidently no dealing with such a viceroy as this, who showed such insensibility to the perils of Protestantism and the evil designs of the dangerous Papists. Indeed, he was seen to distinguish by his peculiar admiration a Papist beauty, Miss Ambrose, whom he declared to be the only "dangerous Papist" he had met in Ireland.

It was during this period of quietude and comparative relief that the excellent Bishop Berkeley, of Cloyne, wrote a pamphlet in the form of an address to the Roman Catholics of his diocese of Cloyne. He had evidently feared that the Irish Catholics were secretly engaged in a conspiracy to make an insurrection in aid of the Pretender; and writes in a kind and paternal manner, exhorting them to keep the peace and attend quietly to their own industry, though, indeed, the bishop is evidently at a loss for arguments which he can urge upon this proscribed, disfranchised race, why they *should* take their lot quietly and be loyal to a Government that does not recognize their existence.

In the meanwhile, Prince Charles Edward, with his highlanders, had won the battle of Preston-pans, near Edinburgh (2d of October), and a few days after that victory arrived a French and a Spanish ship, bringing money and a supply of Irish officers, who, having served in France and Spain, were capable of disciplining his rude troops.* He marched south-westward, took and garrisoned Carlisle, advanced through Lancashire, where a body of three hundred English joined his standard, and thence as far as Derby, within thirty leagues of London. Report, which exaggerates every thing, represented his army as amounting to thirty thousand men, and all Lancashire as having declared in his favor. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended; the shops were closed for a day or two; and Dutch and Hessian troops were brought over in a great hurry from the Continent. The Franco-Irish soldiers in the service of France now became violently excited and impatient. They imagined that a descent upon England, in the neighborhood of Plymouth, would be quite practicable, as the passage is so short from Calais or Boulogne. The plan was to cross by night with ten thousand men and some cannon. Once disembarked, a great part of England would rise to join them, and they could easily form a junction with the prince, probably near London. The officers, of whom the most active in this business was Lally, demanded, as leader of the expedition, the Duke de Richelieu, who had fought with them at Fontenoy. They urged their point so earnestly that at length permission was granted. But the expedition never took place on any thing like the scale on which it was projected. M. de Voltaire, in describing the preparations, for once departs from his usual rule so far as to praise an Irishman. He says: "Lally, who has since then been a lieutenant-general, and who died so tragic a death, was the soul of the enterprise. The writer of this history, who long worked along with him, can affirm that he has never seen a man more full of zeal, and that there needed nothing to the enterprise but possibility. It was impossible to go to sea in face of the English squadrons; and the attempt was regarded in London as absurd."*

In fact, only a handful of troops was actually sent; and those troops were not Irish, but Scotch. Lord Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth, an officer in the French service, set forth in one vessel, by way of the German Sea, and arrived safely at Montrose with three companies of the *Royal Ecossais*, a Scottish regiment in French service. But before this small reinforcement arrived, the

* Voltaire.

* Any attempt of any kind is always regarded in London as absurd; and Voltaire was always too ready to adopt the view of English affairs which the English chose to give. He never wished for the success of the Stuarts; considered the House of Hanover a blessing to England, and did not care for Ireland at all. The reasons why he disliked the Irish were, first, that they were good Catholics, and, next, that the Irish in France were not very modest in asserting their pretensions and demanding recognition of their services. It was Voltaire's correspondent, D'Argenson, when minister, that said once to King Louis, "Those Irish troops give more trouble than all the rest of your majesty's army." "My enemies say so," answered the king.

army of the Prince had already retired from the centre of England; it had been diminished and weakened by various causes, the principal of which were jealousies of highland chiefs against one another, and of lowland lairds against them all, together with a general lack of discipline, and ere long a lack of provisions also. The Jacobite force made the best of its way back to Scotland, and soon after (January 28, 1746), utterly defeated an English force at Falkirk. This was the last of its successes. The Duke of Cumberland was now marching into Scotland with a considerable army, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 10th of February. Prince Charles Edward was obliged to raise the siege of Stirling Castle. The winter was severe, and subsistence was scarce. His last resource was now in the northern highlands, where there was still a force on foot, watching the seaports to receive the supplies which might still be sent from France; but most of the vessels destined to that service were captured by English cruisers. Three companies of the Irish egiment of Fitzjames arrived safely, and were received by the highlanders with acclamations of joy—the women running down to meet them and leading the officers' horses by the bridles. Still the prince was now hard pressed by the English; he retired to Inverness, which he made his headquarters; and on the 23d of April he learned that the duke, steadily advancing through the mountains, had crossed the river Spay, and felt that a decisive battle was now imminent. On the 27th the two armies were in presence at Culloden—the prince with five thousand men or less, the duke with ten thousand, well supplied with both cavalry and artillery. The English were by this time accustomed to the highland manner of fighting, which had so intimidated them at first, and with such superiority of numbers and equipments the event could scarcely be doubtful. The prince's small army was totally defeated, with a loss of nine hundred killed and three hundred and twenty prisoners. The prince himself made his way into the mountains, accompanied by his faithful friends, Sheridan and O'Sullivan; and his adventures, concealments, and ultimate escape are sufficiently well known. This was the last struggle of the Stuarts, and their cause was now lost utterly and forever. There were still, from time to time, plots, and even attempts by the Scottish Jacobites to make at least some commencement of a new insurrection, but all in vain. Ever after Jacobitism existed only in songs and toasts, sung and pledged in private society; and many a house in Edinburgh and glen in the highlands is yet made to ring with those plaintive or warlike lyrics. So long as the prince lived, the health of Prince Charlie was often drunk, or, "The King over the Water;" but he died in Florence in 1788, without legitimate posterity, and the cause of the ancient family sank definitively into the domain of sentimental associations and romantic souvenirs.

Almost at the very moment of the battle of Culloden the conciliatory Earl of Chesterfield was recalled from Ireland. His work was done, and done well. "England," says Plowden, with more than his usual point and force, "England was out of danger, and Ireland could securely be put again under its former *régime*." After a short interregnum, under three lords-justices, the Earl of Harrington was appointed lord-lieutenant on the 13th of September.

There was certainly no excuse for bringing the Irish back under the unmitigated terrors of the penal laws, on account of any manifestation of turbulence, or of a design "to bring in the Pretender" during the last insurrection. On this point the most hostile authorities agree, and, although we do not take credit for the fact as a proof of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover, the fact itself is indisputable. One remarkable witness is worth hearing on this question. In the year 1762, upon a debate in the House of Lords about the expediency of raising five regiments of these Catholics, for the service of the King of Portugal, Doctor Stone (then primate), in answer to some commonplace objections against the good faith and loyalty of these people, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly, in the House of Lords, that "in the year 1747, after that rebellion was entirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels, and their correspondents, which

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were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary; and that, after having spent much time and taken great pains in examining them (not without some share of the then common suspicion, that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish Catholics), he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or correspondence in them; or of any of the latter's favoring, abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of these rebels. And what," he said, "he wondered at most of all was, that in all his researches, he had not met with any passage in any of these papers, from which he could infer that either their Holy Father the Pope, or any of his cardinals, bishops, or other dignitaries of that church, or any of the Irish clergy, had, either, directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided, or approved of, the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion."

Another, and still more singular attestation to the same fact is in Chief-Justice Marlay's address to the Dublin Grand-Jury, after the suppression of the Scottish insurrection. "When posterity read . . . that Ireland, where much the greatest part of the inhabitants profess a religion which sometimes has authorized, or at least justified rebellion, not only preserved peace at home, but contributed to restore it amongst his subjects of Great Britain, will they not believe that the people of Ireland were actuated by something more than their duty and allegiance? Will they not be convinced that they were animated by a generous sense of gratitude and zeal for their great benefactor, and fully sensible of the happiness of being blessed by living under the protection of a monarch, who, like the glorious King William," &c. Thus, if Irish Catholics of the present day are willing to plume themselves, as some Catholic writers have done, upon the unshaken loyalty of their ancestors in 1745, there is no doubt that they are fully entitled to all the credit which can come to them from that circumstance.

Under Lord Harrington's administration the debates on money bills formed the chief subject of public interest, and the only field on which Irish "patriotism" and the champions of English domination tried their strength. It was also becoming a matter more and more important to the English Government, because, notwithstanding the discouragements of trade and the distresses of the country people, Ireland had now a surplus revenue to dispose of, and the Patriots naturally supposed this to be fairly applicable to public works within the island. Primate Stone, however, who was now in possession of all the influence of Boulter, and imbued with the same thoroughly British principles, contended that all the surplus revenue of Ireland, as a dependent kingdom, belonged of right to the Crown. The Patriot party were led chiefly by two men—Henry Boyle, the Speaker of the House, and the Prime Sergeant Antony Malone—the former an ambitious and intriguing politician, the latter an eloquent debater and most able constitutional lawyer. Outside of the House the patriotic spirit of the people—that is, the Protestant people—was inflamed by the writings of Dr. Charles Lucas, who had now, from petty corporation politics, risen to the height of the great argument of national independence. But it soon appeared that the Irish House of Commons was not yet prepared for the reception of such bold doctrines. Lucas and his writings were made the subject of a resolution in the House of Commons; he was but faintly defended by his own partisans, and the resolution passed, declaring him as "an enemy to his country," even for asserting the rightful independence of that very Parliament which proscribed him. This event befell in 1749; a reward was offered for the apprehension of Lucas, and he fled from the kingdom. As usual in such cases, the persecution directed against him attracted more attention to his writings and bred more sympathy with his principles; so that when he returned a few years after, he became for a time the most popular man in the kingdom. To international questions thus narrowed down to the mere right of voting or withholding money, it was impossible to give any high constitutional interest, and, in fact, during this administration not a single step in advance was gained by the "Patriot" party. The struggle for power and influence between Primate Stone and Speaker Boyle "was no more," says Mac

Nevin, "than the struggle of two ambitious and powerful men for their own ends."

In 1751 Lord Harrington was recalled. The Duke of Dorset, for the second time, came to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and the question of Irish parliamentary control over the revenues of the country came at last to a crisis, and received a solution very little to the comfort of the Patriots. In the last session under Harrington's viceroyalty, as there was a considerable surplus in the Irish Exchequer, the House of Commons determined to apply it towards the discharge of the national debt. A bill had been accordingly prepared and transmitted to England with this view, to which was affixed the preamble: "Whereas, on the 25th of March last a considerable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty's service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your majesty's most gracious intention, in discharge of part of the national debt," &c. On the transmission of this bill to London (Mr. Pelham being then prime minister), it was urged by the warm partisans of prerogative in the council that the Commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take into consideration the propriety of such appropriation, without the previous consent of the crown formally declared. When the Duke of Dorset came over, and opened the session of 1751, he informed the two Houses that he was commanded by the king to acquaint them that his majesty, ever thoughtful of the welfare and happiness of his subjects, would graciously *consent* and recommend it to them that such part of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. "Consent" involved a principle, and the Commons took fire at the word. They framed the bill, appropriating £120,000 for the purpose already stated, and omitted in its preamble all mention of the consent. But ministers returned it with an alteration in the preamble signifying the consent and containing the indispensable word. And the House, unwilling to drive the matter to extremities, passed the bill without further notice. Thus was established a precedent for the King of England consenting to the Irish Parliament voting their own money. So far had the differences proceeded, when Mr. Pelham died, and the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as prime minister, zealous to uphold the prerogative, to improve upon the precedent, and to repeat the lesson just given to the aspiring colonists of Ireland, sent positive directions to Dorset, in opening the session of 1753, to repeat the expression of his majesty's gracious consent in mentioning the application of surplus revenue. The House, in their Address, not only again omitted all reference to that gracious consent, but even the former expressions of grateful acknowledgment; and the bill of supplies was actually transmitted to England without the usual complimentary preamble. The ministers of the crown in England, in their great wisdom, thought fit to supply it thus: "And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would *consent*," and so forth.

When the bill came over thus amended there was much excitement both in Parliament and in society. Malone was learned and convincing. Boyle, by his extensive influence and connections in Parliament, powerfully seconded, or rather led, the opposition. And, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the king's servants to do the king's business, the spirit of independence was sufficiently roused to cause the entire defeat of the amended bill, though only by a majority of five votes. The Commons wished to appropriate the money—the king consented, and insisted upon consenting; and then the Commons would not appropriate it at all, because the king consented. The defeat of the bill was considered as a victory of Patriotism, and was celebrated with universal rejoicings—even the Catholics joining in the general joy, for they felt instinctively that it was the weight of English predominance which kept them in their degraded position, and necessarily sympathized with every struggle against that. Yet, after all, this spirited conduct of the Commons was but

an impotent protest; for the public service was now left wholly unprovided for, the circulation of money almost ceased, trade and business suffered, and a clamor soon arose, not more against the Government than against the Patriots. Thus the Court party had its revenge. The lord-lieutenant took the whole surplus revenue out of the treasury by virtue of a "royal letter"; so the king, after all, not only consented to the act, but did the act wholly himself; and Speaker Boyle was removed from his seat at the Privy Council, and Malone's patent of precedence as prime sergeant was annulled. The viceroy and the primate took care to put some mark of royal displeasure upon every one who had voted down the Supply Bill; and it may be doubted whether the English interest did not gain a more decisive victory by thus trampling with impunity upon all constitutional forms, than if the Irish Parliament had quietly submitted to the servile form prescribed to it. There was no visible remedy; the mob of Dublin might hoot the viceroy when his coach appeared in the treets; they could threaten and mob the primate or Hutchinson, or others who were conspicuous in asserting the obnoxious royal prerogative; yet they had no alternative but to submit. In the discussion of this question we might repeat the words of Swift when speaking of the case of Molyneux: "The love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed, the arguments on *both* sides were invincible. For, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery; but, in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt."

Up to this period we have invariably found the struggles of the colony to take rank as a nation—of its Parliament to assert its independence—successfully resisted and triumphantly crushed down. The assertion of the jurisdiction of the Irish lords in the case of "Sherlock and Annesley" was instantly followed by the Declaratory Act, which enacted that the Irish lords had no jurisdiction at all. The more anxiously our Irish Parliament affirmed its sovereign right, the more systematically were acts passed by the English Parliament to bind Ireland. And now the attempted vindication by the Irish Legislature of its right to vote, or not vote, its own money, was only the occasion of a high-handed royal outrage, trampling upon every pretence of constitutional law; and Irish "Patriots," if unanswerable in their arguments, were impotent to make them good in fact; for "the arguments on *both* sides were invincible." It is, in truth, impossible to avoid assent to the conclusions of Lord Clare (not O'Brien, King James's Lord Clare, but Fitzgibbon, King George's Lord Clare), in his often-quoted speech fifty years later, in so far as he demonstrated the anomalous and untenable relation between the two Parliaments of England and of Ireland. This English Protestant colony in Ireland, which aspired to be a nation, amounted to something under half a million of souls in 1754.* It was out of the question that it should be united on a footing of equality with its potent mother country, by "the golden link of the crown," because the wearer of that crown was sure to be guided in his policy by English ministers, in accordance with English interests; and as the army was the king's army, he could always enforce that policy. The fatal weakness of the colony was, that it would not amalgamate with the mass of the Irish people, so as to form a true nation, but set up the vain pretension to hold down a whole disfranchised people with one hand, and defy all England with the other.

Still the colonists were multiplying and growing rich; and happily for them, England was on the eve of disaster and humiliation; and a quarter of a century later a gracious opportunity was to arise which gave them real independence for at least a few years.

* We take the estimate of the entire population for that year from the tables in Thom's official Almanac and Directory. For 1754 it is estimated at 2,372,634 men, women, and children. At the rate of five Catholics to one Protestant (which is Dr. Boulter's estimate), the *active* part of the population was under half a million. The rest was assumed by law not to exist in the world.

CHAPTER XII.

1753—1760.

Unpopularity of the Duke of Dorset—Earl of Kildare—His Address—Patriots in power—Pension List—Duke of Bedford lord-lieutenant—Case of Saul—Catholic meeting in Dublin—Commencement of Catholic agitation—Address of the Catholics received—First recognition of the Catholics as subjects—Lucasian mobs—Project of Union—Thurot's expedition—Death of George II.—Population—Distress of the country—Operation of the Penal Laws—The Geoghegans—Catholic Petition—Berkeley's "Querist."

After these high-handed measures of the English ministry, of which Dorset was but the instrument, he became intolerable to the people of Dublin, as well as his son, Lord George Sackville, the primate, and every one professing "to do the king's business in Ireland." The duke, even before being recalled, found it necessary to go over to England, partly to avoid the odium of the Irish, but chiefly to take care of his interests and those of his family at the court. The colonial patriotism ran high; the mob of Dublin became "Lucasian." The primate durst not appear on the streets; and the manner was then first introduced of expressing, by toasts, at private supper parties, some stirring patriotic sentiment or keen invective against the administration, in terse language, which would pass from mouth to mouth, and thence get into the newspapers. One of these toasts was, "May all Secretary-Bashaws and lordly high-priests be kept to their tackle, the sword and the Bible." Another was, "May the importation of *Ganymedes* into Ireland be discontinued," which was an allusion to unnamable vices attributed to Primate Stone.

However, the chief interest of the struggle between court and country was now, for the moment, transferred to the cabinets and antechambers of ministers at London. The Earl of Kildare, afterwards Duke of Leinster, a high-spirited nobleman, as became his Geraldine blood, was moved with indignation at the late proceedings in his country; for the Geraldines had always considered themselves Irish, and long before these Cromwellian and Williamite colonists had appeared in the island his ancestors were not only Irish and chiefs of Clan-Geralt, but were even reproached as being actually more Irish than the Irish. Of course, the family had long ago "conformed," like most of th O'Briens and De Burghos, and many other ancient tribes of French and Irish stock; otherwise the earl could not have sat in Parliament, nor taken the bold step which so much astonished British courtiers at this period. He went over to London, had an audience of the king, and presented him with his own hand an address of remonstrance from himself against the whole course of the Irish Government under Lord Dorset. This document spoke very plainly to the king; told him "his loyal kingdom of Ireland wore a face of discontent;" that this discontent proceeded not from faction, but from the malfeasance of ministers; it complained of the odious duumvirate of the primate and the viceroy; compared the latter with Strafford, the former with Laud and Wolsey, and especially exposed the insolent behavior of Dorset's son, Lord George Sackville, in mischievously meddling with all the public affairs of the kingdom.

Ministers were surprised at what they considered the boldness of this proceeding. The Earl of Holderness writes to the Irish Chancellor Jocelyn, "My good lord chancellor—I am not a little concerned that the noble Earl of Kildare should take so bold a step as he may repent hereafter. * * He was but ill received, and very coolly dismissed, as, indeed, the presumption well merited; for why should his majesty receive any remonstrances concerning his kingdom or government, but from the proper ministers, or through the usual channels, namely, both Houses of Parliament? I desire my compliments may attend his grace, my lord primate, and wish him success in all laudable endeavors for *poor Ireland*." But, in fact, although the earl's address was spoken of generally as an act of temerity "which nothing but the extreme mildness of government could allow to remain unpunished," yet it appears he felt extremely easy about these hints of danger to himself. If it be true that he was "coolly dismissed" from the royal audience, yet the government of Ireland was very quickly modelled upon his views, or almost placed

substantially in his hands. Dorset was soon recalled, and was succeeded by the Lord Hartington, a personal and political ally of Kildare. Mr. Plowden alleges, and the result seems to confirm it, that this viceroy came over to Ireland leagued by a secret treaty with the Patriot party, through the intermediation of Lord Kildare, and in especial had a clear understanding with Boyle and Malone. Stone was removed from the privy council; Boyle was made Earl of Shannon, and entered the Upper House, accepting at the same time a pension of £2,000 for thirty-one years. Ponsonby was elected Speaker in his place. The system of the English Court was now to buy up the Patriots with place and patronage. Even Malone was promised the succession to Boyle as Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the public, and his own respectable family, raised such an outcry against this that he was ashamed to accept it, and declined. Boyle continued nominal chancellor, and Malone condescended to receive the profits of the place. We hear but little more of any trouble given to English rule by this band of Irish Patriots, and the bitter reflection of Thomas MacNevin upon the whole transaction seems well justified. "Despotism, without corruption, was not considered as a fit exemplar of government, and the matter for the present terminated by a title and a pension conferred on the greatest Patriot of the day. Henry Boyle bore about the blushing honors of his public virtue, emblazoned on the coronet of the Earl of Shannon. The primate did not fare so well; he was removed from the privy council. The rest of the Patriots found comfortable retreats in various lucrative offices, and the most substantial compliments were paid to those who were noisiest in their patriotism and fiercest in their opposition."

In 1756 the lord-lieutenant, now Duke of Devonshire, after having thus gratified the "Patriots," returned to England in delicate health—leaving as lords-justices, Jocelyn, ord chancellor, and the Earls of Kildare and Bessborough.

It is painful to be obliged to admit that the transferrence of the power and patronage of the Irish Government into the hands of the Patriots was not productive of any whole-some effect whatsoever—neither in favor of the Catholic masses (for the Patriots were their mortal enemies), nor in favor of public virtue and morality, for nobody demands to be bought at so high a price as a patriot. Accordingly, we soon find the whole attention of Parliament and of the country absorbed by inquiries into the enormously increased pension list upon the Irish Establishment. In March, 1756, some member (unpensioned) of the Commons, introduced a bill to vacate the seats of such members of the House of Commons as should accept any pension or civil office of profit from the Crown. It was voted down by a vote of eighty-five to fifty-nine—a fatal and ominous warning to the nation. On the day when that measure was debated, a return of pensions was brought in and read. Many of the first names in Ireland appear upon the shameful list; many foreigners or Englishmen; few or no meritorious servants of the state. The Countess of Yarmouth stood upon that return for £4,000; Mr. Bellingham Boyle, a near relative of the illustrious "Patriot," for £800 "during pleasure" (that is, so long as he should make himself generally useful), and the Patriot himself, now Earl of Shannon, closed up the list with his pension of £2,000 a year.

Although the bill to vacate the seats of pensioners was lost, the revelations of prevailing corruption were so gross that certain other members of Parliament, not yet pensioned, again returned to the charge upon this popular grievance. A series of resolutions was, in fact, reported by the committee on public accounts, not, indeed, making personal and ungracious reference to the private concerns of members of Parliament, but stating in general terms that the pension list had become altogether too enormous; that it had been increased since the 23d of March, 1755—that is, within one year—by no less than £28,103 *per annum;* that these pensions were lavished upon *foreigners*, and upon people not resident in Ireland and that all this was a loss and injury to the nation and to his majesty's service. Upon these resolutions, which did not touch too closely the Patriots' own private arrangements, there was a patriotic struggle, and even a patriotic triumph. The resolutions

were passed, and were presented by Speaker Ponsonby to the viceroy, with the usual request that they should be transmitted to the king. He only replied that the matter was of too high a nature for him to promise at once that he would forward such resolutions. Thereupon the Speaker returned to the House and reported his reception. It was determined to make a stand, and next day a motion was made that all orders not yet proceeded on should be adjourned, the House not having yet received any answer from the lord-lieutenant as to the transmission of their resolutions. This, of course, meant that they would vote no supplies until they should be satisfied on that point. The motion to adjourn every thing was carried, by a strict party vote—those in favor of the resolutions voting for the adjournment, and those opposed to them voting against it. The lord-lieutenant immediately sent a message that he would transmit the resolutions without delay. Thus a small patriotic victory was gained without any one being injured, for nothing whatsoever came of these resolutions.

In September, 1757, the Duke of Bedford came over as lord-lieutenant—specially instructed by Mr. Pitt to go upon the conciliatory policy. He was to employ all softening and healing arts of government. In fact, it is to the Duke of Bedford's administration we are to go back for the commencement of that well-known Whig policy, of making use of the Patriotic Irish party, and even of the Catholics themselves, in support of the Whig party in England. There had been lately a considerable aggravation of the sufferings of the Catholics under the penal laws; the gentleness and forbearance exercised towards them during Chesterfield's viceroyalty had no longer a sufficient reason and motive; the halcyon days of connivance and extra-legal toleration were over, and the Catholics were once more under the full pressure of the laws "for preventing the growth of Popery."

A remarkable example of this low condition of the Catholics occurred the year following. A young Catholic girl named O'Toole was importuned by some of her friends to conform to the Established Church; to avoid this persecution, she took refuge in the house of another friend and relative, a Catholic merchant in Dublin, named Saul. Legal proceedings were at once taken against Mr. Saul, in the name of a Protestant connection of the young lady. Of course, the trial went against Saul; and on this occasion he was assured from the bench that Papists had no rights, inasmuch as "the law did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom; *nor could they so much as breathe there without the connivance of Government.*" And the court was right, for such was actually the "Law," or what passed for law in Ireland at that time.

On the arrival of the Duke of Bedford there had even been prepared, by some members of Parliament, the "heads of a bill" for a new and more stringent penal law regulating the registration of priests, and intended to put an effectual end, by dreadful penalties, to the regular course of hierarchical church government, which had, up to that time, been carried on regularly, though clandestinely and against the law. The menace of this new law and the late proceedings respecting Mr. Saul, caused a good deal of agitation and excitement among the Catholics, and the leading people of that religion in Dublin even ventured to hold small meetings in an obscure manner, to consult on the best way of meeting the fresh atrocities which were now threatened. In these preliminary meetings two factions at once developed themselves; the long period of unacquaintance with all political and civil life had rendered the Catholic people almost incapable of efficient organization and co-operation; and so they divided forthwith into two parties—the one led by Lord Trimbleston, the other by Dr. Fitzsimon. At length certain of the more rational and moderate leaders of the Catholics, Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar; Dr. Curry, author of the *Historical Review of the Civil Wars;* Mr. Wyse, a Waterford merchant, together with Lords Fingal, Taaffe, and Delvin, originated a new movement by a meeting in Dublin, which established the first "Catholic Committee," and commenced that career of "agitation" which has since been carried to such great lengths. The first performances of this Catholic Committee have been, and will always be, very variously appreciated by Irish

men, in accordance with their different ideas as to the policy and duty of a nation held in so degrading a bondage. It became known, during the administration of Lord Bedford, that the Jacobites in France were preparing another expedition for a descent somewhere on the British coast, or Ireland; and on the 29th of October, 1759, the lord-lieutenant delivered a message to Parliament, in which he stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, written by the king's express command, informing him that France was preparing a new invasion, and desiring him to exhort the Irish people to show on this occasion their tried loyalty and attachment to the House of Hanover. Immediately an address, testifying the most devoted "loyalty," was prepared by the Catholic Committee. It was written by Charles O'Conor, and signed by three hundred of the most respectable Catholic inhabitants of Dublin. But here a difficulty arose; Catholics were not citizens, nor subjects; they were not supposed to exist at all; other attempts they had made to testify their "loyalty" had been repulsed with the most insolent disdain; and they knew well they were exposing themselves to another humiliation of the same kind on the present occasion. However, two bold Papists undertook to present the address to Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons. These were Antony McDermott and John Crump. They waited on the Speaker and read him the loyal manifesto. Mr. Ponsonby, a Whig and a "Patriot," took the document, laid it on the table, said not one word, and bowed the delegates out. There were a few days of agitated suspense; and then, on the 10th of December, the lord-lieutenant sent a gracious answer. He did more; he caused his answer to be printed in the Dublin Gazette, thereby officially recognizing the existence (though humble) of persons calling themselves Catholics in Ireland. The Speaker then sent for the two gentlemen who had presented the address, and ordered Mr. McDermott to read it to the House. Mr. McDermott read it, and then thanked the Speaker, in the name of the Irish Catholics, for his condescension. Mr. Ponsonby most graciously replied "that he counted it a favor to be put in the way of serving so respectable a body as the gentlemen who had signed that address." The Catholics, then, for the first time since the Treaty of Limerick, were publicly and officially admitted to be in a species of existence. Here was a triumph!

In fact, this recognition of Irish Catholics as a part of the King of England's subjects was a kind of admission of that body over the threshold of the temple of civil and constitutional freedom. We may feel indignant at the extreme humility of the proceedings of the committee, and lament that the low condition of our countrymen at that time left them no alternative but that of professing a hypocritical "loyalty" to their oppressors; for the only other alternative was secret organization to prepare an insurrection for the total extirpation of the English colony in Ireland, and, carefully disarmed as the Catholics were, they doubtless felt this to be an impossible project. Yet, for the honor of human nature, it is necessary to state the fact that this profession of loyalty to a king of England was in reality insincere. Hypocrisy, in such a case, is less disgraceful than would have been a genuine canine attachment to the hand that smote and to the foot that kicked.

The real object of the conciliatory policy which the Duke of Bedford was instructed to pursue towards the Catholics was not only to give additional strength to the Whig party in England, but also to prepare the way for a legislative union between the two countries; in other words, a complete absorption and extinguishment of the shadowy nationality of Ireland in the more real and potent nationality of her "sister country," and even so early as the time of Bedford's administration the English ministry had begun to count upon the Catholics as an *anti-Irish* element which might be used to crush the rising aspirations of colonial nationality. Rumors began to be current in Dublin that a project was on foot to destroy the Irish Parliament and effect a union with Great Britain, similar to that which had been made with Scotland; and the people of the metropolis became violently excited. On the 3d of December, in this year (1759), the mob rose and surrounded the Houses of

Parliament with loud outcries. When any member was seen arriving they stopped him, and obliged him to swear that he would oppose a union. The lord chancellor and some of the bishops were hustled and maltreated, and one member of the privy council was flung into the Liffey. The tumult became so dangerous that at length Mr. Speaker Ponsonby, and Mr. Rigby, the secretary, were obliged to make their appearance in the portico of the House, and solemnly assure the people that no union was in contemplation, and that, if such a measure were proposed, they would resist it to the last extremity. The riot, however, was not suppressed without military aid, and, for the first time, zealous patriotic Protestants of the English colony were ridden down by the king's troops. The anti-union demonstration was essentially and exclusively Protestant, and the Catholics of Dublin made haste to clear themselves of all complicity in it. An inquiry was instituted in Parliament to ascertain who were the authors and promoters of the disturbance; and on that occasion, as some of the very persons guilty in that respect did, by their interest in both Houses, endeavor to fix the odium of it on the obnoxious Papists (to which conscious untruth and calumny the war then carrying on against France gave some kind of color), the Catholics thought it high time publicly to vindicate their characters from that and every other vile suspicion of disloyalty, by an address to his grace the lord-lieutenant, testifying their warmest gratitude for the lenity they experienced under his majesty's Government, and their readiness to concur with the faithfulest and most zealous of his majesty's other subjects, in opposing, by every means in their power, all, both foreign and domestic, enemies.*

On the same occasion Prime Sergeant Stannard, of the "Patriot" party, a gentleman of high honor and probity, in his speech in the House of Commons, contrasting the riotous conduct of the Lucasians (as they were then called after their chief), with the quiet and dutiful behavior of the Roman Catholics, in that and other dangerous conjunctures, gave the following testimony in favor of these latter: "We have lived amicably and in harmony among ourselves, and without any material party distinctions, for several years past, till within these few months; and during the late wicked rebellion in Scotland, we had the comfort and satisfaction to see that all was quiet here. And to the honor of the Roman Catholics be it remembered, that not a man of them moved tongue, pen, or sword, upon the then or the present occasion; and I am glad to find that they have a grateful and proper sense of the mildness and moderation of our Government. For my part, while they behave with duty and allegiance to the present establishment, I shall hold them as men in equal esteem with others in every point but one; and while their private opinion interferes not with public tranquillity, I think their industry and allegiance ought to be encouraged."

It deserves remark, then, that on this first occasion when a project of legislative union was really entertained by an English ministry, the "Patriot" party, which opposed it, was wholly and exclusively of the Protestant colony, and that the Catholics of Ireland were totally indifferent; and, indeed, they could not rationally be otherwise, as it was quite impossible for them to feel an attachment to a national legislature in which they were not represented, and for whose members they could not even cast a vote.

The French naval expedition was in preparation at the ports of Brest and Dunkirk, and the enthusiastic Franco-Irish officers did not doubt that if it could once land in Ireland, and obtain a first success, the whole Catholic nation would rise to support it. The anticipation would have been realized, if the two squadrons could have united, and then entered a southern or western port. But now, as in other instances, the fortune of war and weather on the sea befriended England. The Brest squadron was a powerful one, and was placed under command of Admiral Conflans; that fitted out at Dunkirk was intrusted to Thurot, who had gained distinction as commander of a privateer, sweeping the Channel and German Ocean of British commerce. In the year 1759, our excellent and conscientious historian, Plowden, was a boy, and in com-

* Curry's Review.

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pany with some other Catholic boys, was on board a vessel bound for France, to obtain the education which was by law debarred them at home. Their ship was chased, boarded and captured, between Ostend and Dunkirk, by a French vessel of war, which turned out to be no other than Thurot's ship, the Belle Isle, commanded by that redoubtable sea-rover. The boys, along with the rest of the crew, were carried as prisoners to Flushing, where they remained some weeks, guarded on board the Belle Isle while she was undergoing repairs. Plowden describes here a desperate mutiny of the wild crew of the Belle Isle, which, however, was fiercely suppressed by the officers—Thurot himself killing two of the ringleaders and cutting off the cheek of another. The young prisoners were shortly after exchanged.

This rude but gallant seaman was placed in command of the squadron of five ships then being fitted out at Dunkirk, to co-operate with Conflans. In the autumn of 1759 they both sailed; their rendezvous was to be in the Irish Sea. Conflans was encountered by the English Hawke and entirely defeated, while Thurot, after long cruising around the islands, and wintering in Norway, at last, in February, 1760, entered Lough Foyle with only three of his five vessels. One had been lost, and one had been sent back to France. He did not think fit to come up to Derry, which he probably imagined to be a stronger place than it really was, but coasted round the shores of Antrim, and suddenly appeared before Carrickfergus Castle, on Belfast Lough, upon the 21st of February. He summoned the castle to surrender; it was defended by a small garrison, commanded by a Colonel Jennings; and on Jennings' refusal to capitulate, the cannonade began. The peaceable Protestant citizens of Belfast could now, from their own streets, see the flash and hear the roar of the guns. They did not yet know the force of the invading squadron, and for a time believed that here were at last the French "bringing in the Pretender," overthrowing the "Ascendency," and taking back the forfeited estates. After a gallant resistance, the castle and town of Carrickfergus were taken, but with the loss of a considerable number of French soldiers, and Clobert, the brigadier-general of their land force, was wounded. The French kept possession of the town and castle for five days, and levied some contributions in Carrickfergus of such things as they needed after their long cruise. The town of Belfast contained at that time less than nine thousand inhabitants, but it was a prosperous trading place, and entirely Protestant. Alarm was instantly sent out through the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, the most populous Protestant districts of the island, and within this interval of five days two thousand two hundred and twenty volunteers were thronging towards Belfast, badly armed, indeed, and not disciplined at all, but zealous for the "Ascendency" and the House of Hanover. Thurot had little more than five hundred soldiers left, besides his sailors; he knew also that English men-of-war would very soon appear at the mouth of Belfast Lough; therefore he did not venture upon Belfast, especially as there was no sign of a Catholic rising anywhere to support him. He re-embarked on the 26th, and was encountered in the Irish Sea by three English ships of superior force. He gave battle, and fought with the utmost desperation; but at last his three vessels were captured, after Thurot himself was killed, with three hundred of his men. His shattered ships were towed into a port of the Isle of Man. Testimonies to the humanity and gallantry of this brave officer are freely accorded by his enemies.

King George the Second died this year, after a long and eventful reign. His personal character and dispositions were wholly immaterial to the course of events in this kingdom. Although his English subjects disliked him as a German, to Ireland he was a thorough Englishman—bound by his policy, as well as compelled by his advisers, to maintain the "English Interest," in opposition to that of Ireland. And this point was successfully and triumphantly carried, at every period of his reign, sometimes by strengthening the Court party, sometimes by buying up the "Patriots." There had been (over and above the usual suffering from poverty) two *famines;* also a considerable emigration of Presbyterians from the northern counties, to escape from the pay-



Carrickfergus Castle

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ment of tithes and from the disabilities created by the Test Act. The population of the island remained nearly stationary during the whole reign. In 1726 it was 2,309,106, and in 1754 it was 2,372,634—an increase of little more than sixty thousand in twenty eight years.* The manufacture of woollen cloth had almost disappeared, but in the eastern part of Ulster the linen trade had taken a considerable extension.

It is impossible to exaggerate, and hard to conceive in all its horror, the misery and degradation of the Catholic people, throughout this whole period, although active persecution ceased during the year of the battle of Fontenoy and the Scottish insurrection. On the whole, this was the era of priest-hunting, of "discoveries," and of an universal plunder of such property as remained in the hands of Catholics. In this pitiful struggle the wild humor of the race would sometimes break out; and often desperate deeds were done by beggared men. The story of two of the Geoghegans, of Meath, is so characteristic of the time as to deserve a place here. It is related by the author of "The Irish Abroad and at Home;" a very desultory and chaotic, but generally both authentic and entertaining, work.

"Seventy or eighty years ago, there resided in Soho Square, London, an Irish Roman Catholic gentleman, known among his friends as 'Geoghegan, of London.' Pretending to be, or being really, alarmed, lest a relative (Mr. Geoghegan, of Jamestown) should conform to the Protestant religion, and possess himself of a considerable property, situate in Westmeath, he resolved upon a proceeding to which the reader will attach any epithet it may seem to warrant.

"He repaired to Dublin, reported himself to the necessary authorities, and professed in all its required legal forms, the Protestant religion on a Sunday, sold his estates on Monday, and relapsed into Popery on Tuesday.

"He did not effect these changes unostentatiously; for 'He saw no reason for *mauvaise honte*,' as he called it. He expressed admiration of the same principle of convenient apostasy, which governed Henri IV.'s acceptance of the French crown. 'Paris vaut bien une messe,' said that gay, chivalrous, but somewhat unscrupulous monarch. Thus, when asked the motive of his abjuration of Catholicism, Geoghegan replied: 'I would rather trust my soul to God for a day, than my property to the fiend forever.'

"This somewhat impious speech was in keeping with his conduct at Christ-Church when he made his religious profession: the sacramental wine being presented to him, he drank off the entire contents of the cup. The officiating clergyman rebuked his indecorum. 'You need not grudge it me,' said the neophyte: 'it's the dearest glass of wine I ever drank.'

"In the afternoon of the same day he entered the Globe Coffee Room, Essex Street, then frequented by the most respectable of the citizens of Dublin. The room was crowded. Putting his hand to his sword, and throwing a glance of defiance around, Geoghegan said,

"'I have read my recantation to-day, and any man who says I did right is a rascal.'

"A Protestant with whom he was conversing the moment before he left home to read his recantation, said to him: 'For all your assumed Protestantism, Geoghegan, you will die a Papist.'

"'Fi donc, mon ami!' replied he. 'That is the *last* thing of which I am capable.'

"One more specimen of the operation of the penal laws may be given.

"Mr. Geoghegan had a relative, Mr. Kedagh Geoghegan, of Donower, in the county of Westmeath, who, though remaining faithful to the creed of his forefathers, enjoyed the esteem and respect of the Protestant resident gentry of his county. Notwithstanding that his profession of the Roman Catholic religion precluded his performing the functions of a grand juror, he attended the assizes at Mullingar regularly, in common with other gentlemen of Westmeath, and dined with the grand jurors.

"On one of those occasions, a Mr. Stepney, a man of considerable fortune in the county, approached him and remarked: 'Geoghegan, that is a capital team to your carriage. I have rarely seen four finer horses—nor bet-

* There was no census taken in either of those years. The estimates of the population given in Thom's Directory are founded upon such returns, parochial registers, and the like, as were accessible.

ter matched. Here, Geoghegan, are twenty pounds,' tendering him a sum of money in gold. 'You understand me. They are mine.' And he moved towards the door, apparently with the intention of taking possession of his purchase. The horses, not yet detached from Mr. Geoghegan's carriage, were still in the yard of the inn close by.

"'Hold, Stepney!' said Geoghegan. 'Wait one moment. I shall not be absent more than that time.' He then quitted the room abruptly, and was seen running in great haste towards the inn at which he always put up.

There was something in the scene which had just occurred which shocked the feelings of the witnesses of it, and something in the manner of Geoghegan, that produced among them a dead silence and a conviction that it was not to end there. Not a word was yet spoken, when the reports of four pistol shots struck their ears, and in a few seconds afterwards Geoghegan was perceived coming from the direction of the inn, laden with fire-arms. He mounted to the room in which the party were assembled, holding by their barrels a brace of pistols in each hand. Walking directly up to Stepney, he said: 'Stepney, you cannot have the horses for which you bid just now.'

"'I can, and will have them.'

"'You can't. I have shot them; and Stepney, unless you be as great a coward as you are a scoundrel, I will do my best to shoot you. Here, choose your weapon, and take your ground. Gentlemen, open if you please and see fair play.'

"He then advanced upon Stepney, offering him the choice of either pair of pistols. Stepney, however, declined the combat and quitted the room, leaving Geoghegan the object of the unanimous condolements of the rest of the party, and overwhelmed with their expressions of sympathy and of regret for the perversion of the law of which Mr. Stepney had just sought to render him the object.

"In tendering twenty pounds for horses that were worth twenty times that sum, Stepney was only availing himself of one of the enactments of the Penal Code, which forbade a Papist the possession of a horse of greater value than five pounds.

"Notwithstanding this incident, old Kedagh Geoghegan continued to visit Mullingar during the assizes for many years afterwards; but to avoid a similar outrage, and to keep in recollection the cruel nature of the Popery laws, his cattle thenceforward consisted of four oxen."

Another and a graver illustration of the general condition of the Catholics is the "Petition and Remonstrance" addressed to King George II. by some members of that body. It is found at length in Dr. Curry's excellent collection, and although it presents no new facts in addition to those already mentioned in the narration, it is interesting as an example of the tone and attitude which Catholics then thought it necessary to assume in addressing their master.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition and Remonstrance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:—We your majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to lay at your majesty's feet this humble remonstrance of some of those grievances and restraints under which we have long labored without murmuring or complaint; and we presume to make this submissive application, from a sense of your Majesty's great and universal clemency, of your gracious and merciful regard to tender consciences, and from a consciousness of our own loyalty, affection, and gratitude to your majesty's person and government, as duties incumbent upon us, which it is our unalterable resolution to pay in all events during the remainder of our lives.

And we are the more emboldened to present this our humble remonstrance, because it appeareth unto us, that the laws by which such grievances are occasioned, and such penalties inflicted upon us, have taken rise rather from private views of expediency and self-interest, or from mistaken jealousies and mistrusts, than from any truly public-spirited motives; inasmuch as they seemed to have infringed certain privileges, rights, and immunities, which had been freely and solemnly granted, together with a promise of further favor and indulgence to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, upon the most valuable

considerations. For we most humbly offer to your majesty's just and generous consideration, that on the 3d day of October, 1691, the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of this kingdom, under the late King James, entered into articles of capitulation at Limerick, whereby, among other things, it was stipulated and agreed, that "the Roman Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privilege in the exercise of their religion as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. and that their majesties as soon as their affairs would permit them, would summon a parliament in Ireland, and endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular, as might preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion." Whereupon these noblemen and gentlemen laid down their arms, and immediately submitted to their majesties' government; at the same time that they had offers of powerful assistance from France, which might, if accepted, have greatly obstructed the success of their majesties' arms in the war then carrying on abroad against that kingdom.

And although these articles were duly ratified and confirmed, first by the commander-in-chief of their majesties' forces in Ireland in conjunction with the then lords justices thereof, and afterwards by an act of the Irish parliament, in the ninth year of his majesty King William's reign, by which they became the public faith of the nation, plighted and engaged to these people in as full, firm, and solemn manner, as ever public faith was plighted to any people; yet so far were the Roman Catholics of Ireland from receiving the just benefit thereof; so far from seeing any steps taken, or means used in the Irish parliament, to procure them such promised security, as might preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion, that, on the contrary, several laws have been since enacted in that parliament, by which the exercise of their religion is made penal, and themselves and their heirs forever have forfeited those rights, immunities, and titles to their estates and properties, which in the reign of King Charles II. they were by law entitled to, and enjoyed in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

And such is the evil tendency of these laws to create jealousy and disgust between parents and their children, and especially to stifle in the breasts of the latter those pious sentiments of filial duty and obedience which reason dictates, good policy requires, and which the Almighty so strictly enjoins, that in virtue of them, a son, however undutiful or profligate in other respects, shall merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion, not only deprive the Roman Catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage or otherwise dispose of it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require, but also shall himself have full liberty to mortgage, sell, or otherwise alienate that estate from his family forever; a liberty most gracious sovereign, the frequent use of which has entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this kingdom, and brought many a parent's gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

And although very few estates at present remain in the hands of the Roman Catholic of Ireland, and therefore little or no matter appears to be left for these laws to operate upon, nevertheless, we are so far from being secure in the possession of personal property, so far from being preserved from any disturbance on account of our religion, even in that respect, that new and forced constructions have been of late years put upon these laws (for we cannot think that such constructions were ever originally intended), by which, on the sole account of our religion, we are in many cases, stripped of that personal property by discoverers and informers; a set of men, most gracious sovereign, once generally and justly despised amongst us, but of late grown into some repute, by the increase of their numbers, and by the frequency, encouragement, and success of their practices.

These and many other cruel restrictions (such as no Christian people under heaven but ourselves are made liable to) are and have long been greatly detrimental, not only to us in particular, but also to the commerce, culture, and every other improvement of this kingdom in general; and what is surely a melancholy consideration, are chiefly beneficial to the discoverers and informers

before mentioned; who under color of these laws, plunder indiscriminately, parents, brethren, kinsmen, and friends, in despite of all the ties of blood, of affection and confidence, in breach of the divine laws, of all former human laws, enacted in this or perhaps in any other kingdom, for the security of property, since the creation of the world.

The necessity of continuing laws in their full force for so great a number of years, which are attended with such shameful and pernicious consequences, ought, we humbly conceive, to be extremely manifest, pressing, and permanent; but so far is this from being the case with respect to these disqualifying laws, that even the pretended grounds for those jealousies and mistrusts, which are said to have given birth to them, have long since disappeared; it being a well-known and undeniable truth, that your majesty's distressed, but faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, have neither the inclination nor the power to disturb your majesty's government; nor can (we humbly presume) that only pretext now left for continuing them in force, viz. their tendency to make proselytes to the established religion, in any degree justify the manifold severities and injuries occasioned by them. For, alas! most gracious sovereign, there is but too much reason to believe, that proselytes so made are, for the most part, such in appearance only in order to become in reality, what all sincere Christians condemn and detest, undutiful children, unnatural brethren, or perfidious friends; and we submit it to your majesty's great wisdom and goodness, whether motives so repugnant to the public interest, and to all social, moral, and religious duties, are fit to be confided in or longer encouraged.

And because we are sensible, most gracious sovereign, that our professions of loyalty have been often cruelly misrepresented, even by those who were thoroughly acquainted with the candor and uprightness of our dealings in all other respects, we must humbly offer it to your princely and generous consideration, that we rest not the proof of our sincerity in such professions or words, but on things known and attested by all the world, on our dutiful, peaceable, and submissive behavior under such pressures, for more than half a century; a conduct, may it please your majesty, that clearly evinces the reality of that religious principle, which withholds us from sacrificing conscience or honor to any worldly interest whatever; since rather than violate either by hypocritical professions, we have all our lives, patiently suffered so many restrictions and losses in our temporal concerns; and we most submissively beseech your majesty to look down on such trials of our integrity, not only as a proof of our sincerity in this declaration, but also as an earnest and surety of our future good behavior; and to give us leave to indulge the pleasing hope, that the continuance of that behavior, enforced by our religious principles, and of your majesty's great and inherent goodness towards us, which it will be the business of our lives to endeavor to merit, may at length be the happy means of our deliverance from some part of that burden, which we have so long and so patiently endured.

That this act of truly royal commiseration, beneficence and justice, may be added to your majesty's many other heroic virtues, and that such our deliverance may be one of those distinguished blessings of your reign, which shall transmit its memory to the love, gratitude, and veneration of our latest posterity, is the humble prayer of, &c.

This very humble petition was never presented to the king. It was communicated, says Dr. Curry, "to the Right Reverend Dr. Stone, and was approved of by his Grace, and by as many of his discerning and confidential friends as he thought proper to show it to, as he himself assured Lord Taaffe." But in this case also, the Catholics themselves did not agree as to the proper steps to be taken; and the death of the Primate, shortly after, seems to have put an end to all proceedings upon it. This odious Primate, in the last years of his life, became quite friendly to the Catholics. The "English interests" in Ireland needed some support against the "Patriots," who set up the dangerous pretension to vindicate the national independence of the colony; and the Government already began to rely upon the Catholics as a means and agent of perpetuating British domination.

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As for the condition of the country people, it continued to be very miserable. A few of the queries contained in Bishop Berkeley's "Querist" will sufficiently describe their case. He asks:—

"Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilized people so beggarly, wretched, and destitute, as the common Irish?"—"Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home?"—"Whether, if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?"—"Whether a foreigner could imagine that one-half of the people were starving, in a country which sent out such plenty of provisions?"—"Whether it is possible the country should be well improved while our beef is exported and our laborers live upon potatoes?"—"Whether trade be not then on a right foot when foreign commodities are imported only in exchange for domestic superfluities?"—"Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool, and leather exported from this island can be reckoned the superfluities of a country, where there are so many natives naked and famished?" From these queries it is evident enough that the good and just-minded bishop traced the wretchedness of his countrymen to its true cause, namely, the settled determination of England to regulate all the industry of Ireland for her own use and profit: which indeed has continued to be the one great plague of the country from that day to this.

CHAPTER XIII.

1760—1762.

George III.—Speech from the Throne—"Toleration"—France and England in India—Lally's Campaign there—State of Ireland—The Revenue—Distress of Trade—Distress in the Country—Oppression of the Farmers—Whiteboys—Riots—"A Popish Conspiracy"—Steel-Boys and Oak-Boys—Emigration from Ulster—Halifax, Viceroy—Flood and the Patriots—Extravagance and Corruption—Agitation for Septennial Parliaments.

King George the Third mounted the throne of England in October, 1760, at twenty-two years of age. He was grandson to the late king, being the son of the Prince of Wales, Frederick Louis, whom the old king very cordially hated. The mother of George III. was a German princess of the House of Saxe Gotha—a family which has since cost dear to the three kingdoms; and a year after his accession, he married another German princess, of the House of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. But the new king himself was born in England; a circumstance which greatly rejoiced the English of that day. He had been educated for a time in the choicest Whig principles by his father; and as an English historian informs us, "great and incessant pains were taken to infuse into the mind of 'the Second Hope of Britain' just and elevated sentiments of government and of civil and religious liberty."* But after the death of Prince Frederick Louis, his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, gave quite a new direction to the education of her son; and under the guidance of the afterwards celebrated Lord Bute, brought him up in the highest and choicest doctrines of Toryism and Prerogative. He certainly profited by both those systems of tuition, and united in his conduct upon the throne all the corruption and cant of Whiggery with whatever is most coarsely tyrannical, dogged, blind, and imperious in Toryism.

When he came to the throne and met Parliament for the first time, Mr. Pitt was still prime minister; and we accordingly find the Whiggish element to prevail in the

* In an occasional Address, or Prologue, spoken by Prince George, on acting a part in the tragedy of Cato, performed at Leicester House about the year 1749, he was instructed thus to express himself,—

. . . . . .

"The poet's labors elevate the mind,
Teach our young hearts with generous fire to burn,
And feel the virtuous sentiments we learn.
T'attain those glorious ends, what play so fit
As that where all the powers of human wit
Combine to dignify great Cato's name,
To deck his tomb and consecrate his fame?
Where Liberty—O name for ever dear!
Breathes forth in every line, and bids us fear
Nor pains nor death to guard our sacred laws,
But bravely perish in our country's cause.
Should this superior to my years be thought,
Know 'tis the first great lesson I was taught."

Liberty, in the language of that day, meant the Protestant interest, and Protestant ascendency in Church and State.

famous royal speech delivered on that occasion. His first words took the heart of the nation by storm:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton." But one can well imagine what bitter reflections passed through the mind of an educated Irish Catholic, like Charles O'Conor, or Curry, as he read the remaining sentences of the discourse. "The civil and religious rights" said the king, "of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of the crown." It was his inviolable resolution, he said, "to adhere to and strengthen this excellent Constitution in Church and State." "It was his fixed purpose" he declared, "to countenance and encourage the practice of *true* religion and virtue"—which fixed purpose of course bound him to discourage and to punish all false religions. Finally he exclaimed to his Parliament: "The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From you the *Protestant Interest* hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency. * * * In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign—that happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects afford me the most agreeable prospect." His Majesty also was pleased to say "that he would maintain *the toleration* inviolable."

The "toleration" here spoken of, in so far as it included Irish Papists, meant simple *connivance* at Catholic worship, so long as that was practised very quietly, in obscure places. It did not mean exemption or relief from any one of the disabilities or penalties which had abolished the civil existence of Catholics; it did not mean that they could be educated, either at home or abroad; nor that they could possess arms, or horses, or farms on a longer lease than thirty-one years; nor that they could sit in Parliament, or municipal councils, or parish vestries, or in any way participate in the voting away of their own money. It did not mean that their clergy could receive orders in Ireland, or go abroad to receive them without incurring the penalty of transportation, and, if they returned, death:—nor that Catholics could practise law or medicine, or sit on juries, or be guardians to their own children, or lend money on mortgage (if they earned any money), or go to a foreign country, or have any of the rights of human beings in their own. By the connivance of the government, they were permitted to breathe, and to go to mass, and to do almost nothing else, except live by their labor and pay taxes and penal fines. Such is the precise limitation of that "toleration," which King George said would be inviolably maintained: and it was inviolably maintained during the first thirty-three years of this reign with certain trifling alleviations which are to be mentioned in their proper place.

The accession of King George III. took place at an auspicious and prosperous time, for England, though not for Ireland. The war was proceeding favorably to Great Britain in all parts of the earth and sea; and it was in this year 1760 and the following year that the great struggle between France and England for the colonial empire of India came to a crisis and was decided against France, and therefore disastrously for Ireland. The war in India would not here much concern us but for its connection with the sad fate of Count Lally. He was now a lieutenant-general in the French armies, and M. de Voltaire informs us that it was his well-known hatred of the English which caused him to be selected for the honor of commanding the force which was to encounter them on the coast of Coromandel. His regiment, that had fought at Fontenoy, was with him; and one of the officers who held high command under him was the Chevalier Geoghegan.* He found every thing in disarray at Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions; very insufficient forces, but little provisions, and no money at all. Voltaire says: "Notwithstanding the gloomy views he took of every thing, he had at first some happy success. He took from the English the fort St. David, some leagues from Pondicherry and razed its walls in April, 1758." The same year he besieged Madras, took the "black town," but failed before the fortress. His own correspondence, which is in part given to us by Voltaire, attributes

* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*

this failure to monstrous peculation and waste in the department for supplying the army. Indeed he seems to have very soon come to the conclusion that nothing effectual could be done; that he was abandoned to his fate, and that the French power in Hindostan was doomed. Nothing can exceed the passionate outbursts of his grief and indignation in some of these letters. "Hell," he says "has vomited me out upon this land of iniquity; and I am only awaiting, like Jonah, for the whale that is to swallow me." Among his other troubles, the troops mutinied, and the revolt was appeased with much trouble. Then continues Voltaire, "the general led them into the province of Arcot, to recover the fortress of Vandavachi, of which the English had possessed themselves after two ineffectual attempts; in one of which they had been completely defeated by the Chevalier Geoghegan. Lally ventured to attack them with inferior forces, and would have conquered them if he had been duly seconded. As it was he only gained in that expedition the honor of having given a new proof of the determined courage which formed his leading characteristic." This is the battle known to the English by the name of "Wandewash."

At length Lally was obliged to collect all his troops in Pondicherry, resolved to defend it to the last extremity; it was blockaded at once by land and sea. Here, again, every thing seemed to irritate his impetuous temper; he insulted the governor, and all the council, and threatened to harness them to his provision wagons, if they did not provide horses. "I had rather," he exclaims in one letter, "go and command Caffres, than stay in this Sodom, which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, for want of fire from heaven." The siege was long, and the defence desperate. Just at the moment that King George III. ascended the throne, this gallant and impetuous Count Lally was holding his post with obstinate valor against an English fleet and army. But the people in Pondicherry were dying in the streets of hunger, and the council of the city was crying out to Lally to surrender. On the 16th of January, 1761, he was unhappily obliged to yield; and so the French lost India in the east almost on the same day that they lost Canada in the west, by the surrender of Montreal. There was a delirium of joy in England, and the heart of the Irish nation sank low.*

Even the English colony in Ireland, though it sympathized with British successes, to which, indeed, it contributed more than its share both in men and in money (meaning the earnings of the subject nation as well as its own), yet had no reason, on the accession of this king, to congratulate itself on its happy and prosperous condition. In truth the island had been well drained of its revenues to meet the increased military expenses of Great Britain; and it had become necessary within the past year (1759) to raise a loan of £150,000, on debentures at four per cent. transferable, in order to pay the increasing arrears on the public establishments. Certain duties were granted to provide for the payment of the interest; and this may be considered as the beginning of the funded debt of Ireland. But in the beginning of 1760, the king having again considerably augmented his military forces, Ireland was required to raise another loan of £300,000, and a vote of credit passed the Commons for this object, but at five per cent. Then, as it was found that the first loan of £150,000 was not coming in at four per cent., an additional *one* per cent. was offered for that. Thus, when George III. came to the throne, the revenues of Ireland were considerably embarrassed and oppressed. Mr. Hely Hutchinson, a good authority on this point, in his work on the "commercial restrictions of Ireland," states, indeed, that "all Irishmen" felt they ought to sustain the efforts of Great Britain in that crisis, but that the statesmen

* Unfortunate Lally had made many enemies, chiefly by his furious temper. They were powerful in France, while he was comparatively a stranger, though born in the country. They accused him of misconduct, tyranny, exactions, *betraying* the interests of the king. At length the outcry against him became so strong, that he was arrested, confined in the Bastile, kept there for fifteen months without any specific charge, then brought to trial and kept on trial two years; finally, condemned and executed. Voltaire, who has uniformly praised Lally, defends him in his *Louis XV.;* and afterwards generously vindicated his memory, and aided his son to procure the decree of the parliament rehabilitating the name of this brave and "murdered" man. Louis XV. himself, after the death of Lally, exclaimed:—"They have assassinated him."

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of the latter country always expected too much; and while they looked upon the great prosperity and wealth of their own country, had not sufficient consideration for the poverty of Ireland. Two or three sentences taken from this book (the Commercial Restrictions) give a clear idea of the financial condition of the island. "The revenue had decreased in 1755, fell lower in 1756, and still lower in 1757. In the last year the vaunted prosperity of Ireland was changed into misery and distress, the lower classes of the people wanted food." Again—"The public expenses were greatly increased; the pensions on the civil-list, at Lady-day, 1759, amounted to £55,497; there was at the same time a great augmentation of military expense. Six new regiments and a troop were raised in a very short space of time." From all these causes the author states that the payment out of the treasury in little more than one year was £703,957. "The effects," he continues, "of these exactions were immediately and severely felt by the kingdom. These loans could not be supplied by a poor country without draining the bankers of their cash; three of the principal houses (Clements, Dawsons, and Mitchell) among them, stopped payment; the three remaining banks in Dublin discounted no paper, and in fact did no business. Public and private credit that had been drooping since the year 1754, had now fallen prostrate. At a general meeting of the merchants of Dublin in April, 1760, with several members of the House of Commons, the inability of the former to carry on business was universally acknowledged," &c.

The scarcity of money now employed in trade or improvements, together with the laws which made it impossible for Catholics to exercise any lucrative industry in corporate towns, caused more and more of the people to be dependent upon agriculture and sheep-farming alone. But the lot of these poor agriculturists was hard, for the landed proprietors under whom they had to live, were an alien and hostile race, having no sympathy with the humble people around them. This lamentable circumstance is peculiar to Ireland. Neither in England nor in Scotland was the case of the peasantry ever rendered bitterer than poverty makes it at any rate, by differences of race and of religion. In Ireland they found themselves face to face, not two classes, but two nations; of which the one had substantially the power of life and death over the other. When we add to this that one of these two nations had despoiled the other of those very lands which the plundered race were now glad to cultivate as rackrented tenants; and also that the dominant nation felt bound to hate the other, both as "rebels" who needed only the opportunity to rise and cut their masters' throats, and as Papists who clung to the "damnable idolatry" of the mass, we can easily understand the difficulty of the "landlord and tenant question" in Ireland. We have now, in fact, arrived at the era of the "Whiteboy" organization, which was itself the legitimate offspring of the Rapparees, and which in its turn has given birth to "Ribbonism," to the "Terry Alts," and finally to the "Fenians." The principle and meaning of all these various forms of secret Irish organization has been the same at all times, namely, the instinct of resistance to legal oppression by illegal combinations among the oppressed. And this has been inevitable, and far from blamable, under the circumstances of the country. All the laws were made not for, but against the great mass of the people; the courts of justice were entirely in the possession of the oppressors; the proscribed race saw only mortal enemies on the bench, enemies in the jury-box, enemies everywhere all around, and were continually made to feel that law and justice were not for them. This of course, in times of distress threw them back upon the only resource of desperate men, conspiracy, intimidation, and vengeance.

We have seen by the statements of Mr. J. Hely Hutchinson, that in the last year of King George II. "the lower classes of the people wanted food." The financial distress soon made matters still worse, and almost immediately after the accession of the new king, the whole island began to be startled by formidable rumors of disturbances and tumults in the south. The immediate cause of the first breaking out of these disorders was that many landlords in Munster began to inclose commons, on which their rackrented tenants had, up to that time, enjoyed the right of commonage as some compensa-

tion for the extreme severity of the terms on which they held their farms. The inclosure of these commons took away from them the only means they had of lightening their burden and making their hard tenure supportable. In Waterford, in Cork, and in Tipperary, angry crowds assembled, tore down the inclosures, and sometimes maltreated the workmen employed in putting them up. The aggrieved peasantry soon combined their operations, associated together by secret oaths, and these confederates began to be known as Whiteboys. A second cause for the discontents, which soon swelled the society of Whiteboys, was the cruel exactions of the tithe proctors—persons who farmed the tithes of a parish rector, and then screwed the utmost farthing out of the parishioners, often selling out their crops. their stocks, even their beds, to make up the subsidy for clergymen whose ministrations they never attended. Resistance, therefore, to tithes, and the occasional amputation of a tithe proctor's ears, formed a large part of the proceedings of the Whiteboys.*

The riots of these few forlorn men, were soon construed into a general Popish conspiracy against the Government; because, indeed, the greatest part of them were Papists, at least in name; although it was well known that several Protestant gentlemen and magistrates of considerable influence in that province, did all along, for their own private ends, connive at if not foment these tumults, and although we were assured by authority, "that the authors of these riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people." This was officially published in the *London Gazette*.

This authentic declaration was grounded on the report which had been made to Government by persons of admitted loyalty and eminence in the law, sent down and commissioned some time before to inquire upon the spot into the real causes and circumstances of these riots; which report was afterwards confirmed by the going judges of assize, and by the dying protestations of the first five of these unhappy men, who were executed in 1762 at Waterford, for having been present at the burning down of a cabin, upon the information of one of their associates, who was the very person that with his own hand set fire to it. These men immediately before their execution, publicly declared and took God to witness, "that in all these tumults it never did enter into their thoughts to do any thing against the Government."

A considerable force of regular troops was sent to the south; some savage military execution done; which was again followed by fresh outrages; and the disorder continued unabated for several years.

About the same time when Whiteboys first began to be heard of, various other secret societies sprang up in Ulster. These associations called themselves variously Hearts-of-Steel, Oak-Boys, and Peep-of-Day Boys: but their members were all Protestants; and their grievances and objects were in part connected with landlord oppression and clerical exaction, partly with the alleged injustice of the employers of manufacturing labor. These latter disturbances were soon over, because first the grievances were not so deep-seated, and next because the parties on the two sides being mainly of the same race and religion, the enmity and exasperation were never so fierce, and were far more easily appeased. While all these last-named

* See Dr. Curry's Review. He was a contemporary. See also Arthur Young's "Tour in Ireland." Young was one of the most observant of travellers, and has examined this whole subject in a very fair spirit. He thus speaks of the state of the people under their landlords:—"The execution of the law lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in conspiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? They know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

"The colors of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common, would be an exaggeration; but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity, is to keep strictly to truth; and what is liberty but a farce and a jest, if its blessings are received as the favor of kindness and humanity, instead of being the inheritance of RIGHT?"—*Young's Tour, Dub. Edit.*, vol. ii., pp. 40, 41.

conspiracies speedily disappeared, Whiteboyism remained, and under one form or another must remain till English domination in Ireland shall be abolished. The honest English tourist, Mr. Young, makes some reflections on these societies which show a most remarkable spirit of fairness, for an Englishman writing about Ireland:—

"Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of Whiteboys, Steel-Boys, Oak-Boys, Peep-of-Day-Boys, etc. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the people is into Protestant and Catholic. All but the Whiteboys are among the manufacturing Protestants in the north: the Whiteboys, Catholic laborers in the south. From the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the Whiteboys, who being laboring Catholics met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance; the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation; acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height, that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following session marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals."

It will be seen in the sequel how little chance these indignant and well-meant remonstrances had of meeting with attention.

The troubles in Ulster, though they were quite unconnected with Whiteboyism—and though a Catholic would no more have been admitted into a Heart-of-Steel lodge than into a vestry meeting—were yet produced by hardship and oppression. The Presbyterians of the north were now, as well as the Catholics, suffering not only by the Test Act and the tithes, but also by the difficulty of earning an honest livelihood, owing to the scarcity of money and the heavy taxation to meet the demands of Government. Emigration to America, therefore, continued from the northern seaports; and many active and energetic families were every season seeking a new home beyond the Atlantic. It was now that the fathers of Andrew Jackson, of John C. Calhoun, of James Buchanan, and other eminent American statesmen, established themselves in various parts of the colonies. These exiles were the men who formed the "Pennsylvania Line" in the revolutionary war, and had the satisfaction of contributing powerfully to destroy in America that relentless British domination which had made their Irish homes untenable. While the exiled Catholics on the European continent were eager to encounter the English power upon any field, those other Protestant exiles in America were ardently engaged in the task of uprooting it in that hemisphere. Yet it is a strange and sad reflection, that although their cause and their grievances, while at home, where very similar, if not identical, they never could bring themselves to combine together *there* against their common enemy and oppressor. It must be stated, however, without hesitation, that this was exclusively the fault of the Protestant Dissenters. They hated Popery and Papists even more intensely than did the English colonists of the Anglican church: they had



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submitted, almost gladly, to disabilities themselves, because they knew that the Catholics were subjected to still worse, and they were unwilling, by a too factious resistance on their own part, to embarrass a system of policy which they were assured was needful to the great cause of Protestant ascendency. They might suffer themselves, but they could not make common cause with the common enemy. For this mean compliance and perverse bigotry they had their reward: they were now flying in crowds from a fair and fertile land which they might have held and enjoyed forever, if they had united their cause with those who were enduring the same oppressions from the same tyrants.

This may be taken as completing the picture of the social and industrial condition of Ireland in the first year of the reign of George III. It is time to return to the political struggle of the English colony.

The Duke of Bedford, who had been on the whole nearly as popular a viceroy as Lord Chesterfield, was recalled in 1761, and succeeded by Lord Halifax. A new Parliament was summoned, as usual for the new reign, and on this occasion Dr. Lucas, who had returned from his exile, was returned as one of the members for Dublin city. Several other new members of great promise with "patriotic" aspirations, also came to this Parliament; amongst whom appeared, for the first time in public life, the celebrated Henry Flood, as member for Kilkenny. This eminent man took rank very soon as an Irish patriot, but at first his patriotism was strictly colonial, that is to say, all his care was for the English Protestant inhabitants of the island. And when the growing power and rising spirit of the colonists soon after aspired to and achieved a national independence, the nationality he asserted was still strictly and exclusively Protestant. Flood was the son of a former chief justice, and all his relatives and connections were of the highest Protestant ascendency. Yet, according to his own narrow ideas, it cannot be denied that Flood was a patriot: that is to say, a determined assertor of the sovereign right of the Irish Parliamen against the domination of Great Britain Two other members of the Patriot party appeared in that Parliament, Mr. Denis Daly and Mr. Hussey Burgh.

In January, 1762, Mr. Hamilton, secretary to Lord Halifax, communicated to the Commons the rupture with Spain. It is not essential to the history of Ireland to follow the course of English diplomatic and military proceedings on the Continent. All those transactions were decided on and prosecuted without the slightest reference to the interest either of the Irish nation or of the British colony; Ireland's only concern with England's wars being in the continual demands for money and men. Accordingly an immediate augmentation of five battalions was now required by Government, together with a vote of credit for raising another half-million sterling. An address was also presented by the Commons to the lord-lieutenant, to be by him transmitted to the crown, praying to have the salary of that official raised to £16,000 a year. Primate Stone was still influential in the Irish government, as well as the former "Patriot," but now pensioner and placeman, Boyle, earl of Shannon. The extravagance of Government in every department, the recklessness with which the people were loaded with taxation, and the immense system of bribery resorted to by the administration in order to break down opposition and purchase assured majorities in Parliament, convinced Lucas and his friends that there could be no beginning of redress or remedy for these evils until the Parliament should be made more immediately responsible to the people. In England "Septennial Parliaments" had been the law and the practice for some time, but in Ireland each Parliament was still elected for the life of the king. The agitation for this measure of septennial elections occupied the Patriotic party for several years.

CHAPTER XIV.

1762—1768.

Tory Ministry—Failures of the Patriots—Northumberland, Viceroy—Mr. Fitzgerald's speech on pension-list—Mr. Perry's address on same subject—Effort for mitigation of the Penal Laws—Mr. Mason's argument for allowing Papists to take mortgages—Rejected—Death of Stone and Earl of Shannon—Lord Hartford, Viceroy—Lucas and the Patriots—Their continued failures—Increase of National Debt—Townshend, Viceroy—New system—The "Undertakers"—Septennial Bill changed into Octennial—And passed—Joy of the People—Consequences of this measure—Ireland 'still "standing on her smaller end"—Newspapers of Dublin—Grattan.

The government of Lord Halifax ended with the session of 1762. This year is considered an eventful one in British annals. Mr. Pitt, and afterwards the Duke of Newcastle, retired from the administration, which came entirely into the hands of Lord Bute, a tory, as high and violent as it was possible to be, without absolute *Jacobitism;* whose administration showed that the thoroughgoing doctrines of prerogative were quite as congenial to the House of Hanover as ever they had been to the House of Stuart. On the retirement of Mr. Pitt, the merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin, who had now become not only an opulent and influential body, but thoroughly imbued with the political theories of Lucas, their representative (who had lately returned from his exile and been returned for the city), presented a most grateful address to Mr. Pitt, expressive of their admiration of his principles, and sincere regret that the country was deprived of his services. The immediate effect of the change of administration upon the conduct of Parliament, demonstrates, however, the extent and depth of the corruption which had there penetrated so deep into the whole body politic of the English colony in Ireland. On the very first day of the last session (22d October, 1761) the Commons had ordered "that leave be given to bring in the heads of a bill to limit the duration of Parliaments" (the Septennial Bill), in imitation of the Septennial law of England. Dr. Lucas, Mr. Perry, and Mr. George Lowther, were ordered to report and bring up the bill. It was received, read, committed; amendments were proposed and accepted; in the course of December in that year, the heads of the bill being reported from the committee of the whole House, were finally agreed to. But before any further step was taken, Lord Bute and his tory ministry came in, and when a motion was made that the Speaker should attend the lord-lieutenant to give him the bill for transmission to London, in the usual form, the motion was lost by a vote of 108 against forty-three. This majority of sixty-five upon a question so reasonable, so necessary, and so constitutional, shows the rapid decline of the Patriotic interest in Ireland after the late changes; the reduction of which was very artfully effected by the two first of the lords justices, Primate Stone, the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. John Ponsonby, the Speaker. Thus was Mr. Lucas's first Patriotic bill lost, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the people out of doors. It is highly material to observe, that in proportion as Patriots fell off in Parliament, they sprang up out of it. This ministerial triumph was followed by no popular disturbance, but by deep and general disappointment. A meeting of the citizens of Dublin gave expression, calmly and temperately, to the feelings of the people, in a series of resolutions, one of which is worth transcribing, as illustrating the strictly *Protestant* character of all this patriotism. "Resolved, That the clandestine arts which are usually practised (and have been sometimes detected) in obstructing of bills tending to promote the Protestant interest, ought to make Protestants the more active in supporting the Septennial Bill; the rather, as no doubt can remain, that a septennial limitation of Parliaments, would render the generality of landlords assiduous in procuring Protestant tenants, and that the visible advantage accruing, would induce others to conform." His failure did not daunt the indefatigable Dr. Lucas. He presented the heads of bills for securing the freedom of Parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications of knights, citizens, and burgesses, and for vacating the seats of members, who would accept any lucrative office or employment from the crown, and of persons upon the establishment of Great Britain and Ireland. All these measures failed; the Court

party under Lord Bute was now supreme. But this Court party had adopted a different language. It was no longer called the *English interest*, for Primate Stone was too good a politician to keep up that offensive term, after he had so successfully brought over some of the leading Patriots to his side, who in supporting all the measures of the British cabinet, affected to do it, still as *Irish Patriots*. Among these Irish Patriots who had thus prudently sold themselves, and were zealous to give good value for their purchase-money, was Boyle, earl of Shannon.

The Earl of Halifax had been recalled, and was succeeded as lord-lieutenant by the Earl of Northumberland. The new viceroy opened a session of Parliament, in October, 1763, in a speech wherein he expressed, in the king's name, his majesty's just and gracious regard for a *dutiful and loyal people*, and congratulated them on the birth of a Prince of Wales. They would much rather have had their Septennial Bill.

The next efforts of the Patriots were directed against the pension list, which had grown to be an enormous evil and oppression; but the first motion for an address to the king on this subject, was negatived, on a division of 112 against seventy-three. So weak was now the Patriotic cause in the Commons. Pensions continued to be lavished with unchecked profusion. The debate, however, on this motion was warm and spirited. Mr. J. Fitzgerald took the lead on the Patriot side. He stated (and was not contradicted) that the pensions then charged upon the civil establishment of the kingdom amounted to no less than £72,000 per annum, besides the *French* and *military* pensions, and besides the sums paid for old and now unnecessary employments, and those paid in unnecessary additions to the salaries of others: that the pensions, therefore, exceeded the civil list above £42,000: that not only since the House in 1757 had voted the increase of pensions alarming, had they been yearly increased; but that in the time of a most expensive war, and when the country had willingly and cheerfully increased a very considerable national debt; and when the additional influence of the crown from the levying of new regiments might well have prevented the necessity of new pensionary gratifications. He then drew a piteous portrait of the country; not one-third peopled; two-thirds of the people unemployed, consequently indolent, wretched, and discontented; neither foreign trade, nor home consumption sufficient to distribute the conveniences of life among them with reasonable equality, or to pay any tax proportionable to their number. What new mode of taxation could be devised? Would they tax leather where no shoes were worn, or tallow where no candles were burned? They could not tax the roots of the earth and the water on which the wretched peasantry existed; they could tax no commodity that would not defeat itself, by working a prohibition. He then entered into the legal and constitutional rights of the crown over the public revenue, and strongly resisted the assumed right of charging the public revenue with private pensions. The crown, he contended, had a public and private revenue: the public it received as a trustee for the public; the private it received in its own right; the former arose out of temporary duties, and was appropriated by Parliament to specific public purposes, and was not left to the discretionary disposal of the crown. The latter did not in Ireland exceed £7,000 per annum, and the pensions amounting to £72,000 exceeded the fund, which could alone be charged with them by £65,000 per annum.

The Court party strenuously resisted these arguments, as an unconstitutional and indecent attack upon the prerogative; insisting that the regal dignity should be supported by a power to reward as well as to punish; that the king was not to hold a sword in one hand and a barren sceptre in the other; that the two great springs of all actions were hope and fear; and where fear only operated, love could have no place; with many other slavish phrases usual in such a case.

In this war against the pension list the most active member of the Commons was Mr. Perry, member for Limerick. He soon returned to the charge, and moved an address to the king—but with his usual want of success—remonstrating against the wasteful extravagance of the Government. The address was not adopted, but a few sentences of it contain facts worth recording.

"That the expense of the present military establishment amounts in two years to the sum of £980,955 19*s.* The civil establishment to £242,956 10*s.* 9*d.*; to which must be added at the most moderate computation £300,000 for extraordinary and contingent expenses of Government. That these sums added together amount to the sum of £1,523,912 9*s.* 9*d.* That to answer this expense, the whole revenue of this kingdom, the additional as well as hereditary duties, exclusive of the loan duties, which are but barely sufficient to pay the interest of £650,000, the present national debt, amount to the sum of £1,209,864 at a medium for fourteen years; so that the expense of the nation for these last two years must exceed its whole revenue in a sum of £314,248 9*s.* 9*d.*, which deficiency being added to the national debt, must leave this kingdom at the next meeting of Parliament near £1,000-000 in debt. * * * That the imports, exports, and home consumption of this kingdom are already taxed to the utmost they can bear. That any addition to these taxes, instead of increasing, must lessen the revenue. That nothing now remains to be taxed but our lands, which are already loaded with quit rents, crown rents, composition rents, and hearth money. That if the present establishments are to continue, the debt of the nation must constantly increase, and in the end prove the utter ruin of the kingdom."

All these reclamations against pensions and other wasteful or corrupt expenditures, proved utterly unavailing, and the evil went from bad to worse until the true remedy was discovered, in 1782.

But this year 1763 is remarkable for the first Parliamentary effort ever made in Ireland to mitigate, in a very small degree, the Penal Code against Catholics. They had been disabled, ever since Queen Anne's time, from taking landed security by way of mortgage on money lent. But this was found inconvenient, not only to them (which would have mattered nothing), but also to Protestants who wanted to borrow money. The Catholics, shut out from political power, had been industrious and thrifty: many of them were rich, but having no security at home, they had invested their money abroad, and thence had sometimes come the supplies for Jacobite invasions. On the 25th November 1763, Mr. Mason rose in his place and reminded the House that in the last session of Parliament heads of a bill had been passed for empowering Papists to lend money on mortgages of real estate * and that the bill had been cushioned by the English Privy Council. He moved accordingly for leave to bring in another. Some of the arguments for and against this measure are very notable. Mr. Mason urged that money was always power, and that money which is placed in Protestant hands, upon mortgage, is power in favor of the State; the same money, in the hands of the Papists unlent, supposing the Papist to be an enemy to the State, was power against it. Besides money was not a local, but transitory property; a Papist, possessed only of money, had no local interest in the country, but a Papist mortgagee had; he would be engaged to support the Government in point of interest: his security for his money was good, while Government subsisted, and in the convulsion that always attends the subversion of Government, it would at least become doubtful; besides, the greater the advantages which the Papists receive under the present constitution, the more they must desire its continuance, and he would venture to say, that if the Papists were to be admitted to all the privileges of Protestant subjects, there would scarce be a practical Jacobite among them, whatever there might be in theory. "I should, therefore, be glad, that the bill should have another trial, and shall move for leave to bring in the heads of a bill, to empower Papists to lend money on the mortgage of land, and to sue for the same."

Mr. Le Hunte said, that he thought the bill proposed would eventually make Papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom, which would certainly extend their influence, and that it was dangerous trusting to the use they would make of it, upon a supposition that their interests would get the better of their prin-

* There is no entry of this former bill, referred to by Mr. Mason, on the journals of Parliament. Mr. Plowden "laments that those journals are so little to be relied upon when matters relating to the Catholics are the subject of entry."

ciples. That the act mentioned to have passed the last session, did not pass without a division, there being a majority of no more than twelve in its favor, and that it would not have passed at all, if it had not been for some artful management, it being brought in the very last day of session, when no more than sixty-two members were present. He, therefore, begged that the honorable gentleman would postpone his motion till Monday, as the House was then thin, and gentlemen would thus have time to consider the subject, which was of very great importance. He added, that as there was reason to suppose it to be the general sense of the House that such a bill should not pass, he thought it would be better that no heads of such bill should be brought in, as it was cruel to raise expectations which would probably be disappointed.

Mr. Mason consented to postpone his motion. Accordingly on the 3d of February, 1764, Mr. Mason presented to the House, according to order, heads of a bill to ascertain what securities might be taken by persons professing the Popish religion for money lent or to be lent by them, and also what remedies they might enforce.

The House rejected the bill: 138 for the rejection, and 53 against it. Another motion was then made to bring in a bill enabling Papists to take securities upon lands, but in such a manner that they could *never meddle with the possession thereof;* which was immediately negatived by a majority of 44. Yet this was a proposal for a very slight modification of the Penal Code on one single point; and on the express ground that such modification would be useful to the Protestants and would serve the Protestant interest. Its reception marks the stage of advance which principles of religious freedom had then reached.

In December, 1764, Primate Stone and the Earl of Shannon, both happily died. There was no hope of any mitigation in the system of corruption and oppression so long as that league between the English Primate and the purchased "Irish Patriot" subsisted.

The Earl of Hartford was appointed lord-lieutenant, and opened the session in 1765. In December of that year died at Rome, at an advanced age, the person variously termed King James III., the Pretender, the "King over the water." He had borne his misfortunes with great fortitude and equanimity; and sometimes went to pass the carnival at Venice. His death at last made no impression in Ireland, and was almost unknown there.

The Patriotic party in Parliament was now reduced to its very lowest ebb. It would be wearisome to detail all the motions uniformly defeated, for inquiries into the pension list, and into improper and corrupt appointments to the judicial bench. The Patriots tried another plan—an address to the lord-lieutenant, setting forth the miserable condition of the kingdom, asking for an account of the proceedings of the Privy Council which had cushioned their *Bill for better securing the Freedom of Parliament*, and asking for a return of the patents granted in reversion, etc. But the Court party moved, and carried, that in lieu of the words "the sense of their miserable condition," they should insert the words: "*their happy condition under his majesty's auspicious government.*"

Still, ever since the death of Stone and the Earl of Shannon, the party of independence was making some progress in Parliament. Lucas worked hard, and was well sustained by his constituents in Dublin. He made many converts to his Septennial Bill amongst the country gentlemen, and to purchase back some of these converts put the Government to considerable expense—which, it is true, they found means to charge to the people. A new bill was transmitted, through Lord Hartford, for limiting the duration of Parliaments, and again it was stopped by the English Privy Council. Another bill was introduced this session "to prevent the buying and selling of offices which concern the administration of justice, or the collection of His Majesty's revenue;" but it was voted down in the Commons and never even went to England.

In the mean time the national debt was steadily increasing.

In the year 1765 the revenue of Ireland, although considerably increased upon the whole receipt, still fell so far short of the the expenses of Government, that £100,000 was directed to be raised at four per cent.,

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and the principal due upon the different loans was ordered to be consolidated into one sum, making in the whole £595,000 at five per cent. which remained due at Lady-day. The debt of the nation then amounted to £508,874 5*s.* 9½*d.* There was this year a great scarcity of grain, as likewise a general failure of potatoes, which was very severely felt by the lower ranks. The legislature found it necessary to interpose: they passed an act to stop the distilleries for a certain time (which consequently produced a decrease in the Excise), and also an act to prevent the exportation of corn; in both of which acts it is recited, that it was apprehended there was not sufficient corn in the kingdom for the food of the inhabitants until the harvest.

On this last act a new controversy arose. When the bill was sent to England, the Privy Council there inserted into it a dispensing power in favor of the crown:—the king might by his simple order in council permit the exportation of grain or flour, any thing in the act contained to the contrary notwithstanding. The Patriots vainly resisted this alteration: they alleged that even under the restrictions of Poyning's Law, the king had only power of assent or dissent; not a power of alteration, which from its nature imports a deliberative power that could not exist save in the Lords and Commons of Ireland. All resistance, however, was unavailing, and the bill was passed as altered.

Lord Hartford had not on this occasion asserted the prerogative and served the English interests so zealously as had been expected of him. Therefore he was recalled; and after a short *interregnum* under lords justices (for the last time), Lord Townshend was sent to Ireland, in October, 1767.

This nobleman was selected to introduce a very important change in the system of governing Ireland. In order to attempt the arduous task of supplanting the deep-rooted influence of the Irish oligarchy, it was requisite that the lord-lieutenant, to whom that power was to be transferred, should be endowed with those qualities that were most likely to ingratiate him with the Irish nation. The new lord-lieutenant excelled all his predecessors in that convivial ease, pleasantry, and humor, so highly prized by the Irish of every description. The majority which had been so dearly bought in the Commons, by those who had heretofore had the management of the *English interest*, was now found not altogether so tractable as it had heretofore been. There were three or four grandees who had such an influence in the House of Commons, that their coalition would, at any time, give them a clear majority upon any question. To gain these had been the chief anxiety of former governors: they were sure to bring over a proportionate number of dependants, and it had been the unguarded maxim to permit subordinate graces and favors to flow from or through the hands of these leaders.* Formerly these principals used to stipulate with each new lord-lieutenant, whose office was biennial and residence but for six months, upon what terms they would carry the king's business through the House: so that they might not improperly be called *undertakers.* They provided, that the disposal of all Court favors, whether places, pensions or preferments, should pass through thei hands, in order to keep their suite in an absolute state of dependence upon themselves. All applications were made by the leader, who claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers. Whenever such demands were not complied with, then were the measures of Government sure to be crossed and obstructed; and the session of Parliament became a constant struggle for power between the heads of parties, who used to force themselves into the office of lord justice according to the prevalence of their interest. This evil had been seen and lamented by Lord Chesterfield, and his resolution and preparatory steps for undermining it probably contributed not a little to his immediate recall, upon the cessation of the danger, which his wisdom was thought alone competent to avert.

This was the system which Lord Clare said, "The Government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of: they shook the power of the aristocracy, but were unable to break it down."

*Phil. Surv., p. 57.

The primary object of Lord Townshend's administration was to break up the monopolizing system of this oligarchy. He in part succeeded, but by means ruinous to the country. The subalterns were not to be detached from their chiefs, but by similar though more powerful means than those by which they had enlisted under their banners. The streams of favor became not only multiplied, but enlarged. Every individual now looked up directly to the fountain head, and claimed and received more copious draughts. Thus, under color of destroying an overgrown aristocratic power, all parliamentary independence was completely destroyed by Government. The innovation naturally provoked the deserted few to resentment. They took refuge under the shelter of patriotism, and they inveighed with less effect against the venality of the system, merely because it had taken a new direction, and was somewhat enlarged. The bulk of the nation, and some, though very few of their representatives in Parliament, were earnest, firm, and implacable against it.

The arduous task which Lord Townshend had assumed was not to be effected by a *coup de main:* forces so engaged, so marshalled, and so commanding rather than commanded, as he found the Irish Parliament, were not to be dislodged by a sudden charge: regular, gradual, and cautious approaches were to be made: it was requisite that the chief governor should first be popular, and then powerful, before he could be efficient and successful. His lordship, therefore, to those convivial fascinations, to which Irish society was so sensible, superadded as many personal favors, as the fiscal stores could even promise to answer, which in a people of quick and warm sensibility creates a something very like momentary gratitude; and in order the more completely to seat himself in that effective power, which was requisite for his purpose, he judiciously fixed upon a favorite object of the wishes and attempts of the Patriots to sanction with his countenance and support.

This was the long-wished-for Septennial Bill.

Dr. Lucas had several times failed in his endeavors to procure a bill for limiting the duration of Parliament. Now, however, a Septennial Bill was transmitted, and was returned with an alteration in point of time having been changed into an Octennial one There appears to have been some unfair manœuvring in the British cabinet, in order by a side wind to deprive the Irish of that, which they dared not openly refuse them. At the same time a transmission was made of another popular bill for the independence of the judges, in which they had also inserted some alteration. It was expected that the violent tenaciousness of the Irish Commons for the privilege of not having their heads of bills altered by the English ministers, would have induced them to reject any bill, into which such an alteration had been introduced. In this the English cabinet was deceived: the Irish Commons waived the objection as to the limitation bill, in order to make sure at last of what they had so long tried in vain to procure, but objected on this very account to the judges' bill, which was transmitted at the same time with alterations: for although this latter bill had been particularly recommended in the speech of the lord-lieutenant, it was, on account of an alteration inserted in it in England, unanimously rejected.

No sooner was the Octennial Bill returned, than the Commons voted a respectful and grateful address to the throne, beseeching his majesty to accept their unfeigned and grateful acknowledgments for the condescension, so signally manifested to his subjects of that kingdom, in returning the bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments which they considered not only as a gracious mark of paternal benevolence, but as a wise result of royal deliberation. And when the royal assent had been given, the action was so grateful to the people, that they took the horses from the viceroy's coach, and drew him from the parliament house with the most enthusiastic raptures of applause and exultation. But his lordship's popularity did not last long. By diverting the channel of favor, or rather by dividing it into a multitude of little streams, the gentlemen of the House of Commons were taught to look up to him, not only as the source, but as the dispenser of every gratification. Not even a commission in the revenue, worth above

£40 a year, could be disposed of, without his approbation. Thus were the old undertakers given to understand, that there was another way of doing business than through them. It was not, however, without much violence on both sides, that he at length effected his purpose. The immediate sufferers did not fail to call this alteration in the system of governing, an innovation, which they artfully taught the people to resent as a national grievance.

It will be seen that although the Patriots had now gained their famous measure, not indeed as a Septennial, but at least as an Octennial Bill, which was to have been a panacea for all the evils of the State; its effects were far from answering their expectations. Extravagance and corruption still grew and spread under Lord Townshend's administration. Proprietors of boroughs found their property much enhanced in value, because there was a market for it every eight years. The reflections of Thomas McNevin on this subject are very just:—"Some doubts arose as to the benefits produced by this bill in the way designed by its framers; but no one doubted that the spirit discovered by the Patriot party in the House produced effects at the time and somewhat later, which cannot be overstated or overvalued. It may, indeed, be doubted whether any measure, however beneficial in itself, could in those days of venality and oppression, with a constitution so full of blemishes, and a spirit of intolerance influencing the best and ablest men of the day, such as Lucas for example, could be productive of any striking or permanent advantage. We must not be astonished then that the Octennial Bill was found incommensurate with the expectations of the Patriots, who might have looked for the reasons of this and similar disappointments in their own venality, intolerance, fickleness, and shortcomings, if they had chosen to reflect on themselves and their motives. The real advantages are to be found in the principles propounded and the spirit displayed in the debates."*

In short, no mere reforms in parliamentary elections or procedure could avail to create in this English colony, either a national spirit or national proportions, or to stay the corruption and venality so carefully organized by English governors for the express purpose of keeping it down, so long as the colony did not associate with itself the multitudinous masses of the Catholic people—so long as half a million had to hold down and coerce over two millions of disarmed and disfranchised people, and at the same time to contend with the insolence and rapacity of Great Britain. Nationality in Ireland was necessarily fated to be delusive and evanescent.

> "So long as Ireland did pretend,
> Like sugar-loaf turned upside down,
> To stand upon its smaller end."*

In the year 1767, the whole population of the island was estimated, or in part calculated, at 2,544,276, and of these less than half a million were Protestants of the two sects.

It must, however, be acknowledged that in this oppressive minority there began to be developed a very strong political vitality, chiefly owing to the strong personal interest which every one had in public affairs, and to the spread of political information, through newspapers and pamphlets, and the very able speeches which now began to give the Irish Parliament a just celebrity. Dr. Lucas conducted the *Freeman's Journal*, which was established very soon after the accession of George III. This journal was soon followed by another called the *Hibernian Journal*. Flood, Hussey, Burgh, Yelverton, and above all, Grattan, contributed to these papers. In the administration of Lord Townshend appeared the *Dublin Mercury*, a satirical sheet avowedly patronized by Government. It was intended to turn Patriots and Patriotism into ridicule: but the Government had not all the laughers on its side.

A witty warfare was carried on against Lord Townshend in a collection of letters on the affairs and history of Barataria, by which was intended Ireland. The letters of Posthumus and Pericles, and the dedication, were written by Henry Grattan, at the time of the publication a very young man. The principal papers, and all the history of Barataria, the latter being an account of Lord

* McNevin's History of the Volunteers.

* Moore. Memoir of Captain Rock.

Townshend's administration, his protest, and his prorogation, were the composition of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Two of his witticisms are still remembered, as being, in fact, short essays on the politics of Ireland. Riding in the park with the lord-lieutenant, his excellency complained of his predecessors having left it so damp and marshy; Sir Hercules observed, "they were too much engaged in *draining* the rest of the kingdom." Being asked where was the best and truest history of Ireland to be found? he answered: "In the continuation of *Rapin*."

CHAPTER XV.

1762—1767.

Reign of Terror in Munster—Murder of Father Sheehy—"Toleration," under the House of Hanover—Precarious condition of Catholic Clergy—Primates in hiding—Working of the Penal Laws—Testimony of Arthur Young.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with the parliamentary struggles for the Octennial Act, and for arresting, if possible, the public extravagance and corruption, there was going on in an obscure parish of Tipperary, one of those dark transactions which were so common in Ireland during all this century as to excite no attention, and leave scarcely a record—the judicial murder of Father Nicholas Sheehy. His story is a true and striking epitome of the history of the Catholic nation in those days, and the notoriety of the facts at the time, and the character of the principal victim, have caused the full details to be handed down to us, minutely and with the clearest evidence.

The bitter distresses of the people of Munster, occasioned by rack rents, by the merciless exactions of the established clergy and their tithe-proctors, and by the inclosure of commons, had gone on increasing and growing more intense from the year 1760, until despair and misery drove the people into secret associations, and in 1762, as we have seen, the White-boys had in some places broken out into unconnected riots to pull down the fences that inclosed their commons, or to resist the collection of church-rates. These disturbances were greatly exaggerated in the reports made to Government by the neighboring Protestant proprietors squires of the Cromwellian brood, who represented that wretched *Jacquerie* as nothing less than a Popish rebellion, instigated by France, supported by French money, and designed to bring in the Pretender.

The village of Clogheen lies in the valley between the Galtees and the range of Knockmaoldown, in Tipperary, near the borders of Waterford and of Cork counties. Its parish priest was the Reverend Nicholas Sheehy: he was of a good Irish family, and well educated, having, as usual at that period, gone to France—contrary to "law"—for the instruction denied him at home. On the Continent he had probably mingled much with the high-spirited Irish exiles, who made the name of Ireland famous in all the courts and camps of Europe, and on his perilous return (for that too was against the law), to engage in the labors of his still more perilous mission, his soul was stirred within him at the sight of the degradation and abject wretchedness of the once proud clans of the south. With a noble imprudence, which the moderate Dr. Curry term "a quixotic cast of mind towards relieving all those within his district whom he fancied to be injured or oppressed;" he spoke out against some of the enormities which he daily witnessed. In the neighboring parish of Newcastle, where there were no Protestant parishioners, he had ventured to say that there should be no church-rates, and the people had refused to pay them. About the same time, the tithes of two Protestant clergymen in the vicinity of Ballyporeen, Messrs Foulkes and Sutton, were farmed to a tithe-proctor of the name of Dobbyn. This proctor forthwith instituted a new claim upon the Catholic people of his district, of five shillings for every marriage celebrated by a priest.* This new impost was resisted by the people, and as it fell heavily on the parishioners of Mr. Sheehy, he denounced it publicly; in fact he did not even conceal that he questioned altogether the divine right of a clergy to the tenth part of the

* These details and a great mass of others bearing on the case of Mr. Sheehy, are given by Dr Madden in his First Series (United Irishmen). He has carefully sifted the whole of the proceedings, and thrown much light upon them.

produce of a half-starved people, of whose souls they had no cure. How these doctrines were relished by the Cromwellian magistrates and Anglican rectors in his neighborhood, may well be conceived. It was not to be tolerated that the Catholic people should begin to suppose that they had any rights. The legislation of the Ascendency had strictly provided that there should be no Catholic lawyers; it had also carefully prohibited education; nothing had been omitted to stifle within the hearts of the peasantry every sentiment of human dignity, and when they found that here was a man amongst the peasantry who could both read and write, and who could tell them how human beings lived in other lands, and what freedom and right were, it is not to be wondered at that his powerful neighbors resolved they would have his blood.

When in 1762, the troubles in the south were first supposed to call for military coercion, it was precisely in this village of Clogheen that the Marquis of Drogheda, commanding a considerable military force, fixed his headquarters. On that same night an assemblage of Whiteboys took place in the neighborhood, with the intention as was believed, of attacking the town, but a clergyman named Doyle, parish priest of Ardfinnan, on learning of their intention (as one of the informers states in his depositions), went amongst them and succeeded in preventing any offensive movement. His purpose, however, in so doing was as usual represented to be insidious.

From this time the Earl of Drogheda made several incursions into the adjacent country, "and great numbers of the insurgents," as we are informed by Sir Richard Musgrave, "were killed by his lordship's regiment, and French money was found in the pockets of some of them." We are not informed what the "insurgents" were doing when they were killed, nor in what this insurrection consisted, but we may here present the judgment of Edmund Burke upon those transactions:—"I was three times in Ireland, from the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had sufficient means of information concerning the inhuman proceedings (among which were many cruel murders, besides an infinity of outrages and oppressions unknown before in a civilized age) which prevailed during that period, in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among Roman Catholics against the king's government." In short, there was no such conspiracy, and if the statement of Sir Richard Musgrave be true, which is highly improbable, that any coins of French money were found in the pockets of the slain, "that may be accounted for," says Mr. Matthew O'Connor, "as the natural result of a smuggling intercourse with France, and in particular of the clandestine export of wool to that country."*

While the troops were established at Clogheen they were constantly employed in this well-known method of pacifying the country, and they were seconded with sanguinary zeal by several neighboring gentlemen, especially Sir Thomas Maude, William Bagnell, and John Bagnell, Esquires; many arrests were made as well as murders committed, and active preparation was made for what in Ireland is called "trial" of those offenders—that is indictment before juries of their mortal enemies. Diligent in the arrangement of the panels for these trials, we find Daniel Toler, high sheriff of the county, who was either father or uncle of that other Toler, the bloody judge, afterwards known under the execrated title of Norbury.

Amidst all this we are not to suppose that Father Sheehy was forgotten. In the course of the disturbances he was several times arrested, indicted, and even tried as a "Popish priest," not being duly registered, or not having taken the abjuration oath: but so privately did the priests celebrate mass in those days that it was found impossible to procure any evidence against him. We find also that he was indicted at Clonmel assizes, in 1763, as having been present at a Whiteboy assemblage, and as having forced one Ross to swear that he never would testify against Whiteboys. At this same assizes, a true bill was found against Michael Quinlan, a Popish priest, for having at Aughnacarty and other places, exercised the office and functions of a Popish priest, against the peace of our lord the king and the statute, &c. To make conviction doubly sure, as in Sheehy's case, a second information was sent

* M. O'Connor. "History of the Irish Catholics."

up on the same occasion, charging Father Quinlan with a riotous assemblage at Aughnacarty, so that if it was not a riot it was a mass, and if it was not a mass it was a riot —criminal in either case.

It is needless to state the details of all these multifarious legal proceedings extending through several years. To pursue the story of Father Sheehy: he was acquitted on the charge of being a Popish priest, "to his own great misfortune," says poor Dr. Curry, "for had he been convicted, his punishment, which would be only transportation, might have prevented his ignominious death, which soon after followed." Can there be conceived a more touching illustration of the abject situation of the Catholics, than that such should be the reflection which suggested itself on such an occasion to the worthy Dr. Curry.

It also deserves to be noted in passing, that no public man in Ireland was more ferocious in denouncing the unhappy Whiteboys and calling for their blood, than the celebrated Patriot, Henry Flood. On the 13th of October, 1763, in moving for an instruction to the committee to inquire into the causes of the "insurrections" (which he would have to be a Popish rebellion and nothing less), he expressed his amazement that the indictments in the south were only laid for a riot and breach of the peace, and animadverted severely on the lenient conduct of the judges. The solicitor-general had actually to modify the wrath of the bloodthirsty Patriot, and to assure him "that whenever lenity had been shown, it was only where reason and humanity required it,"* which we may be very sure was true.

But whosoever might be allowed to escape, that lot was not reserved for Father Sheehy.† For two whole years, while the gibbets were groaning and the jails bursting with his poor parishioners, he was enabled to baffle all prosecution; sometimes escaping out of the very toils of the attorney-general by default of evidence, sometimes concealing himself in the glens of the mountains, until in the year 1765 the Government was prevailed upon by his powerful enemies to issue a proclamation against him, as a person guilty of high treason, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for taking him, which Sheehy in his retreat happening to hear of, immediately wrote up to Secretary Waite, "that as he was not conscious of any such crime, as he was charged with in the proclamation, he was ready to save to the Government the money offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand, to be tried for that or any other crime he might be accused of; not at Clonmel, where he feared that the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice (as they soon after indeed proved to be), but at the court of King's Bench in Dublin." His proposal having been accepted, he was accordingly brought up to Dublin and tried there for rebellion, of which, however, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen hours, he was again acquitted; no evidence having appeared against him but a blackguard boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, all brought out of Clonmel jail, and bribed for the purpose of witnessing against him.

But his inveterate enemies, who, like so many blood-hounds, had pursued him to Dublin, finding themselves disappointed there, resolved upon his destruction at all events. One Bridge, an infamous informer against some of those who had been executed for these riots, was said to have been murdered by their associates, in revenge (although his body could never be found),* and a considerable reward was offered for discovering and convicting the murderer. Sheehy, immediately after his acquittal in Dublin for rebellion, was indicted by his pursuers for this murder, and notwithstanding the promise given him by those in office on surrendering himself, he was transmitted to Clonmel, to be tried there for this new crime, and, upon the sole evidence of the same infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been so justly reprobated in Dublin, was there condemned to be hanged and quartered for the murder of a man who was never murdered at all.

* "Irish Debates." Year 1763.

† The remainder of the story of Father Sheehy is substantially the narrative of Curry.

* It was positively sworn, by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he privately left the kingdom some short time before he was said to have been murdered. See notes of the trial taken by one of the jury, in "Exshaw's Maguzine" for June, 1766.

What barefaced injustice and inhumanity were shown to this unfortunate man on that occasion,* is known and testified by many thousands of credible persons, who were present and eye-witnesses on the day of his trial. A party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whomsoever they thought proper, while others of them, with Sir Thomas Maude at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, breaking into inns and private lodgings in the town, challenging and questioning all new-comers, menacing the prisoner's friends, and encouraging his enemies: even after sentence of death was pronounced against him (which one would think might have satisfied the malice of his enemies), his attorney found it necessary for his safety, to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed make his escape to Dublin. The head of the brave murdered priest was spiked over the gates of Clonmel jail, and there remained twenty years. At last his sister was allowed to bury it where his body lies, in the old churchyard of Shandraghan.

The night before his execution, which was but the second after his sentence, he wrote a letter to Major Sirr, wherein he declared his innocence of the crime for which he was next day to suffer death; and on the morning of that day, just before he was brought forth to execution, he, in the presence of the sub-sheriff and a clergyman who attended him, again declared his innocence of the murder; solemnly protesting at the same time, as he was a dying man, just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals, that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise; that he never had distributed money among them on that account, nor had ever received money from France, or any other foreign court, either directly or indirectly, for any such purpose; that he never knew of any French or other foreign officers being among these rioters; or of any Roman Catholics of property or note, being concerned with them. At the place of execution he solemnly averred the same things, adding, "that he never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered in his lifetime; nor ever knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly talked of; nor did he know that there ever was any such design on foot."

Everybody knew, that this clergyman might, if he pleased, have easily made his escape to France, when he first heard of the proclamation for apprehending him; and as he was all along accused of having been agent for the French king, in raising and fomenting these tumults, he could not doubt of finding a safe retreat, and suitable recompense for such services, in any part of that kingdom. It seems, therefore, absurd in the highest degree, to imagine that he, or any man, being at the same time conscious of the complicated guilt of rebellion and murder, would have wilfully neglected the double opportunity of escaping punishment and of living at his ease and safety in another kingdom; or that any person, so criminally circumstanced as he was thought to be, would have at all surrendered himself to a public trial, without friends, money, or family connections; and, above all, without that consciousness of his innocence, on which, and the protection of the Almighty, he might possibly have relied for his deliverance.

* To mention only one instance out of many. During his trial, Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country, having given the clearest and fullest evidence, that, during the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house, that he could not have left it in the night-time without his knowledge, and consequently that he could not have been even present at the murder; the Reverend Mr. Hewetson, an active manager in these trials, stood up, and after looking on a paper that he held in his hand, informed the court that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list as one of those that were concerned in the killing of a corporal and sergeant, in a former rescue of some of these levellers. Upon which he was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny jail, where he lay for some time, loaded with irons, in a dark and loathsome dungeon: by this proceeding, not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came on purpose to testify the same thing, but instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment. Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for this pretended murder at the assizes of Kilkenny, but was honorably acquitted; too late, however, to be of any service to poor Sheehy, who was hanged and quartered some time before Mr. Keating's acquittal. The very same evidence which was looked upon at Clonmel as good and sufficient to condemn Mr. Sheehy, having been afterwards rejected at Kilkenny, as prevaricating and contradictory with respect to Mr. Keating.

Emboldened by this success, Sir Thomas Maude published an advertisement, somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, wherein, after having presumed to censure the administration for not punishing, with greater and unjustifiable severity, these wretched rioters, he named a certain day, on which the following persons of credit and substance in that country, viz.: Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrel, and others, were to be tried by commission at Clonmel, as principals or accomplices in the aforesaid murder of Bridge. And, as if he meant by dint of numbers, to intimidate even the judges into lawless rigor and severity, he sent forth a sort of authoritative summons "to every gentleman in the county to attend that commission." His summons was punctually obeyed by his numerous and powerful adherents; and these men, innocent (as will appear hereafter), were sentenced to be hanged and quartered by that commission.

It will naturally be asked, upon what new evidence* this sentence was passed, as it may well be supposed, that no use was made of the former reprobated witnesses on this occasion. But use *was* made of them, and a principal use too, in the trial and conviction of these devoted men. The managers, however, for the crown, as they impudently called themselves, being afraid, or ashamed, to trust the success of their sanguinary purposes to the now enfeebled, because generally exploded, testimony of these miscreants, looked out for certain props, under the name of *approvers*, to strengthen and support their tottering evidence. These they soon found in the persons of Herbert and Bier, two prisoners, accused, like the rest, of the murder of Bridge; and who, though absolutely strangers to it (as they themselves had often sworn in the jail), were nevertheless in equal danger of being hanged for it, if they did not purchase their pardon by becoming approvers of the former false witnesses. Herbert was so conscious of his innocence in respect to Bridge's murder, that he had come to the assizes of Clonmel, in order to give evidence in favor of the priest Sheehy; but his arrival and business being soon made known, effectual measures were taken to prevent his giving such evidence. Accordingly bills of high treason were found against him, upon the information of one of these reprobate witnesses, and a party of light horse sent to take him prisoner. Bier, upon his removal afterwards to Newgate, in Dublin, declared, in a dangerous fit of sickness, to the ordinary of that prison, with evident marks of sincere repentance, "that for any thing he knew to the contrary, the before-mentioned Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrel, were entirely innocent of the fact for which they had suffered death; and that nothing in this world, but the preservation of his own life, which he saw was in the most imminent danger, should have tempted him to be guilty of the complicated crimes of perjury and murder, as he then confessed he was, when he swore away the lives of those innocent men."

On Saturday morning, May 3d, 1766, the convicts were hanged and quartered at Clogheen. Their behavior at the place of execution was cheerful, but devout; not content to forgive, they prayed for and

* James Prendergast, Esq., a witness for Mr. Edmund Sheehy, perfectly unexceptionable in point of fortune, character, and religion, which was that of the established church, deposed, that on the day and hour on which the murder of Bridge was sworn to have been committed, viz.: about or between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, on the night of the 28th of October, 1764, Edmund Sheehy, the prisoner, was with him and others, in a distant part of the country; that they and their wives had, on the aforesaid 28th of October, dined at the house of Mr. Tenison, near Ardfinan, in the county of Tipperary, where they continued until after supper; that it was about eleven o'clock when he and the prisoner left the house of Mr. Tenison, and rode a considerable way together on their return to their respective homes; that the prisoner had his wife behind him; that when he (Mr. Prendergast) got home, he looked at the clock, and found it was the hour of twelve exactly." This testimony was confirmed by several corroborating circumstances, sworn to by two other witnesses, against whom no exception appears to have been taken. And yet, because Mr. Tenison, although he confessed in his deposition, that the prisoner had dined with him in October, 1764, and does not expressly deny that it was on the 28th of that month; but says, conjecturally, that he was *inclined to think* that it was earlier than the 28th, the prisoner was brought in guilty. Thus positive and particular proof, produced by Mr. Prendergast, with the circumstances of the day and the hour, attested upon oath by two other witnesses, whose veracity seems not to have been questioned, was overruled and set aside by the vague and indeterminate surmise of Mr. Tenison. See "Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine," for April, and June, 1766."

blessed their prosecutors, judges, and juries. After they were tied up, each of them, in his turn, read a paper aloud, without tremor, hesitation, or other visible emotion, wherein they solemnly protested, as dying Christians, who were quickly to appear before the judgment-seat of God, "that they had no share either by act, counsel, or knowledge in the murder of Bridge; that they never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered amongst them; that they never heard that any scheme of rebellion, high treason, or a massacre, was intended, offered, or even thought of, by any of them; that they never knew of any commissions, or French or Spanish officers being sent, or of any money being paid to these rioters. After this, they severally declared, in the same solemn manner, that certain gentlemen, whose names they then mentioned, had tampered with them at different times, pressing them to make, what they called useful discoveries, by giving in examinations against numbers of Roman Catholics of fortune in that province (some of whom they particularly named) as actually concerned in a conspiracy, and intended massacre, which were never once thought of. But above all, that they urged them to swear, that the priest, Nicholas Sheehy, died with a lie in his mouth; without doing which, they said, no other discovery would avail them. Upon these conditions, they promised, and undertook to procure their pardons, acquainting them at the same time, that they should certainly be hanged, if they did not comply with them."

All that has since come to light with regard to these black transactions—the testimony of Burke (already cited) that there was no conspiracy for insurrection at all—the failure to produce the body of Bridge, though it was carefully searched for in the field where a witness swore it had been buried—the hatred notoriously cherished against Father Sheehy and all his friends, on account of his bold conduct in standing up for his poor parishioners—and we must add the whole course of Irish "justice" from that day to this—all compel us to credit the dying declaration of these men, who were also of unblemished character; and force us to the conclusion that the whole of these military executions and judicial trials in Munster, extending over four years, were themselves the result of a most foul conspiracy on the part of the Ascendency faction, with its government, its judges, its magistrates and its juries—based upon carefully organized perjury and carried through by brute force, to "strike terror" in Tipperary (a measure often found needful since), to destroy all the leading Catholics of that troublesome neighborhood; and above and before all things, to hang and quarter the body, and to spike the head, of the generous and kindly priest who told his people that they were human beings and had rights and wrongs.

Dr. Curry winds up his account of the transaction with these reflections:—

"Such, during the space of three or four years, was the fearful and pitiable state of the Roman Catholics of Munster, and so general did the panic at length become, so many of the lower sort were already hanged, in jail, or on the informers' lists, that the greatest part of the rest fled through fear so that the land lay untilled, for want o hands to cultivate it, and a famine was with reason apprehended. As for the better sort, who had something to lose (and who, for that reason, were the persons chiefly aimed at by the managers of the prosecution), they were at the utmost loss how to dispose of themselves. If they left the country, their absence was construed into a proof of their guilt: if they remained in it, they were in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers and approvers; for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on that occasion, was frequent and barefaced, to a degree almost beyond belief. The very stews were raked, and the jails rummaged in search of evidence; and the most notoriously profligate in both were selected and tampered with, to give information of the private transactions and designs of reputable men, with whom they never had any dealing, intercourse, or acquaintance, nay, to whose very persons they were often found to be strangers, when confronted at their trial.

"In short, so exactly did these prosecutions in Ireland resemble, in every particular, those which were formerly set on foot

in England, for that villanous fiction of Oates's plot, that the former seem to have been planned and carried on entirely on the model of the latter; and the same just observation that hath been made on the English sanguinary proceedings, is perfectly applicable to those which I have now, in part, related, viz.: 'that for the credit of the nation, it were indeed better to bury them in eternal oblivion, but that it is necessary to perpetuate the remembrance of them, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, our posetrity, and all mankind, never again to fall into so shameful and so barbarous a delusion.'"

All now seemed quiet in Munster: but it was the quietude of despair and exhaustion. The Whiteboy spirit was not really suppressed, because the oppressions which had occasioned it were not relaxed, but rather aggravated. Many hearths were now cold that had been the centre of a humble family circle four years before; and the surviving parishioners of Clogheen, when they saw the blackening skull of their revered priest upon its spike withering away in the wind, could read the fate that, on the first murmur of revolt, was in store for themselves or any who should take their part. The next year (1767), some further arrests were made, and the Ascendency party tried hard to get up an alarm about another "Popish rebellion." No executions followed on this occasion, as several benevolent persons contributed money to procure the prisoners the benefit of the best legal defence. It is with pleasure one reads among the names of the friends of an oppressed race who contributed to this fund, the name of Edmund Burke. One of the persons arrested on this last occasion, but afterwards discharged without trial, was Dr. McKenna, Catholic bishop of Cloyne. He, as well as all other ecclesiastics of his order, was, of course, at all times subject to the penalties of law, to transportation under the acts "for preventing the growth of Popery" in Queen Anne's time; and also to the penalty of *premunire* under earlier laws: yet these bishops continued to exercise their office, to confirm and confer orders under a species of connivance, which passed for toleration. But their situation, as well as that of all their clergy, in these first years of King George III. was still as precarious and anomalous as it had been during all the reign of George II. Sometimes they were tolerated, sometimes persecuted. It depended upon the administration which happened to be in power; upon the temporary alarms to which the "Ascendency" was always subject; and upon the disposition of local proprietors and magistrates, who were occasionally men of liberal education, and relished the society of the neighboring priests who had graduated at Lisbon, or Salamanca, or Louvain, and who were then frequently far superior in cultivation and social refinement to the Protestant rectors, of whom Dean Swift sometimes betrays his low estimate. Even the regular clergy, although the rage and suspicion of the Ascendency were yet more bitter against them than the secular priests, were always to be found in Ireland. They ran more cruel risks, however, than the parish priest. If any blind or self-interested bigot desired to show his zeal in trampling on the right of conscience, or to raise the ferocious old cry of "No Popery!" the regular clergy formed an inexhaustible subject for his vociferations: if the legislature of the day wished to indulge the popular frenzy by the exhibition of new-fashioned enactments, or of a new series of tragedies—monks, jesuits, and friars were sure to pay the cost of the entertainment. It has often been affirmed, even by the timid Catholic writers of the last century, that the accession of the House of Hanover inaugurated an era of more liberal toleration. It is to be feared that this kind of admission on their part was but a courtly device to conciliate, if not to flatter, that odious House and its partisans; for the priest-hunters were never more active than in the reign of George I., when Garcia brought in his batches of captured clergymen, and received a good price out of the treasury upon each head of game. In the whole reign of George II., until the administration of Chesterfield, Catholic worship had to be celebrated with the utmost caution and secrecy. In this reign, Bernard MacMahon, Catholic Primate, "resided in a retired place named Ballymascanlon in the County of Louth; his habitation was little superior to a farm-

house, and for many years he was known through the country by the name of Mr. Ennis. In this disguise, which personal safety so strongly prompted, he was accustomed to travel over his diocese, make his visitations, exhort his people, and administer the sacraments."* In the same way, Michael O'Reilly, another primate, "lived in a humble dwelling at Turfegin, near Drogheda, and died here about the year 1758,"† just two years before the accession of George III. In the reign of George III. himself, we have seen Fathers Sheehy and Quinlan regularly indicted at assizes, for that they had, at such times and places, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, said mass and did other functions of a Popish priest, against the peace of our lord the king, and contrary to the statutes in that case made and provided. We must, therefore, take these grateful acknowledgments of the liberal dispositions of the House of Hanover, with considerable qualification, remembering that the writers in question were laboring in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, under that royal House, and felt obliged to pay it some compliments upon its noble generosity.

As for the Catholic laity, their disabilities continued all this time in full force, and while a contemptuous connivance was shown to their religious worship, good care was taken to debar them from all profitable occupation, and to seize the poor remnants of their property. Indeed, the toleration of their worship was for the better securing of these latter objects; it was known that men who went regularly to mass would never take an oath that the King of England is head of the church, or that the mass is a damnable idolatry; and these oaths formed the very barrier which fenced in all the rich and fat things of the land for the Protestants, and shut the Papists out. That observant and honest English traveller, Arthur Young, was so powerfully struck with this true character of the Penal Laws, that in his account of his tour he more than once dwells upon it with righteous indignation. He says:—"But it seems to be the meaning, wish, and intent of the discovery laws, that none of them (the Irish Catholics) should ever be rich. It is the principle of that system, that wealthy subjects would be nuisances; and therefore every means is taken to reduce, and keep them to a state of poverty. If this is not the intention of these laws, they are the most abominable heap of self-contradictions that ever were issued in the world. They are framed in such a manner that no Catholic shall have the inducement to become rich....Take the laws and their execution into one view, and this state of the case is so true, that they actually do not seem to be so much levelled at the religion, as at the property that is found in it....The domineering aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants, feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves; they have not the least objection to the tenets of that religion which keeps them by the law of the land in subjection; but property and slavery are too incompatible to live together: hence the special care taken that no such thing should arise among them."—*Young's Tour in Irel.*, vol. ii., p. 48.

In another place Mr. Young repeats:—"I have conversed on the subject with some of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom, and I cannot after all but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of the laws of discovery, as executed, are not against the Catholic religion, *which increases under them*, but against the industry and property of whoever professes that religion. In vain has it been said, that consequence and power follow property, and that the attack is made in order to wound the doctrine through its property. If such was the intention, I reply, that seventy years' experience prove the folly and futility of it. Those laws have crushed all the industry, and wrested most of the property from the Catholics; but the religion triumphs; it is thought to increase." Readers may now understand the nature and extent of that vaunted "toleration," and the true intent and purpose of it, such as it was—namely plunder.

* Brennan's Eccl. Hist., p. 573. † Ib.

CHAPTER XVI.

1767—1773.

Townshend, Viceroy—Augmentation of the army—Embezzlement — Parliament prorogued — Again prorogued—Townshend buys his majority—Triumph of the "English Interest"—New attempt to bribe the Priests—Townshend's "Golden Drops"—Bill to allow Papists to reclaim bogs—Townshend recalled—Harcourt, Viceroy—Proposal to tax absentees—Defeated—Degraded condition of the Irish Parliament—American Revolution, and new era.

The history of Lord Townshend's administration, and of the two which followed, is unhappily little more than a history of the most shameless corruption and servility on the part of the Irish Parliament, relieved, however, by some examples of a rising national spirit in the assertion of constitutional right. Very early in the same session of Parliament, which had finally passed the Octennial Bill, the attention of the House of Commons was especially called to the consideration of the army upon the Irish establishment. A message from the lord-lieutenant was sent to the House by the hands of the Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, in which he informed the Commons "that it is his majesty's judgment, that not less than 12,000 men should be constantly kept in the island for service, and that his majesty finding, that, consistently with the general public service, the number before mentioned cannot always be continued in Ireland, unless his army upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, his majesty is of opinion, that such augmentation should be immediately made, and earnestly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in providing for a measure which his majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for the honor of his crown, but for the peace and security of his kingdom." The message was ordered to be entered on the journals, and at the same time a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the military establishment, and also into the application of the money granted for its support from the 25th March, 1751. The result of this inquiry showed manifest misconduct, as appears from the report at large, and the returns thereunto annexed: part of the report is to the following effect:

"Your committee beg leave to take notice that the entire reduction of the army, after the conclusion of the peace, did not take place till the latter end of the year 1764; and that it appears from the return of the quarter-master-general, that there were great deficiencies in the several regiments then upon the establishment, at the several quarterly musters comprised in the said paper, which precede the month of January, 1765; the full pay of such vacancies must amount to a very large sum, and ought, as your committee apprehends, to have been returned as a saving to the public, especially as it appeared to your committee, that orders were issued by government, not to recruit the regiments intended to be reduced." Upon the whole, it was resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, to lay before him the report of the said committee, to acknowledge his constant attention to the welfare of the people, to express the utmost confidence in his majesty's wisdom, that if upon such representation any reformation in the said establishment should appear necessary to his majesty, such alteration would be made therein as would better provide for the security of the kingdom, and at the same time reduce the expense of the establishment, in such a manner as might be more suitable to the circumstances of the nation. The Government, however, was able to secure a majority for their measure. As Mr. Plowden expresses it, "Vainly did the efforts of patriotism encounter the exertions of the *new system* to keep individuals steady to their post on the Treasury bench.

The Parliament was now dissolved; and the first Octennial Parliament was to be elected. There was an unusually long interval of sixteen months from the dissolution of the old to the meeting of this new Parliament. This interval was used by the Court in establishing the "new system;" which system was neither more nor less than buying the people's representatives in detail, by direct negotiation with individuals, instead of contracting for them by wholesale with the four or five noble "Undertakers," who owned many boroughs, and

influenced the owners of many others. Lord Townshend hoped to render the concession of the Octennial Act worse than nugatory, and to create a new *junta* in support of the *English interest*, independent of their former leaders. But he had not yet so matured his plan as to have insured the whole game. He had not altered the nature, but only raised the price, of accommodation; and, lavish as the Irish have generally been of their voices in Parliament to the highest bidder, there ever appear to have been some cases reserved out of the bargain. Such had been the reservation of right to vote for limited Parliaments, in some of the most obsequious devotees to the measures of the Castle; and such now was a similar exception in some of these pensioned supporters to resist the right of the English Council to make money bills originate with them, and not with the Commons of Ireland. On this point the British Cabinet and the Irish House of Commons came fairly to issue. The former determined to test the question in the most direct way, by the origination of a money bill in the Privy Council; and the latter resolved fairly to meet the issue. Accordingly, it was moved in the House of Commons, that a bill, entitled "An Act for granting to His Majesty the several Duties, Rates, Impositions, and Taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the Payment of the Interest of the Sums therein provided for and towards the Discharge of the said principal Sums," should be read a second time on the day following. This motion was negatived; and it was resolved that such bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House.

The lord-lieutenant, though he thought proper to allow the Irish Parliament to grant their own money in their own way, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavored, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their journals. The House would not submit to this encroachment upon their privileges: the Lords were less inflexible, and after much opposition and debate, his excellency's protest was solemnly recorded on the journals of the House of Peers. But before that was done, it having been generally suspected that such was his intention, the following motion was made in the House of Peers: "That the Speaker of this House be desired that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of Parliament, and a member of this House, and which doth not respect a matter which had been previously in question before this House, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered on the Journals of the House." After a warm debate upon this motion, the question was negatived upon a division of 30 against 5.

The 21st of November, 1769, was a day fixed for the trial of strength upon the English Privy Council's money bill. The motion being made that this bill be read a first time, it was carried in the affirmative; and the bill being accordingly read, a motion was made, and the question put, that the bill be read a second time to-morrow morning: the House divided: ayes, sixty-eight; noes, eighty-seven. Then the motion, that the bill be rejected, was put and carried by ninety-four against seventy-one; and it was resolved *that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House.* The lord-lieutenant took this defeat in the Commons so much to heart, that he resolved to bring no more Government questions before them during that session: or until he could, as the Castle phrase then was, make more sure of the king's business. The representations which were made of this transaction in England soon found their way into the newspapers, and the light in which Mr. Woodfall placed the majority of the Irish House of Commons on that important division in the *Public Advertiser*, fully proved the general sentiment entertained at the time in England upon the whole system of the Irish Government.* On the 18th day of December, 1769, a motion was made and carried, without opposition, that a paper entitled the *Public Advertiser*, by H. S. Woodfall, London, December the 9th, 1769, might be read. It contained the following words: "Hibernian patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol worshipped at the London Tavern; insolence, assumed from an opinion of impu-

* Journ. Com., vol. 8, p. 344.

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nity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behavior more suiting an army of Whiteboys than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult that has been offered to Government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else the state is ruined. Let the refractory House be dissolved; should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved; and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue, I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The Parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as well as colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubted right, vote the Irish supplies; and so save a nation, that their own obstinate representatives endeavor to ruin." The perfect identity in tone and temper of this article with those of the *Times* at the present day (when any manifestation of spirit in Ireland irritates the British public) makes it well worth preserving, to show how very little the English feeling towards Ireland has varied or changed in a hundred years. These paragraphs having been read, it was resolved, that they were a false and infamous libel upon the proceedings of that House, a daring invasion of the Parliament, and calculated to create groundless jealousies between His Majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland: it was therefore ordered, that the said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. And on the Wednesday following, viz., the 20th of December, the said paper was burned before the gate of the House of Commons by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the sheriffs of Dublin, amidst the indignant shouts of an immense crowd of spectators, who loudly, though without outrage, resented the insult offered to their representatives.

It was evident that Lord Townshend's new system of government had not yet been sufficiently perfected. There was a new assault in preparation during the month o December in this year, 1769, against the enormous pension-list, and although he knew he could command a majority upon that (ninety-eight being against the agitation of the pension-list at that time, and eighty-nine for it), still the majority was too trifling to trust to, and a victory on such terms would have been a moral defeat. He determined to prorogue the House. This became known to the Commons and the country, and the House, in an address, requested that his excellency would inform the House whether he had any instructions or had any intention to prorogue the Parliament sooner than usual. Here again the lord-lieutenant found his deficiency *in doing the king's business:* for upon a division on the main question the minister was left once more in a greater minority than ever, there being 106 or his excellency's making the declaration, and seventy-three only against it. On the very next day, however, Sir George Macartney, the secretary, reported to the House, that his excellency had returned the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN—I shall always be desirous of complying with your request when I can do it with propriety. I do not think myself authorized to disclose his majesty's instructions to me upon any subject, without having received his majesty's commands for so doing. With regard to my intentions, they will be regulated by his majesty's instructions and *future events.*" In fact, on the day after Christmas, Lord Townshend prorogued the Parliament, at first only till the 20th of March following. The lord-lieutenant having experienced so much inflexibility and difficulty in the management of the Commons in the first session, fully resolved to meet them no more in Parliament, till they were properly marshalled, and thoroughly broken in to every manœuvre of the new tactics. His excellency accordingly by proclamation on the 12th of March, 1770, prorogued them to Tuesday, the 1st of May following; on the 20th of April, 1770, he further prorogued them to the 28th of August, and by three other successive proclamations he further prorogued them to different periods, and finally to the 26th of February,

1771, then to sit for dispatch of business. In the mean time affairs were falling into some confusion; several temporary acts which required renewal had expired; the contest in Ireland excited the sympathies of the whig party in England, and in May, 1770, the Hon. Boyle Walsingham brought up in Parliament at Westminster the whole subject of the late extraordinary prorogations in Dublin, and moved for papers connected therewith. Lord North, the minister, of course defended the prorogations, which he said he had himself advised; and declared the conduct of the Irish Parliament to be contrary to Poynings' Law, "the grand bond of the dependence of Ireland upon England." The House divided upon the motion for papers, when 66 voted for it, but 178 voted against all inquiry.

Lord Townshend and his creatures were not idle during the long Parliamentary *interregnum*. It is painful to be obliged to record that his system of personal individual corruption made good progress. "Patriots" were won over to the administration, among whom appeared conspicuously, Mr. Saxton Perry, member for Limerick, who first received the support of the Government in being elected as Speaker of the House, with a promise of a peerage. Many others had been secured, some with money, some with honors, and in February, 1771, his excellency faced the Parliament with full confidence, which it soon appeared was not misplaced. The first division was on an address of the Commons to his majesty in answer to the lord-lieutenant's speech; in this address they returned their most humble thanks to his majesty, for graciously continuing his excellency, Lord Townshend, in the government of the kingdom. The slavish address was opposed, but was carried by 132 against 107. Lord Townshend never had any further trouble in managing Parliament and doing the king's business. Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker of the House, however, refused to be the official medium of presenting the servile address; he resigned at once, requesting the House "to elect another Speaker who may not think such conduct inconsistent with his honor." Mr. Perry was thereupon elected. "And the conduct and speech of Mr. Perry on this occasion bespoke the forward zeal of a new proselyte."*

Having now secured his majority in Parliament, the grand policy of Lord Townshend was to do away with the effects of the Patriotic votes in the last session, and justify his own conduct in the prorogations. He was to make this Irish Parliament stultify itself and eat its own words, and in all this he was eminently successful. Nothing was permitted to pass without a division, so as to parade continually before the eyes of the people of Ireland, and of his employers in England the thorough training in which the viceroy had his Parliament at last. The Commons, however—that is the remaining Patriots in the House—made one last effort, by moving an address to the king, containing some pitiful remonstrances:—as that "his faithful Commons did confidently hope that a law for securing the independence of the judges of this kingdom would have passed; such a law having been recommended and promised by his excellency the lord-lieutenant, in a speech from the throne in the first session of his excellency's government," and several other remonstrances of a like kind. The address was ordered to be opposed, and it was lost by a vote of 123 against 68.

Yet once more the viceroy's well-drilled ranks were to be paraded. In the address of the Commons to the lord-lieutenant, which was moved for and carried on the 16th of May, two days only before the prorogation, the Patriots objected to the thanks contained in it for his excellency's *just and prudent administration;* but on a division they were outvoted by 106 against 51; this address together with the king's answer to the address of the Commons to the throne, was considered, by the Castle, to have completely counteracted the whole effect of the successful efforts of the Patriots in the last session, and to have given the express royal sanction to every part of the viceroy's conduct.

The address of the lords to the king con-

* Plowden. It should be remarked that this historian wrote his first series in a spirit favorable to the Union, and, therefore, has some propensity to disparage the "Patriots" of the colony, and to point out their helplessness or venality.

tained the following paragraph: "We have the truest sense of many instances, which your majesty has been pleased to afford us of your paternal care, and particularly your continuing the Lord Viscount Townshend in the government of this kingdom, of which, as his experience enables him to form the truest judgment, so his candor and integrity will, we doubt not, move him to make the justest representation." A warm debate took place upon the question being put, that the said paragraph do stand part of the address, which was carried by thirty against fifteen. A manly protest was entered by sixteen peers, whose titles deserve to be recorded. They were

Leinster (by proxy),	Baltinglass,
Westmeath,	Mount-Cashell,
Lanesborough,	Moira (by proxy),
Shannon,	Longford,
Mornington,	Louth,
Lisle,	Bective,
Powerscourt,	Molesworth,
Charlemont,	Bellamont.

In this session Lord Townshend proved, by is two-thirds majority on no fewer than eventeen divisions, that he could now make that Parliament vote anything he ordered, whether in matter of opinion or matter of fact. He chose that there should be no parliamentary inquiry, this time, into finances and pensions, and accordingly there was not. It appears evident, from the arguments of the still uncorrupted Patriots of the House of Commons, from the protest of the sixteen peers, from the state of the national accounts still upon record, and from other historical documents, that the national debt of Ireland very heavily accumulated during the administration of Lord Townshend; yet we find, that after the experience, which two years and a quarter had given him of the inadequacy of the fiscal resources of that kingdom to answer his new plan of keeping up the *English interest*, he refrained from calling on the Commons for any supplies, alleging in his speech to Parliament, on the 26th of February, 1771, that with very strict economy, the duties granted last session would be sufficient to answer the expenses of his majesty's government; and therefore he would ask no further supply.

The confidence with which Lord Townshend met the Parliament in October, 1771, was strongly displayed in his speech. "My experience," said his excellency, "of your attachment to his majesty's person, and of your zeal for the public service, affords me the best-grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part to co-operate with his majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and when to this consideration I add my remembrance of your kind regard for the ease and honor of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the present opportunity, which his majesty has given me, of meeting you a fourth time in Parliament." Notwithstanding his boasted economy, which prevented his application to the Commons for any further supply last session, he now told them "that it was with concern that he must ask a sum of money to discharge the arrears already incurred on his majesty's establishments, but that they would find they had been unavoidable; for that the strictest economy had been used." etc. Another part of the lord-lieutenant's speech on the opening of this Parliament, referred to the illegal associations and outrages of the "Hearts of Steel" in the north of Ireland. The violence of these people had greatly increased and extended to other countries than those in which the society had first appeared. They exacted oaths by force, maltreated obnoxious individuals, and destroyed houses. Some of them were taken and tried at Carrickfergus; but whether from want of evidence, from fear of incurring the resentment of the populace, or from partiality in the witnesses and the jury, they were acquitted. On this account the legislature passed an act, by which all persons indicted of such offences were ordered to be tried in counties different from those in which the excesses were committed. In consequence, several of the Steel Boys against whom examinations had been taken, were carried to Dublin and put upon their trial. But so strong was the prejudice conceived against this new law, that no jury there would find any of them guilty. It will be remembered that these rioters were all Protestants, as were also all the jurors who tried them. If they had been Catholics, there would have been no difficulty in

vindicating the law. The obnoxious act, however, was repealed, and after that many convictions and executions took place. The effects, not of the riots, but of the oppressions which produced them, were for a long time prejudicial to the country, and the emigration to America was renewed to a greater extent than ever before.

The session passed in an unbroken series of servile divisions in favor of every thing the Castle wished; against every thing the Castle disliked. In the address to the king occurred these words, "We are fully persuaded that the support of your majesty's government is the great and firm basis of the freedom and happiness of this country." A Patriot ventured on an amendment, that before the word *support*, the word *constitutional* should be inserted; it was negatived by a vote of eighty-eight against thirty-six.

During this administration we find by the journals mentioning the tellers upon the different divisions, that three of the most forward and constant supporters of every government question were Mr. Monk Mason, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Fitzgibbon; and the truth or falsity of the propositions little availed, provided it were made a Government question. Thus besides the instances already adduced, we find upon the journals (8 vol. iii.) the following resolution negatived on the 8th of March, 1766: "That it be resolved, that the office of a commissioner of his majesty's revenue would be better executed by a person resident in this kingdom, than by an absentee." During this session of 1771, died Dr. Lucas, whom, from his first entrance into political life, no promises or offers could seduce from untainted patriotism. The citizens of Dublin erected his statue in the exchange. The remainder of Lord Townshend's administration passed over without any notable incident. No legislative measure was adopted either for or against the Catholics, but his lordship could not retire from a situation which he had held in Ireland for five years without giving some proof of his attachment to the Protestant religion.

A provision had been made by the 8th of Anne, that every Popish priest, who should become Protestant, and be approved of as a convert, should have £30 yearly for his maintenance, until provided for by some ecclesiastical preferment beyond that amount. But by an act of this session it was recited, that it had been found by experience, that the former act had not answered the purposes intended, *especially as the provision* made as aforesaid *for such Popish priests is in no respect a sufficient encouragement for Popish priests to become converts;* it was therefore enacted, that £40 should in future be allowed annually, in lieu of £30 to every Popish priest converted. The multiplication of these allowances up to the height of the most proselytizing zeal could not interfere with the civil list of pensioners, as these spiritual *douceurs* were to be levied on the inhabitants of the district, wherein the convert last resided. These additional pittances of £10 were called by the Irish, *Townshend's golden drops.* They were not found more efficacious than the former prescription.

This act for the encouragement of converts to the Protestant religion was also in some measure deemed necessary to counterbalance the effects of another act made in the same session, supposed to be very favorable to the Catholics, and which in times of less liberality had been repeatedly thrown out of Parliament, as tending to encourage Popery to the detriment and prejudice of the Protestant religion. This was *An Act to encourage the reclaiming of unprofitable Bogs*, and recites that there were large tracts of deep bogs in several counties of the kingdom, which in their then state were not only unprofitable, but by their damps rendered the air unwholesome; and it had been found by experience, that such bogs were capable of improvement, and of being converted into arable or pasture land, if encouragement were given to the lower class of people to apply their industry to the reclaiming of them. It therefore enacted, that notwithstanding the laws then in force, any Catholic might be at liberty to take a lease of fifty plantation acres of such bog, and one half an acre of arable land adjoining thereto, as a site for a house, or for the purpose of delving for gravel or limestone, for manure, at such rent as should be agreed upon between him and the owner of the soil, as also from ecclesiastical or bodies cor-

porate; and for further encouragement, the tenant was to be free for the first seven years from all tithes and cesses; but it was provided, that if half of the bog demised were not reclaimed at the end of twenty-one years, the lease should be void; and no bog was to be considered unprofitable, unless the depth of it from the surface, when reclaimed, were four feet at least; and no person was to be entitled to the benefit of the act, unless he reclaimed ten plantation acres; and the act was not to extend to any bog within one mile of a city or market town.

The provisions of this act give us a clearer idea than any labored disquisition could do, of the depressed condition of the Catholics of that day, and of the manner in which they were regarded by the colonists—"Patriots" and all.

Lord Townshend's administration was drawing to a close; and he had done his British errand well. No viceroy had yet succeeded in establishing in Ireland such profound demoralization and debasement.

The baneful example of the chief governor's marshalling the ranks of Parliament encouraged the already too deeply rooted principle of despotism throughout the nation. Not only the great lords and real owners of land exercised in general a most ferocious rule over their inferiors; but that obnoxious race of self-created gentlemen, whose consequence and virtue consisted in not being Papists, and whose loyalty was mere lust for persecuting and oppressing them, were uncontrollable in their petty tyranny. Even the lord-lieutenant was so sensible of it, that being resolved to pardon a Catholic gentleman unjustly found guilty, he withdrew the hand of mercy, with this reflection: "I see them resolved upon his blood, so he may as well go now."

In his farewell speech to Parliament, this able British agent sarcastically complimented the miserable crew, over whom he had so often shaken his whip—"I have upon every occasion endeavored, to the utmost of my power, to promote the public service, and I feel the most perfect satisfaction in now repeating to you my acknowledgments for the very honorable manner in which (after a residence of near five years amongst you) you have declared your entire approbation of my conduct. Be assured that I shall always entertain the most ardent wishes for your welfare, and shall make a faithful representation to his majesty of your loyalty and attachment to his royal person and government."

On the whole, we cannot but acquiesce in the cruel judgment passed upon the Irish Parliament by the worthy Dr. Campbell,* at the moment when Lord Townshend retired, and gave place to his successor, Lord Harcourt—"*Lord Harcourt then found the Parliament of Ireland as obsequious as that of Great Britain.*" It would be impossible to use a stronger expression.

When Lord Harcourt assumed the government, in October, 1772, he had little to do but to continue the system which his predecessor had with so much perseverance, difficulty, and charge to the finance, regularly established, according to his instructions from the British cabinet. In order, therefore, to give continuance and stability to the new *English interest*, which had been raised upon the partial destruction of the Irish oligarchy, as Lord Clare observed, a man was chosen of amiable character, easy disposition, and of no other ambition than to move by the direction, and thus acquire the approbation of his immediate employers. With the active labor of office, he considered that he also threw the burden of responsibility upon his secretary. He had been nearly twelve months in the government of Ireland before he met the Parliament, on the 12th of October, 1773.

The first stand made by the Patriots was upon an alarm at the intention of Government, in laying the public accounts before the House, to hold back some of the documents which would too palpably bring to light the means used by the last viceroy for insuring a majority to *do the king's business.* After the House had ordered the different accounts and estimates to be laid before it, an amendment was proposed to add these words: "As far as there are materials for that purpose." A division took place, and

* "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland." This is the work of an honest and liberal man, though not so valuable as the Tour of Arthur Young.

the amendment was carried by 88 against 52. Thus it was left in the discretion of the clerks, or rather of the Government, to bring forward or hold back what materials they chose.

Lord Harcourt's administration is remarkable for the first proposal to impose an absentee-tax on non-resident Irish landlords. This proposal came from the crown; and it was to the effect that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rental of landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not reside in that kingdom for six months in each year, from Christmas, 1773, to Christmas, 1775. The proposal being against the interest of England, was evidently not sincere on the part of Government: all officials were left at perfect liberty to support it or not: the interest of the great landlords was against it; and the only wonder was that it was defeated by so small a majority, 122 against 102.

But we have now arrived at an epoch in the history of the world, from which many things in modern history take their departure. It has been thought needful to go into some detail to show the miserable and abject condition of Ireland at this precise period, in order to make more apparent the wonderful change soon produced by the reflection and reverberation of the great American revolution.

CHAPTER XVII.

1774—1777.

American affairs—Comparison between Ireland and the Colonies—Contagion of American opinions in Ireland—Paltry measure of relief to Catholics—Congress at Philadelphia—Address of Congress to Ireland—Encouragement to Fisheries—4,000 "armed negotiators"—Financial distress—First Octennial Parliament dissolved—Grattan—Lord Buckingham, Viceroy—Successes of the Americans.

The American "Stamp Act" had been passed in 1765, just while the Irish Parliament was in the midst of its struggle for limited Parliaments and against the pension list. The next year the Stamp Act had been repealed, but had been soon followed by the attempt to impose "port duties." The steady organized resistance of the Americans had caused the British ministry to relinquish these port duties also, except the duty on tea, in the year 1770. The question between the mother-country and the colonies being thus reduced to a matter of threepence per pound on tea, the colonists being once aroused, having laid down the principle, "No taxation without representation," would not pay that threepence. A year after Lord Harcourt came to Ireland as viceroy, the people of Boston emptied a cargo of taxed tea into the harbor of that port; and in the course of the following year, 1774, Edmund Burke made one of his first celebrated speeches, in favor of a repeal of the tea duty, in the British Parliament. The motion had been made by Mr. Fuller, member for Rye, but failed, though it was supported by the eloquence of Burke; and the House, we are told, was very much amused and delighted by the ingenious declamation of that extraordinary orator, while he eulogized his friend, Lord Rockingham and his government, and ridiculed in his peculiar style the present cabinet—"An administration so checkered and speckled, a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone, there a bit of white," etc. But though there was much laughter and cheering, the motion to repeal the tea duty was lost on a division of 184 against 51. If it be any comfort to us, the fact is certain, that the British Parliament of that day was fully as servile as the Irish, and very much more stupid.

It was evident that the last resort of war had nearly arrived; and the very strong analogies which existed between the American colonies and the Irish colony were quite sufficient to occasion in the latter country not only an intense interest, but a deep sympathy also in the American struggle. The situation of the two countries was not indeed precisely alike. The North American colonies had never pretended to be a kingdom, as the English colony in Ireland did. Ireland was not taxed absolutely without representation, although the dependent position of her Parliament, under Poynings' Law, made her representation quite illusory for any efficient security. The American colonists were then about three

millions in number; the Irish, only half a million—for the two millions of Catholics were not counted as members of the body politic. Ireland was within easy reach and striking distance of the common enemy, and America was divided from her by three thousand miles of ocean—no trifling advantage in the days when steam navigation was not. Above all, America had this one great and signal advantage over Ireland, that the colonists, though of different religions, were all equal before the law, and felt themselves equally concerned in the common interest. They were also all armed, and accustomed to the use of weapons, while in Ireland the penal laws had effectually disarmed and reduced to a state of utter helplessness, four-fifths of the entire population.

There was, however, quite sufficient resemblance between the cases of the two countries to disquiet Lord North's administration very considerably. The minister, therefore, wisely, though silently, instructed the lord-lieutenant to endeavor by all means to soothe and engage the affections of the Catholics by gradual relaxations of the rigorous code of penalties, pains, and disabilities, under which they had so long and so patiently suffered. As early, therefore, in the session as the 10th of November, 1773,* leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill to secure the repayment of money that should be really lent and advanced by Papists to Protestants on mortgages of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and that it might be understood to be a Government measure of grace, Mr. Mason, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Mr. Langrishe, great and determined supporters of Government, were ordered to bring it in.† On the preceding day leave had been given to bring in heads of a bill to enable Papists, upon certain terms and provisoes, to take leases of lives, of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; but neither one or the other of these bills at that time proceeded. The Irish antipathies to Popery, and the reluctance of most men in place or power in Ireland to do justice to the Catholics, deterred the easy mind of Lord Harcourt from pushing forward what they persuaded him would create difficulties and disturbances in Parliament, and interrupt that easy and quiet majority which Government then enjoyed, and which he had it strongly in command to keep up by all possible and prudent means. Although the managers of the *English interest* in Ireland (this lord-lieutenant was but their passive tool) had blasted these two scions of indulgence in their first shoot, yet the British ministry sent over positive and uncontrollable orders that some act of the legislature should positively be passed in that session, of a soothing and conciliatory tendency to the Catholics, well imagining that the breadth of the Atlantic would not prevent the infection of political discontent in persons equally suffering a deprivation of that nutriment and support which their constitution required for the preservation of their existence. On the 5th of March, 1774, therefore, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him; and as the bill remitted no part of the then existing code of severity, but accorded merely a permission to the Catholics of expressing their allegiance to their sovereign, which before they had not, it passed both Houses without obstruction or opposition. Of this measure, paltry as it was, and even insulting, when coupled with the rejection of the bills to allow Catholics to take mortgages or leases, Mr. Plowden observes—"It gratified the Catholics, inasmuch as it was a formal recognition that they were subjects, and to this recognition they looked up as to the corner-stone of their future emancipation."

It cannot fail to strike every reader that whatever miserable indulgences, tolerations, or connivances were extended to the Catholics during all the era of the penal laws, were carefully calculated to prevent them from getting any hold upon the *land*. Thus they were now permitted to testify allegiance if they chose, but could in no case take a mortgage on real estate, because mortgages are often foreclosed, and the mortgagee becomes entitled to the land. They might attend mass, but could by no means be allowed to have a lease for lives. Mr. Burke, in a letter written in 1775,* ascribes this policy not so much to the greedy determination of Protestants to own all the wealth of the king-

* 9 Com. Journ., p. 28. † Ibid., p. 27.

* Letter to an Irish Peer.

dom as to mere arrogance and insolence. He says, "From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, a spirit of domination, and not a bigoted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up those oppressive statutes. I am sure I have known those, who have oppressed Papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies; and who wished them to continue, in order to furnish pretences for oppression; and who never saw a man by conforming escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, to whom I am not uncharitable in saying, though they are dead, that they would become Papists in order to oppress Protestants; if being Protestants it was not in their power to oppress Papists." But whosoever has read the narrative of events down to the time at which we are now arrived, will scarcely resist the conclusion that the controlling idea in all the policy of the Ascendency was simple greediness.

Meanwhile the dispute with America was very fast approaching the arbitrement of war. The first general Congress had been opened in Philadelphia on the 4th of September, 1774. All eyes in Ireland were turned to this impending struggle, and the obvious community of interest which Ireland had with those Transatlantic colonies, made their case the theme of conversation in private circles, as well as of debates in Parliament. The attention of the country was still more strongly aroused when the Continental Congress, amongst other forcible addresses issued at this time, directed one to the "People of Ireland."

"We are desirous of the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with the true state of our motives and objects; the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision. Your Parliament had done us no wrong. You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America." In fact, most of the leading members of the opposition in both countries (who afterwards composed that administration, which put an end to the American war) opposed the war upon principle; they inveighed against the unconstitutional exactions of the ministry, and in their debates went very little short of formally justifying the American rebellion. The analogy between America and Ireland was too close to pass unnoticed; and the defection of the American Colonies produced strong effects upon Ireland. The exportation of Irish linen for America had been very considerable; but now this great source of national wealth was totally shut up, by an extraordinary stretch of prerogative. Under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being supplied with provisions from this country, an embargo was laid on the exportation of provisions from Ireland, which in prejudicing that kingdom, served only to favor the adventures of British contractors. This embargo, combined with other causes, which were invariable and permanent, produced the most melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell considerably in value, as did also land; and rents in many places could scarcely be collected, so much was public credit essentially injured. In short, it was again judged necessary, in presence of these exciting questions with America, "to do something for poor Ireland," as the phrase then ran.

The nature of the benefit, however, was to be considered, and nothing could seem better adopted, than a donation, which would be an advantage instead of a loss to the giver. It was not itself very considerable, but it might be considered as a beginning; and small benefits carry weight with those who have not been habituated to great favors. It had been shown to the British Parliament, that the exports from England to Ireland amounted then to £2,400,000 annually; besides the latter supported a large standing army, at all times ready for the defence of the former; and immense sums of her ready cash were spent in England by her numerous absentees, pensioners, and placemen; yet by oppressive restrictions in trade, Ireland was out off from the benefit of her great natural staple commodity, as well as excluded from the advantage that she might derive from the peculiarity of her situation.

A. CHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. &

The British minister on the 11th of October, 1775, moved for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland.* This attention to Ireland was generally approved of, and after some conversation on the hardships that country suffered, it was proposed by Mr. Burke to extend the motion, by adding the words "trade and commerce;" and thereby afford an opportunity to grant such relief and indulgence in those exports, as might be done without prejudice to Great Britain. The minister objected to this; however, the committee in its progress granted several bounties to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery; and it was further resolved in favor of Ireland, that it should be lawful to export from thence, clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment, as were employed abroad: and also, that a bounty of five shillings per barrel shonld be allowed on all flax seeds imported into Ireland. This ast resolution was passed to prevent the vils that were apprehended there, from the cutting off their great American source of supply in that article. Another resolution was also passed, by which Ireland was aliowed to export provisions, hooks, lines, nets, and tools for the implements of the fishery. The committee also agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the whale fishery, in those seas that were to the southward of Greenland and Davis's Straits fisheries: and, upon the same principle, took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone, from Newfoundland, etc. They also took off the duty that was payable upon the importation of seal skins.

* An English minister was always obliged to be extremely cautious in approaching any measure for the encouragement of the Irish fisheries. It was in the reign of William the Third, that certain fishermen in Folkestone and Aldborough, in the south of England, presented mournful petitions to Parliament, stating that they suffered "from Ireland, by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford! and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining the petitioners' markets." These impudent fishermen had, as Hutchinson says, the *hard lot* of having motions which were made in their favor, rejected. See the Commercial Restraints, p 126.

A part of the policy of this petty measure was to give to Ireland some portion of the benefits of which the war would deprive America. Mr. Burke, on this occasion, while he thanked Lord North for the trifling boon to his country, took occasion to say, "that however desirous he might be to promote any scheme for the advantage of Ireland, he would be much better pleased that the benefits thus held out should never be realized, than that Ireland should profit at the expense of a country which was, if possible, more oppressed than herself."

But, strong as was the sympathy between Ireland and America, and earnestly as the mass of the people—both Catholic and Protestant—wished success to the patriotic colonists, the Government was determined to place the two oppressed countries as far as possible in a position of, at least, apparent antagonism. With this view, Lord Harcourt, in the year 1775—just as hostilities had commenced at Lexington—demanded the services of four thousand men, out of the twelve thousand which then constituted the effective force of regular troops in Ireland, to be dispatched to America, for duty there. At the same time, the lord-lieutenant said it was his gracious Majesty's intention to supply the place of the four thousand men with foreign Protestant soldiers—in short, with Hessians. The Court party, which was now, on most questions, irresistible (though there were *reserved* questions, as the origination of money-bills), carried the measure for granting the four thousand men, on the terms that they should not be a charge to the Irish revenue while serving abroad. There was much objection made by the Patriots, to sending these troops "to cut the throats of the Americans;" and there were many expressions of sympathy and respect towards the colonists, in the course of the debate; but the measure was carried. Mr. Flood, indeed, whose conduct is not clear of the imputation of corruption, voted to send the four thousand men "as armed negotiators"—such was his cold and cruel expression.*

* In the tremendous philippic pronounced by Grattan against Flood, in 1783, he thus deals with Mr. Flood's vote of 1775: "With regard to the liberties of America, which were inseparable from ours,

But although the Irish Parliament gave these troops, it would not accept the Hessians. Much to the surprise and embarrassment of Government, the second proposition for introducing foreign troops into that kingdom was negatived by nearly as large a majority as the first was carried; namely, by 106 against 68. The House accordingly voted an address to his excellency, expressive of their sense and resolution upon this subject, and stating "that, with the assistance of the Government, his majesty's loyal people of Ireland may be able so to exert themselves as to make such aid at this juncture unnecessary." This conduct of the Irish Commons is of singular importance in the history of Ireland, inasmuch as it was the first patriotic step taken by the representatives of the people towards attaining that state of civil liberty which was obtained by the nation in what Mr. Burke called "their revolution of 1782." In truth, the address to Lord Harcourt, in which the legislature promised for the people that they would *exert themselves*, and make foreign soldiers unnecessary, already distinctly foreshadowed the volunteering.

When the four thousand troops were designated for this American service, an honorable action deserves to be recorded: the Earl of Effingham, finding that the regiment in which he served was destined to act against the colonies, thought it inconsistent with his character and unbecoming his dignity to enforce measures with his sword, which he had condemned in his legislative capacity. He therefore wrote a letter to the Secretary at War, resigning his command in the army, and stating his reasons for it. This conduct rendered that nobleman extremely popular, and the city of Dublin, at the Midsummer quarter assembly, voted public thanks to Lord Effingham, "for having, consistently with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw his sword against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America." Soon after an address of thanks, in fuller terms, was presented to him from the guild of merchants of Dublin: the latter also presented an address of thanks to the several peers, who (as they said) "in support of the constitution, and in opposition to a weak and wicked administration, protested against the American Restraining Bills." This address, with the several answers of the lords to whom it was presented, appeared at that time in the public papers, and produced a very strong sensation throughout the nation. But on the other hand, we find that great Irish Whig, Lord Rawdon, afterwards Lord Moira, serving zealously in America against the rebels: and it is not without a feeling of shame that Irishmen can ever read on that same list the name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The remainder of Lord Harcourt's administration was occupied mainly with parliamentary troubles about money bills. Heads of a bill were sent to England granting certain duties for the public service. The bill was altered by the Privy Council, and when it came back it was rejected on that express ground. The Patriotic party, then, finding themselves supported on these financial questions by several members on the opposite side of the House, determined to try their strength upon a motion for an address to the king, setting forth in candid and striking terms the unhappy state of the nation. This motion was made two days before the end of the session. The address, after the usual preamble declaring loyal duty and devotion, stated that at the close of the last war the debt of the nation did not exceed £521,161 16*s.* 6*d.*: that after a peace of ten years the debt was found to be £994,890 10*s.* 10*d.*—"a circumstance so alarming and insupportable to his people, that they determined with one voice to put an end to the pernicious practice of accumulating debts, and they thought it their duty to accomplish that necessary end by first endeavoring to raise the revenue of the

I will suppose this gentleman to have been an enemy decided and unreserved; and that he voted against her liberty, and voted, moreover, for an address to send four thousand Irish troops to cut the throats of the Americans; that he called these butchers 'armed negotiators;' and stood, with a metaphor in his mouth and a bribe in his pocket, a champion against the rights of America, the only hope of Ireland, and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind." (Select Speeches of Grattan, Duffy's edition, p. 104.)

The allusion to the "bribe" meant that Flood had lately accepted an office under Lord Harcourt's administration.

kingdom to an equality with the establishment." They said that economy was promised; that there had been no economy, but a continual increase in the expenses. They added, that could they neglect the most essential interests of themselves, their constituents, and their posterity, still their duty to his majesty would prevent them from suffering the resources of his majesty's power and dignity to dwindle and decay; and that they were the more necessitated to make that earnest application, because the evils they suffered were not temporary or occasional; because they could not attribute them to any physical evil, or proud national exertion, but to a silent, wasting, and invisible cause, which had injured the people, without adding strength to the crown. That they therefore performed that indispensable duty of laying their distresses at the foot of the throne, that history might not report them a nation which in the midst of peace, and under a gracious king, equally ready to warn and relieve, proceeded deliberately to their own ruin, without one appeal to the wisdom which would have redressed them. And so they appealed from the temporary expedients of his majesty's ministers, to his own wisdom and virtues, and to that permanent interest which his majesty had, and ever would have, in the welfare of his people.

This address was extremely respectful, even to servility. But though it did not mention the exorbitant pension-list, nor the universal corruption and bribery which then were carried on by means of the public money; it told too much truth, and was too undeniable to be endured. Therefore the Government made a point of defeating it, and succeeded. An address was carried in its place, thanking the lord-lieutenant "for his prudent, just, and wise administration."

The first Octennial Parliament had scarcely lived four years, when the British cabinet found it expedient that it should be dissolved. This Parliament had, during the last session, in two instances opposed their mandates, and when summoned to attend the House of Peers, the Commons, through their Speaker, made a just but ungracious and ineffectual representation of the state of that nation. These symptoms of independence alarmed the Government, and created a diffidence in the steadiness of those who had enlisted under their banners. They looked to more steady submission in a future Parliament, and dissolved the present. Mr. Perry was re-elected Speaker by a majority of 141 to 98. The lord-lieutenant did not meet the new Parliament, which was convened in June, 1776, *pro forma*, and by several prorogations went over to the 14th of October, 1777. This Parliament now dissolved is memorable forever in the history of Ireland, for the first appearance of one of the greatest patriots who ever arose for the salvation of any people, and the word patriot is not here used in its merely colonial sense. This was Henry Grattan. He was the descendant of a powerful and influential family, of whom Dean Swift had said, "the Grattans can raise ten thousand men." His father was recorder of Dublin. Henry Grattan entered Parliament as member for Lord Charlemont's borough of Charlemont, on the borders of Armagh and Tyrone; he was then under thirty years of age, and in his first Parliament had been modest and retiring, acquainting himself with the details of public business, and with the forms of the House. It was not until the meeting of the new Parliament, under the administration of Lord Buckinghamshire, that Grattan's lofty character and splendid genius became known to his countrymen and to the world.

The British cabinet was little satisfied with the administration of Lord Harcourt; the easy and delicate turn of his mind ill qualified him to support, much less to improve upon the system of his predecessor, but by which alone, to the infamy and misfortune of Ireland, the legislators of that kingdom were to be kept steady in their ranks under command of the Castle. Although Government upon the whole still retained a considerable majority, yet several of their adherents had occasionally, during the last session, proved recreant from their instructions; some had deserted their ranks, many amongst them wavered, menaced, and complained of the terms of their engagements. It was therefore resolved to invigorate the new system by the election of a new Parliament. For this purpose an unusual, and till

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that time unprecedented, number of promotions in the peerage took place in one day. It far exceeded the famous promotion of twelve in the days of Queen Anne. Five viscounts were advanced to earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created in the same day. The usual terms of such modern peerages are well understood to be an engagement to support the cause of their promoters by their individual votes in the House of Peers, and by those of their substitutes in the House of Commons, whose seats are usually settled and arranged before they vacate them upon their promotions. In short every possible precaution was adopted to secure a subservient Irish Parliament in the crisis which had been created by the American war. But in the very month of October, in which the new viceroy, Lord Buckinghamshire, met the new Parliament, General Burgoyne was surrendering his army of 7,000 men to the Americans at Saratoga. The next year France declared for America. The administration, therefore, of this new lord-lieutenant dates a new era in the history of Ireland and of the earth. The English colony in Ireland suddenly, and for a short time, takes the proportions of a nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1777—1779.

Buckingham, Viceroy—Misery, and Decline of Trade—Discipline of Government Supporters—Lord North's first Measure in favor of Catholics—Passed in England—Opposed in Ireland—What it amounted to—Militia Bill—The Volunteers—Defenceless State of the Country—Loyalty of the Volunteers—Their Uniforms—Volunteers Protestant at first—Catholics desirous to join—Volunteers get the Militia Arms—Their Aims—Military System—Numbers in 1780.

The earlier years of Lord Buckingham's viceroyalty were not marked by any very striking events, much different from the routine of parliamentary business during the preceding administrations. When this nobleman assumed the reins of government the country was still suffering the most poignant distress; while the national debt and all public charges were accumulating. Petitions now poured into both Houses, representing the sad facts with regard to declining trade. As these petitions certainly stated the truth, they are really valuable historical documents, illustrative of the period.

Thus, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants and traders of Cork, setting forth that about the month of November, 1770, an embargo was laid on all ships laden with provisions, and bound from Ireland to foreign countries, which was still continued by Government, and had been very strictly enforced: that in consequence of that long embargo, an extensive beneficial trade, carried on for several years by that kingdom to France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, for the supply of provisions, had been not only interrupted, but was in danger of being entirely lost; the petitioners being informed that the merchants of these countries were respectively stocked and provided from Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Hamburg, whereby the usual returns to that kingdom were discontinued, new enemies to our commerce were raised, and our commodities rendered useless and unprofitable. That great quantities of salt beef, not fit for the use of Government or the sugar colonies, being made up in that city, and also great quantities of beef and butter being annually brought to that market, these commodities of a perishable nature were there decaying for want of a free export, to the great injury of the proprietors in particular, and of the kingdom in general. That in support of these assertions, there then remained on hand, since the preceding year, a very considerable quantity of provisions, the property of several merchants in that city, not wanted by Government, and therefore without opportunity of sale; and although a considerable part of the season in which those articles were made up and exported had already elapsed, no demand whatsoever then existed for them, except for such quantities as were required by Government alone. That his majesty's revenue, which before had received large and constant supplies from the customs of the city of Cork, had decreased in proportion to the decay of their trade. That the embargo, therefore, at that time not being warranted

by any great, substantial necessity, but, on the contrary, restraining and preventing the diffusion of trade, was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences, not only to the commercial, but also to the landed interests of the nation; and therefore the petitioners prayed redress.

The Dublin manufacturers, in their petition, had a still sadder narrative to give. For example, they declared that there were at that moment no fewer than twenty thousand persons in that one city, artisans, out of work, together with their families, whom they, the petitioners, were supporting for charity by means of a relief association established among themselves; nor was Government able to make grants, either to promote industry or to relieve the national calamities. Every branch of the revenue failed, and such was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay those at home. The Parliament was necessitated to raise money at an exorbitant interest; the expenses in 1777 having amounted to above £80,000 more than the revenue: £166,000 were therefore borrowed, and attempted to be raised in the old manner upon debentures at £4 per cent.

So truly desperate was the financial state of Ireland, that, like desponding bankrupts, the Commons undertook to grant what they knew they had not the means of paying. Even the ministerial party could not be blind to their situation. They would not, however, permit any question to be brought forward upon the state of the country in the Commons, lest too strong resolutions upon it should be carried, or their opposition to them should appear even too rank for their own system. They accordingly had again recourse to the half-measure of conveying their imperfect sense of the distressful state of the country through their Speaker, who, in presenting the first four money bills passed in that session, addressed himself to the lord-lieutenant in very general terms, expressing the unbounded confidence of the House in his majesty's wisdom, justice, and paternal care, and relying on the viceroy's "candor and humanity to make a faithful representation to his majesty of their unshaken loyalty, duty, and affection."

Thus the pitiful and hopeless contest went on, upon these questions of the money bills, the pension list, and general extravagance of Government. The Patriots saw well that they could not now hope to carry any really important measure, resolution, or address, that should be distasteful to the Castle. Yet they resolved to put on record, at least once in each session, their own theory of the evils of the country. Therefore, after the speech of the lord-lieutenant, a motion was made for a humble address to his majesty, setting forth that the civil list had doubled in twenty years; that one great cause was "the rapid and astonishing growth of the pension list;" that ministers had repeatedly promised retrenchment, but had, on the contrary, continually increased their demands, and other the like topics. This address was negatived by a majority of 77—so well drilled were the ministerial members.

The alarming news of the French alliance with the Americans was communicated to Parliament by the lord-lieutenant, in a special message; and this was instantly followed by a demand of a new loan of £30,000, at six per cent. A few days after, came a new message, to apprise them that the loan (which they had at once voted to raise) could not be effected at six per cent., and to demand further action upon their part. Thus, as the American war was drawing to a close, Ireland had neither money nor credit—was absolutely ruled by placeholders and pensioners, and was made to contribute her last shilling and contract further debt, to defeat and ruin a cause which nine-tenths of her people felt to be Ireland's own cause as well as America's.

Lord North, who was not wanting in sagacity, understood the state of Irish affairs very well: he saw the rising impatience of the Patriot party in the colony, and knew that the contagion of American ideas was fast growing and spreading. It was at this time, therefore, that the British Ministry resolved to take a more important step towards conciliation of the Catholics than had yet been ventured upon, with the hope of actually making the Catholic people a

kind of English interest, against the Protestant Patriots. It was not, indeed, contemplated to repeal the whole Penal Code—very far from this—but to admit certain slight relaxations only in certain parts of that elaborate system. In the English Parliament, first, with the full consent of the minister, a motion was made for leave to bring in a "Bill for repeal of certain of the penalties and disabilities provided in an Act of William the Third," etc. On this English debate, it seemed that the Parliament was tolerably unanimous in approbation of a very modest and limited measure in this direction; but it must be remembered that the Catholics in England were but one in ten of the population; and there could not be the slighest danger, either to the settlement of property or to what Englishmen call the freedom of the country, in relieving them from at least a few of the most dreadful penalties to which they were every day exposed. Indeed in England there had been long a practical toleration of Catholic worship; yet, as Lord Ashburton observed, on seconding the motion of Sir George Savile, "the mildness of Government had hitherto softened the rigor of the law in the practice, but it was to be considered that the Roman Catholic priests were still left at the mercy of the lowest and basest of mankind; for on the complaint of any informing constable, the magisterial and judicial powers were bound to enforce all the shameful penalties of the act." In fact, some time before this period the penal laws had been enforced against two priests, a Mr. Malony and Mr. Talbot, the brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury. These proceedings had been resorted to by a solitary individual, one *Pain*, a carpenter, who having two daughters, little business, much bigotry, and more covetousness, had formed the singular speculation of acquiring £20,000 apiece for his daughters' fortunes by informations under the penal statutes against the Catholics.

The English bill passed without opposition;* but when the new policy of ministers came to be applied to Ireland, it was a different matter. In this island the proprietors of confiscated estates did not yet feel quite secure. They had always been accustomed to believe that the "Protestant Interest"—that is, their own exclusive possession of all the lands and of all the profitable professions and trades—depended upon keeping the Catholics completely under foot. There was now, indeed, no apprehension of "bringing in the Pretender;" for the Pretender was dead, and had left no heir of the Stuarts: but the settlement of property, the exclusive access to the professions, these were the truly momentous and sacred interests of Protestantism. In Ireland, therefore, though the measure came recommended by the example of England, and the express wishes of the administration, it was warmly contested at every point. On the eleventh day after the universal assent to Sir George Savile's motion in favor of the Roman Catholics of England, Mr. Gardiner, on the 25th of May, 1778, made a motion in the Irish House of Commons, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, and that Mr. Gardiner, the Hon. Barry Barry, and Mr. Yelverton, do prepare and bring in the same; and it was carried in the affirmative. At the same time the Presbyterians of Ireland, bearing in mind that the sacramental test had been imposed upon their ancestors by their lying by, when new severities were imposed upon their Roman Catholic brethren, came forward on this occasion to avail themselves of the first symptoms of tolerance in an Irish Parliament. Sir Edward Newnham on the same day moved that leave might be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's subjects the Protestant Dissenters of that kingdom: and Sir Edward Newnham and Sir Boyle Roche were ordered to prepare and bring in the same. But whether from a conviction that the relief to the Dissenters was not of equal urgency with that proposed to be granted to the Roman Catholics, or that the British Cabinet had hitherto expressed no opinion or inclination in their favor, the measure was remitted to another session.

The Catholic Bill did not propose to let the Catholics have arms, horses, educa-

* A circumstance which excited the enlightened Protestants of London to make their famous No Popery Riot, break jails and burn houses, under the saintly Lord George Gordon.

tion, a seat in Parliament, a vote at elections, a right to sit upon juries, or entrance into municipal corporations; but, slender as was the concession, it was bitterly opposed, and that even by "Patriots," who had no wider idea of Patriotism than the measure of the Protestant interest. On the 5th June, 1778, five divisions were had upon the bill in the Irish House: each was carried in the affirmative, by a small majority; and on the 15th of the same month there were three divisions. The Protestants throughout the kingdom were taking the alarm, and petitions were pouring in from the corporations. On this 15th of June, for example, a petition from the mayor, sheriffs, common council, freemen, freeholders, and other Protestant inhabitants of the city of Cork, was presented against the bill.

On the 16th, on motion to resolve into committee of the whole to take the heads of the bill into further consideration, the House divided, and the motion was defeated. On the 18th, the House sat in committee over these heads of a bill till three o'clock in the morning, and on the 19th till four o'clock. At last, on the 20th, Mr. Gardiner was ordered to attend his excellency the lord-lieutenant with the said heads of a bill, and desire the same might be transmitted into Great Britain in due form. Thus, after the severest contest, with the full and unequivocal approbation of Government, the general support of the Patriots, and the unanimous accord of the British legislature in a similar indulgence to the Roman Catholics of England, were these heads of a bill carried through the Irish House of Commons by the small majority of nine. Upon the third reading of this bill in the House of Lords, the contents with their proxies were 36, and the not contents were 12. On the 14th of August the lord-lieutenant put an end to the session.

The British ministry soon saw cause to extend their policy of conciliation, and to assent to some very trifling relaxations of the restrictions upon Irish trade and commerce. Some intelligent and patriotic Englishmen, Lord Newhaven and the Marquis of Rockingham amongst the number, pressed on the Parliament of England the propriety of granting to the Irish nation the liberty of exporting their produce, with the extraordinary exception of their woollens, which formed a principal ingredient. Lord Weymouth, however, resisted so dangerous a concession to the claims of Ireland; and the only compromise which was effected was an Export Bill, with the special exception of woollens and cottons. The Bristol merchants, who appear through the whole history of English avarice and tyranny to have been influenced by a policy pre-eminently mean, selfish, and grasping—the genuine spirit of paltry trade—went so far as to heap insults on their representative, Edmund Burke, for supporting the measure.

In the mean time the Irish Parliament, in its session of 1788, had passed a "militia bill," to authorize the formation of volunteer forces for defence of the country. French and American privateers were sweeping the seas and the British channel: the wide extent of the Irish coast was left exposed without defence, and there began to be very general alarm in the seaport towns. Mr. Flood had formerly proposed a national militia, but the idea was not then favored by the Government, and it failed. The militia bill of this year was not opposed by the administration; probably they little thought to what proportions the militia would develop itself, and how far it would extend its aims; but it immediately occurred to the Patriots, that while the English Parliament was peddling and higgling over the miserable and grudging relaxations of Ireland's commercial restraints, here was a gracious opportunity presenting itself for exercising such a resistless pressure upon England, in her hour of difficulty and danger (England's difficulty being then, as always, Ireland's opportunity), as would compel her to yield, not only a free-trade, but a free Parliament: and the former, they knew, would never be fully assured without the latter. It was now that public spirit in Ireland, instead of colonial, began to be truly *national*, and this chiefly by the strong impulse and inspiration of Henry Grattan, who saw, in the extension of the volunteering spirit, a means of combining the two discordant elements of the Irish people into one nation, and elevating the Catholics to the rank of citizens, not by the insidious "boons" of

the English, but through the cordial combination and amalgamation of the Irish for their common defence.

It was for some months anxiously considered and debated at the Castle whether the forces which were to be raised, under the new law, were to be a true militia, and therefore subject to martial law, or to be composed of independent volunteer companies, choosing their own officers. But this question was soon settled by the people themselves, who were rapidly forming themselves into the latter kind of organization, and who evidently felt that they were arming, not so much against the foreign enemy as against the British Government.

The volunteering began at Belfast. In August, 1778, the people of that town were alarmed by stories of privateers hovering near: they remembered their imminent peril at the time of Thurot's expedition, and at once began to organize and arm volunteer companies, as they had done before on that memorable occasion. At the same time the "sovereign" of the town, Mr. Stewart Burke, wrote to the Irish Secretary, urging that some troops should be sent down. He received this answer—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, *August 14th*, 1778.

"SIR:—My Lord-Lieutenant having received information that there is reason to apprehend that three or four privateers in company may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom; by his excellency's command, I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

"The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his excellency can at present send no further military aid to Belfast *than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids;* and his excellency desires you will acquaint me by express whether a troop or two of horse can be properly accommodated in Belfast, so long as it may be proper to continue them in that town, in addition to the two troops now there. I have, etc.,

"RICHARD HERON."

This is but one of many communications which passed at the time between the Government and the authorities of Belfast. In most of them, the former express their satisfaction at the spirit of the volunteer companies then formed or about to be formed; with no sincerity, as we shall see presently.

It was evident, then, that the Government was in no condition to defend Ireland, if Ireland had really been menaced with invasion; and therefore quite as little in a condition to resist a great national military organization, no matter what form that might assume. In fact, after the example of Belfast, the whole country now rushed to arms. It was a scene of wild and noble excitement. Crowds thronged the public places of resort, anxious and resolved: in every assembly of the people the topic was "defence of the country;" and if there were many who from the first felt that the country had but one enemy in the world from whom it needed defence (that is, England), the reflection only heightened their zeal in promoting the national armament. On the 1st December, 1778, the people of Armagh entered into voluntary armed associations, and offered the command to Lord Charlemont. He at first refused; because, as lord-lieutenant of the county, he might at any time be called on to command the militia: but his lordship soon saw that volunteering was the irresistible order of the day; and that not to be a Volunteer would soon amount to being nobody at all in Ireland. Probably, also, he was influenced by the more powerful will and deeper sagacity of his friend Grattan; and in January, 1779, he assumed command of the Armagh Volunteers.*

The Government of the day soon saw itself powerless to resist this potent movement. It, however, concealed its apprehensions for the present, under the mask of gratitude for the loyal zeal of the people. Loyal as undoubtedly the institution was—loyal even to the prejudices which Govern-

* Stuart's History of Armagh. MacNevin's Volunteers. Plowden. Hardy's Charlemont. Sir Jonah Barrington, Rise and Fall, etc. The authorities for the history of the Volunteers are innumerable, and will only be cited for some special fact.

ment must have wished to foster, for one of their earliest celebrations was the Battle of the Boyne*—the English interest trembled at what to their appalled imagination seemed to be the infancy of revolution. Thus, whilst the wretched Government, unable to discharge its functions, and resigning the defence of the country to the virtue and valor of her children, looked on in angry amazement at the daily increasing numbers of the Volunteers, their training into discipline, their martial array and military celebrations, the great officers of the executive were planning how best they might stifle in its birth the warlike spirit of the people.

In May, 1779, we find a letter of Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Weymouth, which clearly proves the fears and hypocrisy of Government, and the alarming progress of the armament:

"Upon receiving official intimation that the enemy meditated an attack upon the northern parts of Ireland, the inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus, *as Government ould not immediately afford a greater force for their protection than about sixty troopers*, armed themselves, and by degrees formed themselves into two or three companies; the spirit diffused itself into different parts of the kingdom, and the numbers became considerable, but in no degree to the amount represented. *Discouragement has, however, been given on my part, as far as might be without offence*, at a crisis when the arm and good-will of every individual might have been wanting for the defence of the state."

Lord Buckinghamshire, in another part of the same letter, attributes the rapid increase in the ranks of the Volunteers to an idea that was entertained amongst the people that their numbers would conduce to the attainment of political advantages for their country.

All motives conduced to the same end, and that end—the armed organization of Ireland—was rapidly approaching. The fire of the people and their anxiety to enter the ranks of the national army may be judged from the fact, that in September, 1779, the return of the Volunteers in the counties of Antrim and Down, and in and near Coleraine, amounted to:

Total in the county of Down.....	2,241
Total in the county of Antrim	1,474
In and near Coleraine.....	210
	3,925

Of these, the great majority were fully equipped and armed—and glittered in the gay uniform of the Volunteers. Some few companies were, however, unarmed even up to a later period, until the pressure on Government compelled them to distribute the arms intended for the militia to worthier hands.

The uniforms of the Volunteers were very various, and of all the colors of the rainbow. The uniform of the Lawyers' corps was scarlet and blue, their motto, "*Pro aris et focis;*" the Attorneys' regiment of Volunteers was scarlet and Pomona green; a corps called the Irish Brigade, and composed principally of Catholics (after the increasing liberality of the day had permitted them to become Volunteers), wore scarlet and white; other regiments of Irish brigades wore scarlet faced with green, and their motto was "*Vox populi suprema lex est;*" the Goldsmiths' corps, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, wore blue, faced with scarlet and a professional profusion of gold lace.

The "Irish Volunteers" were at first a Protestant organization exclusively. It was only by degrees and with extreme jealousy that its ranks were afterwards opened to those of the proscribed race. It might seem, indeed, that the Catholics would have been justified in taking no interest in the movement, and that they had little to hope from any change. They were not yet citizens, and if permitted to breathe in Ireland, it was by connivance, and against the law. Even the most zealous of the new Volunteers, who were now springing to arms for defence of Ireland, were, with some illustrious exceptions, *their* most determined and resolute foes. But, plunged in poverty and ignorance as they were, despoiled of

* July 1, 1779.—"Our three volunteer companies paraded in their uniform with orange cockades, and fired three volleys with their usual steadiness and regularity, in commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne."—Hist. Collections relative to the Town of Belfast.

rank, and arms, and votes, they yet seem to have felt instinctively that a movement for Irish independence, if successful, must end in their emancipation. They had grown numerous, and many of them rich, in the midst of persecution; and, notwithstanding the penal laws against education, many of the Catholics were in truth the best-educated and accomplished persons in the island. These instructed and thoughtful Catholics could see very well—what Grattan also saw, but what most Cromwellian squires and Williamite peers could not see—that if Ireland should still pretend "to stand upon her smaller end," she would not long stand against England. Then they were naturally a warlike race; and, it must be added to their credit, that the late small and peddling relaxations in the Penal Code, urged on by the British minister in order to conciliate them to the English interest, had signally failed. The English interest, as they felt, was the great and necessary enemy of all Ireland, and of every one of its inhabitants, and so it was very soon apparent that the armed Protestant Volunteers would have at their back the two millions of Catholic Irish.

There is in the dark records of the depravity of the Government of that day a singular document, which, while it attests the patriotism and zeal of the Catholics, illustrates the base and vile spirit which repelled their loyalty and refused their aid. The Earl of Tyrone wrote to one of the Beresfords, a member of that grasping patrician family, which had long ruled the country,* that the Catholics in their zeal were forming themselves into independent companies, and had actually begun their organization; but that, seeing the variety of consequences which would attend such an event, he had found it his duty to stop their movement! Miserable government—unable to discharge its first duty of defence, and trembling to depute them to the noble and forgiving spirit of a gallant people! The Catholics of Limerick, forbidden the use of arms, subscribed and made a present of £800 to the treasury of the Volunteers.

During all this time "the Castle" looked on in silent alarm. Even so late as May, 1779, when the Volunteer companies numbered probably twenty thousand men, the lord-lieutenant gravely considered whether it were still possible to disperse and disarm them by force. In one of his letters to Lord Weymouth* he says—"The seizing of their arms would have been a violent expedient, and the preventing them from assembling without a military force impracticable; for when the civil magistrate will rarely attempt to seize an offender suspected of the most enormous crimes, and when convicted, convey him to the place of execution without soldiers; nay, when in many instances persons cannot be put into possession of their property, nor being possessed, maintain it without such assistance, there is little presumption in asserting, that, unless bodies of troops had been universally dispersed, nothing could have been done to effect this. My accounts state the number of corps as not exceeding eight thousand men, some without arms, and in the whole, very few who are liable to a suspicion of disaffection."

But in the next month, the same viceroy communicates to the same minister, that, by advice of the Privy Council of Ireland, he had supplied the Volunteers with part of the arms intended for the militia. This was really giving up the island into the hands of the Volunteers. The leaders of that force at once felt that they might do what they would with Ireland—for a time. After the delivery of the arms, the numbers of Volunteers rapidly and greatly increased †

But a spirit of great moderation reigned over the councils of this armed nation. It was, in the hands of those leaders, any thing rather than a republican, or agrarian, or revolutionary movement. Thus they adopted a system of officering their army which gave a pledge that no anarchical idea had place in their thoughts. The soldiers elected their own commanders; and whom, says MacNevin, whom did they choose? "Whom did this democratic army select to rule their councils and direct their power? Not the low ambitious—not the village vulgar brawler—but the men who, by large possessions,

* May 28, 1779. Grattan's Life: cited by MacNevin.

* May 24, 1779.

† 16,000 stand of arms were delivered to the Volunteers at this time.

lofty character, and better still, by virtue and by genius, had given to their names a larger patent than nobility. Flood and Grattan, Charlemont and Leinster—the chosen men in all the liberal professions—the orators who led the Patriot party in the Commons—the good, the high, the noble; these were the officers who held unpurchased honors in the Volunteers. We may well look back, with mournful pride, through the horrid chaos where rebellion and national ruin rule the murky night, to this one hour of glory—of power uncorrupted, and opportunities unabused."

It is difficult to arrive at any accurate statement of the numbers of the Volunteers within the first year of their organization. There have been both exaggerative and depreciative estimates. We have seen that the lord-lieutenant, in June, 1779, had supposed their force to be only 8,000; yet in the very next month had yielded to them a demand which it would have been vitally important to the Government to refuse them. And as will be always the case, where the money of Government can command the venal crew of writers, the most elaborate falsehood and the most insulting ridicule were poured upon the heads of those by whose exertions the national cause was so nobly maintained. In *Lloyd's Evening Post*, an article appeared on the 7th of July, stating that the numbers of the Volunteers had been monstrously exaggerated; that no call could bring into the field twenty thousand men; that persons of all ages were enrolled and put on paper; that every gentleman belonged to two, and most of them to five or six different corps, and that by this ubiquity and divisibility of person, the muster-rolls of the companies were swelled. Doubtlessly there was some exaggeration in the representation of the numbers occasionally made; but a competent authority, commenting on this article, states, that at this time there were 95,000.

In the ranks of the Volunteers there were, in point of fact, very many Catholics, from a very early period of the movement; but they were there by *connivance*, as they were everywhere else. But in the next year, after meetings of Volunteers had passed resolutions in favor of Catholic rights, the young men of that religion began to swell the numbers of many corps. Some corps were composed altogether of Catholics: and when the Dungannon Convention came, the Volunteer army was at least 75,000 strong.

During the summer of 1779 an event occurred, which immensely stimulated the volunteering spirit:—the combined fleets of France and Spain entered the Channel in overwhelming force, which the British could not venture to encounter: the vessels passing between England and Ireland were placed under the protection of convoys; Paul Jones, with his little squadron, fought and captured, within sight of the English coast, the Serapis man-of-war and Scarborough frigate, with many vessels under their convoy: in short, there was another alarm of invasion both in England and in Ireland. MacNevin, in his History of the Volunteers, says with a cool *naïveté* which is charming, that this "was fortunate for the reputation of the Volunteers, for the purpose of establishing their fidelity to the *original principle* of their body"—which principle was defence of the country against a foreign enemy. Most of the Volunteers knew well that their only foreign enemy was England, and that France, Spain, and America would have been most happy to deliver them from that enemy. They knew, also, that the only use of the Volunteer force, in practice, was likely to be the wresting of their national independence from England. However, the new alarm aided, and seemed to justify, the volunteering. Therefore, the delegates of 125 corps of Volunteers, all of them men of rank and character, waited on the lord-lieutenant with offers of service "in such manner as shall be thought necessary for the safety and protection of the kingdom." The offer was accepted, but very coldly, and without naming "Volunteers."

CHAPTER XIX.

1779—1780.

Free Trade and Free Parliament — Meaning of "Free Trade"—Non-importation agreements—Rage of the English—Grattan's motion for free trade—Hussey Burgh—Thanks to the Volunteers—Parade in Dublin—Lord North yields—Free Trade Act—Next step—Mutiny Bill—The 19th of April—Declaration of Right—Defeated in Parliament, but successful in the country—General determination,— Organizing — Arming — Reviews—Charlemont—Briberies of Buckingham—Carlisle, Viceroy.

To force from reluctant England a Free Trade, and the repeal, or rather declaratory nullification, of Poynings' Law, which required the Irish Parliament to submit the heads of their bills to the English Privy Council before they could presume to pass them—these were, in few words, the two great objects which the leaders of the Volunteers kept now steadily before them. It must be here observed that the idea and the term "free trade," as then understood in Ireland, did not represent what the political economists now call free trade. What was sought was a release from those restrictions on Irish trade imposed by an English Parliament, and for the profit of the English people. This did not mean that imports and exports should be free of all duty to the state, but only that the fact of import or export itself should not be restrained by foreign laws, and that the duties to be derived from it should be imposed by Ireland's own Parliament, and in the sole interest of Ireland herself. This distinction is the more important to be observed, because modern "free traders" in Ireland and in England have sometimes appealed to the authority of the enlightened men who then governed the Volunteer movement as an authority in favor of abolishing import and export duties. The citation is by no means applicable.

The first measure to convince England that Ireland was entitled to an unrestricted trade, was the "non-importation agreement," which many of the Volunteer corps, as well as town corporations, solemnly adopted by resolutions, during the year 1779. Although there were frequent debates in the British Parliament this year on the subject of modifying the laws prohibiting the export of cottons, woollens, and provisions, from Ireland, yet it was but too plain that the rapacious spirit of British commerce, and the menacing, almost frantic, opposition given to all consideration of such measure, by petitions, which sounded more like threats, coming from the great centres of trade in England, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol, would render all redress hopeless from that quarter. The non-importation agreements became popular, and the people of many towns and counties were steadily refusing to wear or use in their houses any kind of wares coming from England. The town of Galway had the honor of leading the way in this movement: the example was immediately followed by corps of Volunteers in many counties; and as the Volunteers were already the *fashion*, women sustained their patriotic resolution, and ladies of wealth began to clothe themselves exclusively in Irish fabrics. The resolutions are not uniform in their tenor. At a general meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice, these resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the unjust, illiberal, and impolitic opposition given by many self-interested people of Great Britain to the proposed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

"*Resolved*, That we will not, directly or indirectly, import or use any goods or wares, the produce or manufactures of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom, till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of justice, shall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken so active a part in opposing the regulations proposed in favor of the trade of Ireland; and till they appear to entertain sentiments of respect and affection for their fellow-subjects of this kingdom."

Shortly after the assizes at Waterford, the high sheriff, grand jury, and a number of the most respectable inhabitants, assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the ruinous state of the trade and manufactures, and the alarming decline in the value of the staple commodities of the kingdom; and looking upon it as an indispensable duty

that they owed their country and themselves, to restrain, by every means in their power, these growing evils, they passed and signed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we, our families, and all whom we can influence, shall, from this day, wear and make use of the manufactures of this country, and this country only, until such time as all partial restrictions on our trade, imposed by the illiberal and contracted policy of our sister kingdom, be removed; but if, in consequence of this our resolution, the manufacturers (whose interest we have more immediately under consideration) should act fraudulently, or combine to impose upon the public, we shall hold ourselves no longer bound to countenance and support them.

"*Resolved*, That we will not deal with any merchant or shopkeeper who shall, at any time hereafter, be detected in imposing any foreign manufacture as the manufacture of this country."

Resolutions of this kind became general, in consequence of which efforts the manufactures of Ireland began to revive, and the demand for British goods in a great measure decreased, a circumstance which tended to produce a disposition in Great Britain to attend to the complaints of that country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced.

The feeling of Government on the subject of non-importation was one of great irritation, and their partisans in Parliament did not hesitate to give bitter utterance to their hatred of the Volunteers and of the commercial movement. Lord Shelburne, in May, 1779, called the Irish army an "enraged mob;" but the phrase was infelicitous, and told only half the truth. They were enraged, but they were not a mob. They had no one quality of a mob. They had discipline, arms, and a military system. Their ranks were filled with gentlemen, and officered by nobles. But such expressions as Lord Shelburne's were of great advantage. They kept clearly, in bold relief, the ancient and irremovable feeling of Englishmen, and the contemptuous falsehood of their estimate of the Irish people. In the same spirit, the organ of Government wrote to the central authority in England on the subject of the non-importation agreement:—"For some days past, the names of the traders who appea by the printed returns of the custom-hous to have imported any English goods, hav been printed in the Dublin newspaper. This is probably calculated for the abominable purpose of drawing the indignation of the mob upon individuals, and is supposed to be the act of the meanest of the faction."* When the lord-lieutenant penned this paragraph, he did not, assuredly, remember the meanness of the manufacturers and traders of his own country, or the measures adopted by the English Parliament, at their dictation, to crush the trade and paralyze the industry of this country. The retaliation was just, and no means that could have been adopted could equal the atrocity of the conduct of the English towns to the productive industry of Ireland. Englishmen had a Parliament obedient to the dictates of the encroaching spirit of English trade—the Irish people had not as yet established their freedom, nor armed themselves with the resistless weapon of free institutions. They were obliged to legislate for themselves, and were justified by the exigency in adopting any means to enforce the national will. It seems strange that it should be necessary to defend the measure of holding up to scorn the traitors who could expose in their shops articles of foreign consumption, every article of which was a representative of their country's impoverishment and decay. But the English press denounced it as the policy of savages, and pointed out the Irish people to the contumely of Europe. At the same time, the English manufacturers, ever careless of present sacrifices to secure permanent advantages, flooded the country towns with the accumulated products of the woollen manufacture, which, owing to the war and other causes, had remained on their hands. They offered these goods to the small shopkeepers at the lowest possible prices, and desired them to name their own time for payment; and they partially succeeded in inducing many of the low and embarrassed servitors of trade, through their necessities, and by the seductive promise of long credit, to

* Letter of the lord lieutenant to Lord Weymouth, May 1779.

become traitors to the cause of Irish industry. The Volunteers and the leaders of the movement were equally active on their side. The press, the pulpit, and the ball-room were enlisted in the cause of native industry. The scientific institutions circulated, gratuitously, tracts on the improvement of manufacture—on the modes adopted in the continental manufacturing districts, and on the economy of production. Trade revived; the manufacturers who had thronged the city of Dublin, the ghastly apparitions of decayed industry, found employment provided for them by the patriotism and spirit of the country; the proscribed goods of England remained unsold, or only sold under false colors, by knavish and profligate retailers; the country enjoyed some of the fruits of freedom before she obtained freedom itself.

The session of the Irish Parliament of 1779–80 had been looked forward to with profound interest; and it opened with stormy omens. The speech from the lord-lieutenant contained more than the usual quantity of inexplicit falsehood and diplomatic subterfuge. The address in reply was its echo, or would have been, but that Henry Grattan, he who was above all others, the *man* of his day, moved his celebrated amendment. The speech of the viceroy had alluded with skilful obscurity to certain liberal intentions of the king on the subject of trade: but there was no promise for hope to rest upon: it was vague, and without meaning. This was not what the spirit of the hour or the genius of the men would endure. They felt the time had come to strike with mortal blow the whole system of English tyranny, and to give freedom and security to the trade and industry of Ireland.

When the speech was read in the Commons, the English interest anxiously scanned the opposition benches. They saw that something would be done embarrassing to their system and to them; but they could not anticipate the blow that was ready for their heads, or that their fiercest foe would be a placeman in their ranks. An address was proposed by Sir Robert Deane, a drudge of Government, re-echoing, in servility, the vague generalities of the speech. Grattan then rose to propose his amendment:—

"That we beseech his majesty to believe that it is with the utmost reluctance we presume to approach his royal person with even the smallest appearance of dissatisfaction; but that the distress of this kingdom is such as renders it an indispensable duty in us to lay the melancholy state of it before his majesty, and to point out what we apprehend to be the only effectual means of relief; that the constant drain of its cash to supply absentees, and the fetters on its commerce, have always been sufficient to prevent this country from becoming opulent in its circumstances, but that those branches of trade which have hitherto enabled it to struggle with the difficulties it labors under, have now almost totally failed; that its commercial credit is sunk, all its resources are decaying rapidly, and numbers of its most industrious inhabitants in danger of perishing for want; that as long as they were able to flatter themselves that the progress of those evils might be stopped by their own efforts, they were unwilling to trouble his majesty upon the subject of their distress; but, finding that they increase upon them, notwithstanding all their endeavors, they are at last obliged to have recourse to his majesty's benignity and justice, and most humbly to acquaint him that, in their opinion, the only effectual remedy that can be applied to the sufferings of this kingdom, that can either invigorate its credit or support its people, is to open its ports for the exportation of all its manufactures; that it is evident to every unprejudiced mind that Great Britain would derive as much benefit from this measure as Ireland itself, but that Ireland cannot subsist without it; and that it is with the utmost grief they find themselves under the necessity of again acquainting his majesty that, unless some happy change in the state of its affairs takes place without delay, it must inevitably be reduced to remain a burden upon England, instead of increasing its resources, or affording it the assistance which its natural affection for that country, and the intimate connection between their interests, have always inclined it to offer."

Grattan's speech in support of the amend

ment must have been badly preserved, for what remains bears no proportion to the magnitude of the interests, or the absorbing nature of the subject.

To the rage and dismay of Government—passions of which unequivocal demonstrations were given on the ministerial benches—Hussey Burgh, the prime sergeant, one of the most eloquent and fascinating men of the day, an official of Government, a stanch supporter, one to whom, from the spirit of his office, patriotism should have been impossible, moved that "we beg to represent to his majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by *a free trade alone*, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This resolution was carried unanimously; the supporters of Government saw that it was useless to oppose the spirit of the House; the nation was standing petitioner at their bar for the privileges of nature, production and consumption; the Volunteers were drawn up through the streets of Dublin, with an intelligible alternative hung round the necks of their cannon, "Free Trade or ——;" and the amendment of Henry Grattan, with the improvements of Burgh, received on the part of the Patriots an exulting support, and on the part of the ministers a fearful and angry assent. The day after this distinguished success, the addresses of the Lords and Commons were brought up to the Castle; the streets, from the House to the seat of government, were lined with the corps of the Dublin Volunteers, under arms, who paid military honors to the favorite leaders; the city was in a tumult of joy and triumph, contrasting not unfavorably with the gloom and irritation of the Castle. And that no doubt might be entertained of the authors of this important movement—that the merit of success should be laid at the right door, thanks to the Volunteers were moved and carried in the Lords and Commons. The motion in the House of Commons was made by Mr. Conolly, the head of the country gentlemen. The Duke of Leinster carried the motion through the Lords, with only one dissentient voice, Lord-Chancellor Lifford, one of those English lawyers who are sent over to Ireland, from time to time, to occupy the highest seats of justice and enjoy the largest emoluments in the country. The lord-lieutenant, in writing to Lord Weymouth, complains bitterly of these votes; unanimous expressions as they were of the feelings of all classes in the state, they appeared in a most reprehensible light to the viceroy, who petulantly wrote home his complaint that the proceeding was occasioned wholly by the Duke of Leinster.

The Government, quite alive to the fact that the present posture of affairs resulted from the power and determination of the Volunteers, set on one of its habitual agents to assail them. This was Scott, the attorney-general, who afterwards, as Lord Clonmel, was, with a few monstrous exceptions, the most inhuman judge that ever presided in the shambles of Irish justice. He attacked the Volunteers with an habitual vulgar fury—described them by every name which the quick invention of a ferocious mind could devise; and he was supported in his philippic by Sir Henry Cavendish, who reminded the House that the Independents of the past century commenced by seeming moderation, but ended by *cutting off the head of the king:* men might creep into the Volunteers, who might urge them to similar dangerous courses. But Grattan repelled the charges against the army in which he was a distinguished soldier—and told the legislature that the great objects which they sought could not be obtained by the skill, the prudence, or the dexterity of 300 men, without the spirit and co-operation of 3,000,000. The military associations, he said, "caused a fortunate change in the sentiments of this House: they inspired us to ask directly for the greatest object that ever was set within the view of Ireland—a free trade." The spirit in the country well replied to the spirit within the walls of the House. The Volunteers instructed the representatives to vote the supplies for no longer than six months. They now amounted to nearly 50,000 men. Possessed of every wonted military attribute, disciplined, and well armed, they had other qualities that are too often absent in military organization. They were the army of the people; their commission included only the duties of free-born men to fight for liberty and to defend a country. Most of their officers were the

highest blood of an ancient and aristocratic country—men not alone ennobled by long descent, but by the high qualities of genius, wisdom, and integrity. The soldiers were the yeomen of the land, having as definite an interest in her prosperity as the highest peer in the service. And all were bound together by the deepest attachment to the liberties of Ireland. They had seen what they were able to effect; and as concession after concession was wrung from power, the bold and sagacious of them determined not to rest from their efforts until a free and reformed Parliament sat within the walls of the Senate House, the permanent security and guarantee of freedom.

The question of the supplies came before the House on the 25th November, 1779. The Patriots had determined to withhold the grant, or to limit the duration of the money bill, until free trade was yielded by England. But Scott, the attorney-general, endeavored to prove that supplies to pay the interest of the national debt, the tontine, and the loans, were not supplies to the crown, but for the discharge of national responsibilities. "How tender," said Grattan, "the administration is regarding the moneyed interests of individuals; how little they care to risk the ruin of the nation!" The attorney-general moved that the supplies should be granted for two years; Mr. French moved an amendment that they should be granted for six months. A brilliant debate was the consequence; the war of personality, which was always carried on with so much vigor and genius in the House, never raged with fiercer or more splendid power—but the great oration of the day was delivered by Hussey Burgh. He said:

"You have but two nights ago declared against new taxes by a majority of 123, and have left the ministers supported only by 47 votes; if you now go back, and accede to the proposed grant for two years, your compliance will add insult to the injuries already done to your ill-fated country; you trike a dagger in your own bosom, and lestroy the fair prospect of commercial hope, because if the minister can, in the course of two days, render void the animated spirit and patriotic stability of this House, and procure a majority, the British minister will treat our applications for free trade with contempt. When the interests of the Gov ernment and the people are contrary, they secretly operate against each other—such a state is but smothered war. I shall be a friend alike to the minister and the people, according as I find their desires guided by justice; but at such a crisis as this the people must be kept in good temper, even to the indulgence of their caprices.

"The usurped authority of a foreign Parliament has kept up the most wicked laws that a zealous, monopolizing, ungrateful spirit could devise, to restrain the bounty of providence and enslave a nation whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland, are synonymous, they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and, though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws has borne her down to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpents' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."*

The amendment was carried by 138 to 100: the triumph of the principles of free trade was insured; and the minister acknowledged the necessity of precipitately retracing his steps. Who can doubt the vast influence the Volunteers exerted in all these proceedings? On the preceding 4th of November—the anniversary of the birth of William the Third—the Volunteers had taken the opportunity of reading to the minister and the Parliament a lesson of constitutional doctrine around the statue of him who was, they conceived, the founder of constitutional liberty. They assembled in College Green—the Dublin Volunteer artillery, commanded by James Napper Tandy, with labels bearing the inscription, "Free

* Hussey Burgh lost his place, but rose in popular estimation. Meetings were held in different parts of the country to present him with addresses of thanks. The freedom of the Corporation of Carrickfergus, and other corporate towns, was given to him in gold boxes. The address from the Carrickfergus corporation was presented by Barry Yelverton, Recorder of the town.—See *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th, 1780.

Trade or speedy revolution," suspended on the necks of their cannon; the Volunteers of Dublin and the vicinity, under the orders of the Duke of Leinster. The sides of the pedestal on which stood the statue of the Deliverer, were ornamented with collections of most significant political reasoning; and under the angry eyes of the executive, such teachings as the following were given at once to the governors and the governed. On one side of the pillar was inscribed, "Relief to Ireland;" on another, "A short money bill, a free trade, or else ——;" on a third, "The Volunteers, *quinquaginta millia juncti, parati pro patriâ mori;*" and in front of the statue were two cannons bearing an inscription on each, "Free trade or this." The people were assembled in thousands around the Volunteer troops, and their enthusiasm re-echoed in deafening applause the thunder of the artillery. It was a scene productive of commercial and political freedom: that the latter was evanescent was not the fault of the institution or lack of spirit; but divisions, and doubts, and suspicions, were introduced amongst the body by the exertions of England; new ambitions filled the minds of some; the force of old ministerial associations pressed upon others; the courtly tendencies and the timid alarms of a few of the leading men led them to sacrifice what they had gained, rather than to peril English connection by nobly seeking unlimited freedom. But at the period of which we are writing, the Volunteer system was compact and perfect. The wants of Ireland were commercial and political. She had been made a bankrupt by monopoly, and a slave by usurpation. The Volunteers were to give her prosperity and freedom, by unrestricted trade and legislation. And right well did they set themselves to their appointed task, with what success appears from Lord North's free trade bill, and Grattan's declaration of right.

It was appointed for Lord North to undo he work of William the Third, and to take he first step towards restoring the trade to which the Deliverer had given the finishing blow. Lord North had great experience in obstinate oppression, and not less in the recognition of the liberties he had trampled upon. He had braved the genius of Chatham in the disastrous campaigns against transatlantic freedom—the world has read with profit the sequel of his history in that great transaction. He had opposed every effort to emancipate the trade of Ireland—it is an agreeable duty for an Irish writer to detail the concessions wrung from him by the arms of the Volunteers, and the eloquence and genius of those who led them to victory. On the 13th of December, 1779, he introduced into the English legislature three propositions: to permit, first, the export of glass; second, the export of woollen goods; and third, a free trade with the English settlements in America, the West Indies, and Africa.

In connection with these propositions, Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House, and on that occasion the representative of Government, on the 20th of the same month, moved two resolutions in the Irish legislature. 1st, That the exportation of the manufactures of this country would tend to relieve her distresses. 2d, That great commercial benefits would flow from the permission to trade with the American, Indian, and African settlements. Propositions of very manifest truth, but tardily acknowledged by the English and Irish Governments, whose recognition is obviously attributable to a style of political reasoning which will prove any thing that a nation of men requires to demonstrate. The propositions of Lord North, and the resolutions of Foster, were the basis of the bill which some months later gave a free trade to Ireland; and, for the first time since William the Third destroyed the woollen manufacture, and his English Parliament laid restrictions on her productive industry, her people were free to use the resources a liberal nature offered them, and which a foreign tyrant sealed from their anxious hands. The efforts they had made hitherto to free their trade were the efforts of slaves—petition and remonstrance; it was not until they demanded free trade, with the Volunteer alternative, that England struck.

The Volunteers and the country had soon a more striking proof of the power which their attitude exerted over the obstinate maxims of English policy.

Lord North, in February, 1780, intro-

duced his free trade bill in a speech which was the best refutation of his former arguments, and the severest condemnation of his former conduct.

The intelligence of the concessions made by that bill—liberty to export woollen manufactures, and to trade with the British colonies, was received with great joy by the people. But their joy was tempered with a wise care for the future, and the greater the conceded advantages were, the more did they feel themselves pressed by the insecurity of possession. The very magnitude of the gift taught them with greater force the true principles of freedom. They reflected that the right which jealous power had respected in its hour of weakness, it would trample on with recovered strength. What security had they that at some future period, when they had possibly established a thriving trade, and expended much labor and money in creating a prosperous commerce, there might not arise another William, ready to gratify the insolent avarice of England, by the destruction of their trade and manufactures? The wisdom of Swift, of Lucas, and of Molyneux, appealed to them in the hour of recovered trade, and pleaded strongly for unrecovered liberty. They received a free trade then, not as a gift from bounty, but as a surrendered right from weakened power; and, rejoicing at the extent of the benefit, they were neither fools nor sycophants; nor did they compromise their duty to their country by a needless excess of gratitude to her frightened oppressor. Thus, in the resolutions which record the people's joy, we may find the strongest expressions of their determination to effect greater things than the emancipation of their trade. Every county in Ireland addressed its representatives; every corps of Volunteers addressed its officers; and the spirit of these effusions may be judged from one, selected from amongst many, to which the spirit of the day gave birth. The gentlemen of the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Monaghan, addressing their representatives, amongst other things, said:

"While we rejoice in common with the rest of our fellow-subjects at the advantages which Ireland has latterly obtained, and which we are fully convinced are attributable to the parental attention of his majesty, the virtue of our Parliament, and the spirit of our people; yet, as these advantages are confined to commerce, our satisfaction must be limited, lest our rights and privileges should seem to be lost in the joy which attends a partial restoration of them. We do affirm that no Parliament had, has, or of right ought to have, any power or authority whatsoever, in this kingdom, *except the Parliament of Ireland;* that no statute has the force of law in this kingdom, unless enacted by the king with the consent of the Lords and Commons of the land; on this principle the connection between Great Britain and Ireland is to be founded, and on this principle we trust, not only that it may be rendered secure and permanent, but that the two kingdoms may become strongly united and advantageously circumstanced, as to be enabled to oppose with success the common enemies of the British empire. What you have done, we look on as a beginning; and we trust that the termination of the session will be as beneficial to the constitution as the commencement has been to the commerce of the country."

These were the sentiments of manly but conditional loyalty, of generous love of freedom above even the material benefits of trade, which led to the Revolution of 1782, and whose diversion into other channels after the Volunteers had ceased to exist as a great national army, drove so many great and upright men into conspiracy and revolt.

The desire of constitutional liberty having once seized upon the people, several means of obtaining that object were adopted. In Parliament, a short mutiny bill became a favorite measure. The evils of a standing army, the dangers to freedom inseparable from the existence within the realm of a large force of armed men, having from its very organization no sympathies with the people, were eloquently dwelt upon by the leading Patriots in the House; magistrates refused to billet soldiers under a mutiny act, to which they objected on two grounds—first, that it was an English act of Parliament, and secondly, that it was perpetual, and created an armed irresponsible authority within the state. The Irish mutiny act had only extended to six months—it had been

returned from England with a change rendering it perpetual; thus the legislation might well be called English, and the principle despotic. The act was resisted, and it would have remained a dead letter, but that the ultimate decision of the matter rested with the judges, and it was not thought advisable to resort to their tribunals. But the time had arrived when Henry Grattan commenced, in grave and noble earnest, the great quarrel of parliamentary liberty. And never was a man more fitted by nature for a great work than he was. Swift had written of Irish politics with masterly power; Molyneux, with considerable learning; and Lucas, with homely vigor and honest zeal; but in Henry Grattan all the qualities of greatness were combined. He was a man of a pure spirit and a noble genius. He was an accomplished scholar, and a poet; but his scholarship and his poetry gave way to a grand, peculiar, and electric oratory, unsurpassed, probably unequalled, by the greatest speakers of any age or nation. It was argumentative and logical in the highest degree; but it was also imaginative and picturesque. Its figures were bold and new —its striking peculiarity consisted in the total absence of the usual or the vulgar. In its noble flights, in the utter *abandonment* of genius, there was a grandeur and elegant proportion, a profound wisdom, and a startling vehemence, which contributed to give to the orator all the weight of inspiration. But Grattan was not only a consummate orator, he was a patriot in the largest and broadest sense, and was the first statesman in Ireland who both aspired to national independence for his country, and perceived the impossibility of maintaining that independence, even if established, without associating the mass of proscribed Catholics in the national aspirations and national triumph.

The commercial tyranny of England being now broken down, and the country obviously ripe for a further advance, Grattan fixed the 19th of April, 1780, as the day on which he would move his celebrated Declaration of Right, which, if adopted, would be a distinct *ultimatum* to England, and, adopted in the front of the Volunteer array, would be an unmistakable challenge and defiance. The scene presented on that memorable day by Dublin and the Irish Parliament House on College Green is vividly described by MacNevin:

"No greater day, none of more glory ever rose upon this country, than that which dawned upon the Senate House of Ireland on the 19th of April, 1780. The dull chronicles of the time, and the meagre press which then represented popular opinion, are filled with details of the circumstances under which Grattan brought forward his Declaration of Right. They were circumstances certainly unequalled in our history of military splendor and moral triumph. The streets around the Attic temple of legislation were thronged with the disciplined numbers of the Volunteers, and the impatient multitude of the people. The uniforms of the Irish army, the gaudy orange, the brilliant scarlet, and the chaster and more national green —turned up with different facings, according to the tastes of the various corps—contrasted gayly with the dark background of the civilian mass that watched with eager eyes the extraordinary scene. Over the heads of the crowd floated the banners of the Volunteers, with the watchwords of freedom and political regeneration worked in gold or silver on a ground of blue, green, or white. And truly the issue to be tried within the walls of that magnificent building was one great in its effects, and illustrious from the character of the contending parties. It was a trial of right between two great nations— but more, it was to be either a precedent of freedom or an argument of usurpation. Much depended on the result, not alone as to the present interests, but as to the future destinies of the country; and the great men who were engaged in conducting this controversy of liberty were fully alive to the dignity of their parts, and fully competent to the successful discharge of the lofty mission they had undertaken.

"Within the walls of the House of Commons, a scene of great interest presented itself to the eye. The galleries were thronged with women of the first fashion, beautiful, elegantly dressed, and filled with animated interest in the anticipated triumph of an eloquence to which the place was sacred. Scattered through the House were several officers of the Volunteers, for a considerable

number of the members held commissions in that great body. But the chief attractions of the House were those distinguished men who were upon that day to make the noblest chapter in the history of Ireland—men celebrated beyond those of almost any age for the possession of the highest of man's qualities—eloquence, wit, statesmanship, political wisdom, and unbounded knowledge. There were to be seen and heard there that day the graceful and eloquent Burgh; the intrepid advocate, the consummate orator, the immaculate patriot, John Philpot Curran; the wise statesman, Flood; and the founder of Irish liberty, who watched it in its cradle, and who followed it to its grave, Grattan. Amongst the spectators were Lifford, the chancellor, whose voice had negatived every liberty, and denied every concession; Charlemont, the truest of patriots, but the worst of statesmen; and Frederick, the Earl of Bristol and the Bishop of Derry, whose coronet and mitre could not keep down the ambition of a tribune, nor conceal the finest qualities of a demagogue. All eyes were turned to Grattan."

"After a speech of consummate power, in which he imparted to the doctrines of freedom a more spiritual cast than they had yet assumed in Ireland, he moved his three resolutions. 1st, That his most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland. 2d, That the crown of Ireland is, and ought to be, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain. 3d, That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign, by the common and indissoluble ties of interest, loyalty, and freedom. His resolutions were seconded by Robert Stewart, the father of the man who, of all others, was most active in destroying the great fabric of freedom which Henry Grattan commenced upon that day to rear. He was opposed by Foster and Fitzgibbon; and to show how completely Irish freedom was the child of arms, the latter attacked the Volunteers as a giddy faction, which dealt in violence and clamor. He felt that Grattan was indeed fortified by the resolutions of the armed citizens, and accordingly was liberal of invective against them. Yet Fitzgibbon represented himself as an enemy to the usurpations of England. It was singular that on this occasion Flood was opposed to bringing forward the question of Irish liberty. He thought that the time of England's distress was an improper one at which to urge the rights of Ireland."

The eloquent writer just cited has been somewhat carried away by his enthusiastic sympathy with the great effort of Grattan and exaggerates its importance. The debate, it is true, was extremely interesting; and if it led to no immediate practical result in the House, it kept the subject alive before the nation, and gave it fresh vitality and power. It seems that scarcely any member, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ventured to oppose directly the principles of the resolutions. The Castle party, however, defeated them by a motion, that there being an equivalent resolution already on the journals of the House (alluding to one in Strafford's time, which was *not* equivalent), it was useless to pass this. The amendment was carried, and the Declaration of Right was not pressed at that time to a division Plowden thus sums up the result:

"After a most interesting debate, that lasted till six o'clock in the morning, in which every man but one acknowledged its truth, either expressly or by not opposing it, Mr. Flood, who well knew that the ministerial members were committed to negative the motion if it came to a division, recommended that no question should be put, and no appearance of the business entered on the journals, to which Mr. Grattan consented."

Substantially, however, the object of the Declaration was accomplished. If it did not convince the ministerial members, it convinced the Volunteers, and made more Volunteers. It also convinced the Government of the depth and strength of the new national spirit in Ireland, as we learn from a letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, the day after, to Lord Hillsborough. He says: "It is with the utmost concern I must acquaint your Lordship that, although so many gentlemen expressed their concern that the subject had been introduced, the sense of the House against the obligation of *any statutes* of the Parliament of Great Britain, within this

kingdom, is represented to me to have been almost unanimous."

The people out-of-doors began now to be grievously discontented with their Parliament. They were becoming more and more thoroughly indoctrinated with the generous sentiments of Grattan, not only through his own speeches and essays, but by means of the brilliant pamphlets of Mr. Pollock, published under the name of Owen Roe O'Neill, who entered very fully into the grievances of the country, and went the whole length of the claim to legislative independence. Indeed, it became evident that, without legislative independence, no concessions in respect of freedom of trade or any thing else could be relied upon as either efficient or permanent.

After the first burst of triumph over the commercial reforms of Lord North, it was found, on examination and trial, that the law had been so contrived as to render the concessions nearly illusory. Especially in the matter of the trade in refined sugar, it was seen that the new law, and a treacherous addition which had been made to it after its passage in the British Parliament, tended to destroy the sugar refineries of Ireland, then an important branch of industry; and a petition was presented by the town of Newry, not only exposing this contrivance, but also adverting earnestly to what was now become the chief parliamentary topic, the "mutiny bill." In short, the aroused spirit of the people demanded that the principle of English domination in Ireland should be assailed at every point; and in nothing was that principle so momentous and so menacing as in the practice of governing the standing army of Ireland (12,000 to 15,000 strong) by a perpetual mutiny act passed in England. So charmed, however, was the Parliament with its small and doubtful success in the matter of free trade, that it not only liberally granted the supplies for a year and a half longer, but agreed to the English mutiny bill, which was perpetual, by a majority of 52. In short, it was plain that this Parliament, so extensively corrupted and so well disciplined by the Castle influence (that is, by the corrupt expenditure of the people's money), could not be relied upon to realize the lofty aspiration of the nation. Absolute national independence was now their fixed purpose.

The year 1780 was one of incessan organization; reviews took place throughou all Ireland; and a great provincial meeting was appointed for the November of that year, previous to which in all parts of the country the Volunteer corps were reviewed by the commanding officers in each district. The Earl of Belvidere reviewed the troops of Westmeath; the Limerick and Clare Volunteers were reviewed by Lord Kingsborough; the Londonderry by Lord Erne; the Volunteers of the South by Lord Shannon; those of Wicklow by Lord Kingsborough; and the Volunteers of Dublin county and city, who had formed themselves into associated corps, by Lord Carysfort, Sir Edward Newenham, and other men of rank, patriotism, and fortune. These reviews were attended with every circumstance of brilliancy. There was no absence of the pomp of war. The Volunteers had supplied themselves with artillery, tents, and all the requisites of the field. They had received many presents of ordnance; numerous stand of colors had been presented to them, with no absence of ceremony and splendor, by women of the highest station and figure in the country, whose pride it was to attend the reviews in their handsomest equipages and clothed in their gayest attire.

Until the middle of the year 1780, the Volunteers had acted in independent troops and companies, only linked together by their community of feeling and design: but it was apparent that for any general movement, for any grand military measure (which every day seemed to render more imminent), they needed a closer organization and a commander-in-chief. Their choice fell upon James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, the descendant of one of the adventurers who had come over in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and had been rewarded for his exertions in helping to crush O'Neill by large grants of confiscated estates. This Earl of Charlemont was a man of limited capacity, but of much cultivation. He had travelled much, had written Italian sonnets, and collected busts and intaglios. He had been nine years absent from Ireland, and returned just as the contest between Primate Stone and

Henry Boyle was calming down into the disgrace of one and the corruption of the other.

Lord Charlemont's first Irish services were neither splendid nor honorable. He was chosen as the negotiator between Boyle and the lord-lieutenant. His duty was to strike a balance between what the Irish Patriot wanted and the English official would give; and he was eminently successful in eliciting harmony from the jarrings of sordid ambition and Castle economy. But he soon left the Castle sphere—though well fitted by taste and feeling to be a courtier, it should be with honor—and that was an impossible fact in Ireland. It is said by Hardy, that Lord Charlemont was ignorant of the bargain struck between Boyle and the lord-lieutenant, by which the former got a pension;* but there was enough of profligacy in the concessions made by both parties, even though money had never changed hands between them, to take all glory from the office of negotiator.

As commander-in-chief, however, of the Volunteers, he made not only a dignified and ornamental standard-bearer, but a very active military organizer. He was great in reviews; and on the whole did his official duty well; but he never could expand his mind wide enough to grasp the idea of associating in the new nation the two millions of Catholics.

In replying to the address communicating to him his election as commander-in-chief, he states with so much clearness and perspicuity the position occupied by the Volunteers, the services they had rendered, and the spirit which animated them, that the reply is here presented in full as a perfect vindication of "that illustrious, adored, and abused body of men."

GENTLEMEN,—You have conferred on me an honor of a very new and distinguished nature,—to be appointed, without any solicitation on my part, the reviewing-general of an independent army, *raised by no other call than that of public virtue;* an army which costs nothing to the State, and has produced very thing to the nation, is what no other country has it in her power to bestow. Honored by such a delegation I obeyed it with cheerfulness. The inducement was irresistible; I felt it the duty of every subject to forget impediments which would have stood in the way of a similar attempt in any other cause.

I see with unspeakable pleasure the progress of your discipline, and the increase of your associations; the indefatigable, steady, and extraordinary exertions, to which I have been a witness, afford a sufficient proof, that, in the formation of an army public spirit, a shame of being outdone, and the ambition to excel, *will supply the place of reward and punishment—can levy an army, and bring it to perfection.*

The pleasure I feel is increased, when I reflect that your associations are not the fashion of a day, but the settled purpose and durable principle of the people; from whence I foresee, that the advantages lately acquired will be ascertained and established, and that solid and permanent strength will be added to the empire.

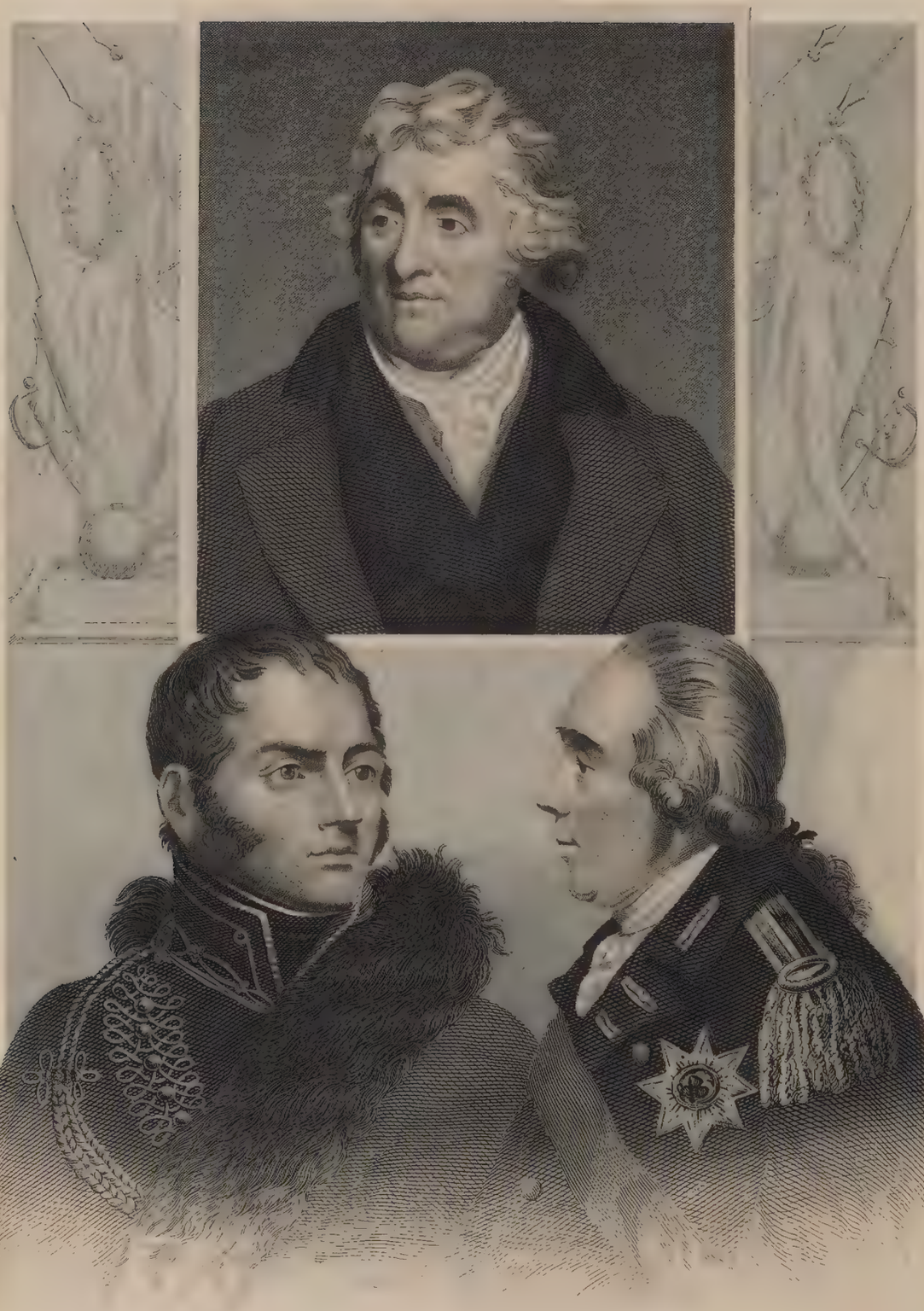
I entirely agree in the sentiment you express with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of this kingdom. I agree also in the expediency of making the assertion; it is no more than the law will warrant, and the real friends of both nations subscribe.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful, and
obedient humble servant,
July 15, 1780. CHARLEMONT.

The provincial reviews which followed the election of Lord Charlemont, were intended to convey significantly to the minister the readiness of an armed nation to second the propositions of their leaders in Parliament. Lord Charlemont visited Belfast to review the Ulster regiments, and was attended by Sir Annesley Stewart and Grattan as his aides. He was met at Hillsborough by Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Stewart, afterwards the Marquis of Londonderry. His arrival at Belfast on the 11th of July was announced by a salute of seven guns from the artillery, which was answered by the ships in the harbor; and there followed a brilliant review of three thousand men.

The dispatches of Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord North at this period, are evidences of a system of downright bribery—for the purpose of retaining and insuring his parliamentary majority—so general and so profuse, that nothing could bear comparison with it, but the worse corruption by which the Union was carried. Between September 8th, 1780, and November 19th of the same year, the lord-lieutenant forwarded several dispatches to the English minister, in which he recommends over one hundred men of rank and fortune, and some of their wives, to rewards for past services, or to bribes for prospective

* Life of Charlemont, vol. i., p. 93.



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services. Sir Robert Deane, an uniform and laborious drudge, impeded by no conscience and burdened by no principle, who, as his viceregal eulogist remarks, always with *firm friends* supported government and never *suggested a difficulty*, was recommended for a peerage. Several other men with similar services to parade, with just the same degree of conscience or principle, had their claims for a degraded honor allowed by the lord-lieutenant.*

The dispatches of this viceroy in these two months (September and October, 1780) are extant, and should be rendered familiar reading to all those who are disposed to trust in the integrity and the promises of English statesmen.* In the Houses, both of Lords and Commons, his management was too successful, and the people now looked upon Parliament as their worst enemy. On the 2d of September, 1780, Lord Buckinghamshire prorogued the servile Parliament with one of those speeches, half cant and half sarcasm, which were then, and are now, the usual kind of viceregal addresses in Ireland. He thanked the House for their "liberal supplies" (for which the people cursed them), and added, "your cheerfulness in giving them, and your attention to the ease of the subject in the mode of raising them, must be very acceptable to his majesty; on my part, I assure you *they shall be faithfully applied*." To both Houses he said that "the heart of every Irishman must exult at the fair scene of prosperity now opening to his country," congratulated them on the commercial relaxations, which he called "the diffusive indulgence of his majesty;" and so took his leave both of that Parliament and of Ireland. Fortunately, the cause of Ireland at that day rested neither upon him nor upon them. He was recalled soon after and on the 23d of December, 1780, Lord Carlisle was appointed in his place.

* The sources of patrician honors in Ireland, it is much to be regretted, are very impure and tainted. From this censure must of course be excepted the ancient aristocracy of the land, in whose veins still runs an honorable stream, uncontaminated by the impurity of the Williamite, or Union creation. The successive creations in Cromwell's and William's time, and at the Union, deepen in infamy as they approach our own days. The parties recommended for *honors* in Lord Buckingham's profligate dispatches, some of whose names are inserted in this note, have different qualifications; one is poor, another who is rich has poor relations; there is no political profligate, however wealthy or embarrassed, that is not recommended for promotion or pay, in his own person or in that of some convenient relative. Amongst the rest, Lords Mountcashel, Enniskillen, Carlow, and Farnham, are recommended for earldoms. In the general recommendations are the names of James Carigue Ponsonby, Charles Henry Cooke, Francis Bernard Beamish, Ponsonby Tottenham, James Somerville, William Caulfield, Thomas Nesbitt, Sir Boyle Roche, Dame Jane Heron, and other honorable persons. The following is curious; it is in a letter to Lord Hillsborough from the lord-lieutenant:

"With respect to the noblemen and gentlemen whose requests have not succeeded, I must say that no man can see the inconvenience of increasing the number of peers more forcibly than myself, *but the recommendation of many of those persons submitted to his majesty for that honor, arose* FROM ENGAGEMENTS TAKEN UP AT THE PRESS OF THE MOMENT, TO SECURE QUESTIONS UPON WHICH THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT WERE VERY PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS. My sentiments cannot but be the same with respect to the Privy Council and pensions, and *I had not contracted any absolute engagements of recommendation either to peerage or pension*, TILL DIFFICULTIES AROSE which necessarily occasioned so much and so forcibly communicated anxiety in his majesty's cabinet, that *I must have been culpable in* NEGLECTING ANY POSSIBLE MEANS OF SECURING A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. Mr. Townshend was particularly recommended to me by Lord Shannon for a seat in the Privy Council, and I have reason to think his lordship is extremely anxious for his success."

CHAPTER XX.

1781—1782.

Parliament—Thanks to the Volunteers—Habeas Corpus—Trade with Portugal—Grattan's financial exposé—Gardiner's measure for Catholic Relief—Dungannon—The 15th of February, 1782—Debates on Gardiner's Bill—Grattan's Speech—Details of this measure—Burke's opinion of it—Address to the King asserting Irish Independence—England yields at once—Act repealing the 6th George I.—Repeal of Poynings' Law—Irish Independence.

THERE is small interest in following the details of parliamentary business during the first year of Lord Carlisle's viceroyalty; because it was every day more evident that the power which would decide the destinies of the country lay outside the walls of Parliament. Indeed, on the discussion of the perpetual Mutiny Bill for Ireland, Grattan had declared that if it passed into law he would secede, and appeal to the people, a

* They are to be found in Grattan's Life, by his son, vol. ii

formidable threat at a moment when the people were in such a good condition to hear and decide such an appeal. Lord Carlisle was accompanied by Mr. Eden as secretary, a man already known by his unsuccessful diplomacy in America, and known also by his hostility to the pretensions of Ireland. He had written and published a letter "*On the Representations of Ireland respecting a Free Trade*," of which Mr. Dobbs, a stanch patriot, thus writes:—"From a letter written by Mr. Eden, secretary to Lord Carlisle, on the subject of Irish affairs, and which had been answered by Counsellor Richard Sheridan, we had no great reason to rejoice at this change."*

On the 9th of October, 1781, the Earl of Carlisle met the Parliament. There was the usual common-place speech, recommending the Protestant Charter Schools; the linen trade; assuring Parliament of his majesty's ardent wishes for the happiness, etc., of the Irish people; and even speaking complacently of the "spirited offers of assistance" which had lately been made to the Government from every part of the kingdom, which was, though without naming them, a kind of compliment to the Volunteers. Mr. O'Neill moved a servile address in reply. Mr. Grattan, who had no idea of suffering any neglect or disrespect to the Volunteers, took notice of the extreme caution with which the address avoided mentioning the word *Volunteer*, that wholesome and salutary appellation which he wished to familiarize to the royal ear; he would not, however, insist on having it inserted, as he had reason to believe the right honorable mover did intend to make a proper mention of those protectors of their country.

Mr. O'Neill declared he was not deceived in this opinion, that the motion to which he had alluded was intended to thank the Volunteers of Ireland for that glorious spirit, unexampled in all history, with which they had so eagerly pressed forward, when the nation was thought to be in danger. He then moved that the thanks of the House should be given to all the Volunteers of Ireland, for their exertions and continuance, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion.

* Dobbs' Hist. of Irish Affairs.

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion. After some opposition from Mr. Fitzgibbon, the thanks of the House were voted unanimously.

The very next day an important bill was moved for. Ireland had never yet enjoyed the protection of a *Habeas Corpus* act; nor, indeed, has she ever enjoyed it until this day, because that law has been regularly suspended in Ireland precisely at the times when it was most needed.

On the 10th of October, 1781, Mr. Bradstreet, the recorder, a very stanch patriot, moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in the heads of a *Habeas Corpus* bill, prefacing his motion by observing that the liberty and safety of the subjects of Ireland were insecure until a *Habeas Corpus* act should take place; that arbitrary power had made great strides and innovations on public liberty, but was effectually restrained by that law which had its full operation in England, but did not exist in Ireland. It was, he said, the opinion of a great and learned judge, that this law was the grand bulwark of the constitution. Leave was granted; and Mr. Yelverton and the recorder were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Some few other proceedings in this session deserve to be noticed. Mr. Grattan again endeavored to procure an act for limitation of the Mutiny Act. Sir Lucius O'Brien moved for redress in the matter of Irish trade with Portugal; and the guild of merchants presented a petition stating that the great advantages which the nation had been promised by a freedom of trade to all the world were likely to prove imaginary; as from the state of general war our commerce was confined to very few nations, and amongst them the kingdom of Portugal, from which the greatest hopes had been conceived, had refused to receive our manufactures, quantities of which were then lying stopped in the custom-house of Lisbon, and praying the House to interfere for redress. The influence of the Court party, which was still paramount on most questions, was sufficient to prevent any effectual action on these subjects. The principal care, indeed, of the new viceroy and his adroit secretary was to prevent or suppress discussion upon any subject which would tend to open up

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the great national question of independence. Mr. Barry Yelverton, speaking of this motion on the Portuguese trade, said he "thought there had been some design in the speech, to lead their imaginations away from this important object; it had, indeed, talked of Protestant charter schools, making of roads, digging of canals, and carrying of corn; and contained half a dozen lines that might be found in every speech for fifty years past; subjects more proper for the inquiry of a county grand jury, than for the great inquest of the nation; but not one word of our trade to Portugal; that had been designedly omitted."

The same Mr. Yelverton gave notice of a motion to bring in a bill to regulate the transmission of bills to England; in other words, for a repeal of Poynings' Law. Many of the Patriots now saw that the mind and spirit of the nation were firmly bent on one great purpose; and accordingly they began to be desirous, each to have his own name well forward as a mover in the good work. But before Yelverton's motion, arrived official news of that most happy and propitious event—the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to the French and Americans at Yorktown. With a polite affectation of grief, Yelverton abandoned his motion, and moved instead an address to the king expressive of sympathy and unalterable attachment, "and to entreat his majesty to believe, that we hold it to be our indispensable duty, as it is our most hearty inclination, cheerfully to support his majesty to the utmost of our abilities, in all such measures as can tend to defeat the confederacy of his majesty's enemies, and to restore the blessings of a lasting and honorable peace."

Several friends of Mr. Yelverton's, conceiving that his motion would commit them into an approbation and support of the American war, on that account alone declined supporting it: the question, however, being put, the motion was carried by a majority of 167 against 37.

In this session, also, Mr. Grattan made an *exposé* of the financial condition of the country. This speech led to no action, but is worth some attention, because it shows to what a hopeless state of embarrassment, or rather national ruin, Ireland had been reduced. As usual, Grattan spoke with bold and bitter personal allusion, careless of the fact that perhaps a majority of his auditors were themselves corrupt pensioners on the public treasury. "Your debt," said he, "including annuities, is £2,667,600; of this debt, in the last fourteen years, you have borrowed above £1,900,000, in the last eight years above £1,500,000, and in the last two years £910,090. I state not only the fact of your debt, but the progress of your accumulation, to show the rapid mortality of your distemper, the accelerated velocity with which you advance to ruin; and if the question stood alone on this ground, it would stand firm; for I must further observe, that if this enormous debt be the debt of the peace establishment, not accumulated by directing the artillery of your arms against a foreign enemy, but by directing the artillery of your treasury against your constitution, it is a debt of patronage and prostitution."

He next went into an account of the revenues and expenditures of the kingdom; showed that the increase of expenses for two years amounted to £550,000, while the increase of revenue for the same two years was but £60,000; and that this profligate system was only confirmed and aggravated each succeeding year. Then he proceeded—"I have stated your expenses as exceeding your income, £484,000, and as having increased in fourteen years above half a million. As to the application of your money, I am ashamed to state it; let the minister defend it; let him defend the scandal of giving pensions, directly or indirectly, to the first of the nobility, with as little honor to them who receive, as to the king who gives. Let him defend the minute corruption, which in small bribes and annuities, leaves honorable gentlemen poor, while it makes them dependent."

On the 11th of December, Mr. Flood, who was anxious that he also should be on the record prominently against the obnoxious Poynings' Law, brought forward a motion for the appointment of a committee "to explain the law of Poynings." He made a learned and statesmanlike speech, was answered by a Court member; and his motion was voted down by 139 against 67

This same session an effort was made by Mr. Luke Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy) to procure a measure of relief for the Catholics. This gentleman, like Lord Charlemont, had lately returned from a residence in Europe; and had often lamented since his return that Ireland, he was ashamed to confess, was the most intolerant country, Catholic or Protestant, in all the world. On the 13th of December he gave notice of his intention to bring in the heads of a bill for some mitigation of the penal laws. A few days after, when Mr. Gardiner introduced the subject again, Grattan warmly and eagerly gave his support in advance to some large and just measure, including both Catholics and Dissenters, declaring emphatically that "it should be the business of Parliament to unite every denomination of Irishmen in brotherly affection and regard to the constitution." Every denomination of Irishmen! Including Catholics! It was new language in that House: it was the first time perhaps, since King James's Parliament, that there had been so much as a hint of treating Catholics and Protestants as on an equal footing before the law. No wonder that it disquieted Cromwellian squires. Sir Richard Johnson nervously protested at once "that he would oppose any bill by which Papists were permitted to *bear arms*."

That Henry Grattan's idea, though not then fully developed, did go the full length of absolute equality, may be inferred from a remarkable passage in the end of his short speech. "It had been well observed by a gentleman of first-rate understanding (a member of the British Parliament), that Ireland could never prosper till its inhabitants were a people; and though the assertion might seem strange, that three millions of inhabitants in that island should not be called a people, yet the truth was so, and so would continue till the wisdom of Parliament should unite them by all the bonds of social affection. Then, and not till then, the country might hope to prosper."

This bill of Mr. Gardiner, which was very cautious and modest, merely relaxing a little further the rigors of the laws which debarred Catholics from having property and from educating their children, was postponed from week to week, and was still pending when the great event of the century (for Ireland) took place in the parish church of Dungannon, in the county Tyrone. It should be mentioned that there was great difference of opinion among the Volunteers with respect to any indulgence whatever shown to Papists; and that in particular the Sligo Volunteers, commanded by Mr. Wynne, addressed their colonel, requiring him to use his influence to defeat the measure. The conduct of these Sligo Volunteers is admirably rebuked, and the contrast of their professions and their intolerance delineated with great power and severity in a series of letters in the *Freeman's Journal* of the day, beginning with the date of the 19th of January, 1782.

But the cause of the country was now removed into another and a higher court than that of the corrupt Parliament. All the year 1781 had been a time of active organization for the Volunteers: the companies had been formed into regiments, many thousands of Catholics were now gathered into the organization; numerous reviews continued to be held; and it was determined that the regiments should now be brigaded. On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers and delegates of the First Ulster regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont, met at Armagh, and resolved to hold a *Convention* of the Ulster delegates at Dungannon. It was the idea of Grattan: he had failed in his endeavor to join issue with England by his Declaration of Right in Parliament, and resolved now to put himself upon the country. Both friends and enemies of the Irish national cause were almost bewildered by the boldness of this conception—"Will nobody stop that madman, Grattan?" cried Edmund Burke. The Castle, on its side, hoped that this armed Convention would put itself in the wrong by some intemperate violence or plain illegality. In fact, the language of the resolutions passed at the preliminary meeting in Armagh was startling.

"*Resolved*, That with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

"*Resolved*, That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most

vigorous and effective methods, must be pursued, to root out corruption and Court influence from the legislative body.

"*Resolved*, That to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every Volunteer association of the said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting.

"*Resolved*, That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting being held before the present session of Parliament is much farther advanced, Friday, the 15th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dungannon as aforesaid."

Dungannon was then, and is still, but a mall market town of Tyrone County, about ix miles from the shore of Lough Neagh. Two hundred years before, it had been the chief seat and stronghold of Hugh O'Neill, high-chief of Tyr-eoghain, who was the most formidable enemy that English power had ever encountered in Ireland. The little town had no assembly-room capable of accommodating the meeting; and it was determined to use the parish church for that purpose. On the 15th of February, from every county of Ulster, the delegates met. They represented thirty thousand armed men; and felt that they had full power and credentials to deliberate and decide for a great army, not only for the Ulster Volunteers, but for those of all Ireland. What might they not have done on that day! England had suffered deep humiliation, and was truly in imminent peril. In America, after the surrender of Cornwallis, she could not strike another blow. She was still at war, both with France and with Spain. In Ireland it would have been impossible for her to place in the field one half the number of the Volunteer army; and even of that half, the Irish regular force would without doubt have fraternized with the Volunteers.—"Had they chosen that mode of action," says Thomas McNevin, "which many amongst them might have secretly thought the path of wisdom, as the path of honor, the result on the destinies of England would have been perilous indeed. We cannot doubt the issue of a war. A national army, composed of the flower of a bold and valiant people, treading their native and familiar soil, fighting for home and liberty, commanded by the most distinguished men in the country, numerous and disciplined, and impatient for the field—no mercenary soldiers, whose mean incentive was pay and plunder, and rapine, and hereditary hatred, could have withstood their glorious on slaught." But other, and more moderate counsels prevailed; "perhaps wiser," says Mr. McNevin.

Of the resolutions prepared for the adoption of the military delegates, the first was written by Grattan, and the second by Flood. Mr. Dobbs, of Carrickfergus, was just about to start for the Convention, when Grattan, the unchanging friend of the Catholics, thrust into his hand the resolution in their favor, which afterwards passed at Dungannon, with only two dissenting voices of benighted Protestants.

On the memorable 15th of February, 1782, "the church of Dungannon was full to the door." The representatives of the regiments of Ulster—one hundred and forty-three corps—marched to the sacred place of meeting, two and two, dressed in various uniforms and fully armed. Deeply they felt the great responsibilities which had been committed to their prudence and courage; but they were equal to their task, and had not lightly pledged their faith to a trustful country. The aspect of the church, the temple of religion, in which nevertheless no grander ceremony was ever performed, was imposing, or, it might be said, sublime. Never, on that hill where ancient piety had fixed its seat, was a nobler offering made to God than this, when two hundred of the elected warriors of a people assembled in his tabernacle, to lay the deep foundations of a nation's liberty. Colonel Irwin, a gentleman of rank, a man firm and cautious, of undoubted courage but great prudence, presided as chairman. The following resolutions were then passed:—

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"*Whereas*, it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of Parliament or political men.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under, or under color, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That a Mutiny Bill not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional and a grievance.

"*Resolved*, with eleven dissenting voices only, That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honor, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

"*Resolved*, with one dissenting voice only, That the right honorable and honorable the minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman and published with these resolutions.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.:—

Lord Visc't Enniskillen,	Major Charles Duffen,
Col. Mervyn Archdall,	Capt. John Harvey,
Col. William Irvine,	Capt. Robert Campbell,
Col. Robt. M'Clintock,	Capt. Joseph Pollock,
Col. John Ferguson,	Capt. Waddel Cunningham
Col. John Montgomery,	Capt. Francis Evans,
Col. Charles Leslie,	Capt. John Cope,
Col. Francis Lucas,	Capt. James Dawson,
Col. Thos. M. Jones,	Capt. James Acheson,
Col. James Hamilton,	Capt. Daniel Eccles,
Col. Andrew Thomson,	Capt. Thomas Dickson,
Lieut.-Col. C. Nesbitt,	Capt. David Bell,
Lieut.-Col. A. Stewart,	Capt. John Coulson,
Major James Patterson,	Capt. Robert Black,
Major Francis Dobbs,	Rev. Wm. Crawford,
Major James M'Clintock,	Mr. Robert Thompson.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

"In consequence of the above resolutions, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.:—

Col. Mervyn Archdall,	Major Francis Dobbs,
Col. William Irvine,	Capt. Francis Evans,
Col. John Montgomery,	Capt. James Dawson,
Col. Thomas M. Jones,	Capt. Joseph Pollock,
Mr. Robert Thompson.	

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the court of Portugal has acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in

such a manner, as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

"*Resolved*, with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution, That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

"*Resolved*, therefore, That as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

Some formal resolutions followed of thanks to Lord Charlemont, to Colonel Dawson, who had been active in getting up the Convention, and to Colonel Irwin. The meeting terminated by the adoption of an address to the Patriot minorities in the Lords and Commons, remarkable for its comprehensive brevity and admirable succinct eloquence:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen.—We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

"Signed by order,

"William Irvine, Chairman."

Such were the proceedings at Dungannon. All Ireland adopted the resolutions; and meetings were held in every county formally to accept the exposition of the public mind which the Volunteers of Ulster had given. The freeholders of each county, and th grand juries adopted the resolutions.

The delegates of Connaught met in pursu ance of the requisition of Lord Clanricarde; the delegates of Munster assembled at Cork under the presidency of Lord Kingsborough, and the delegates of Leinster at Dublin under that of Colonel Henry Flood.

It was in vain that the Government renewed its old cabals, or made overt resist ance to the progress of the Dungannon movement. The example of the North was followed in every quarter. And what is peculiarly worthy of notice in the history of the day is this, that there was no diversity of opinion amongst the armed battalions in the different parts of the country. Such division of opinion, especially on the subject of the Catholics, might naturally have been expected; but the result was one of great and singular unanimity on the important topics which agitated the public mind. The Dungannon resolutions constitute the charter of Irish freedom, embracing all the points necessary for the perfect independence of the country, legislative freedom, control over the army, religious equality, and freedom of trade. They are the summary of the political requisitions of the Patriot party in the Parliament for which they had been struggling since the days of Molyneux, for which it was vain to struggle until an armed force was ready to take the field in their behalf. And no one can read the history of this great Convention without feeling that it was virtually a declaration of war, with the alternative of full concession of all the points of the charter of liberty. The Dungannon delegates were empowered by the nation, speaking through her armed citizens, to make terms or to enforce her rights; a hundred thousand swords were ready to obey their commands. England could not have brought into the field one-half that number; and the rights of Ireland were virtually declared on the 15th of February. It was a marvellous moderation which contented itself with constitutional liberty in a political connection with England, and subjection to her monarch; it would not have required another regiment to have struck off the last link of subjugation and to have es-

tablished the national liberty of Ireland on a wider basis than any upon which it ever stood.

In the mean time, and whilst general liberty was approaching towards its triumph, toleration to the Roman Catholics was making large and important strides. The declaration of the Dungannon delegates, so general and so impressive, being the opinion of the whole armed delegation of Ulster with but two inglorious exceptions, had a very great effect through Ireland. It was unfortunate for the subsequent career of the Volunteers that the principles which their armed representatives propounded at Dungannon, were not adopted by some of their leading minds. The seeds of ruin lay deep in the intolerant exception of the Catholics from the general rule of liberty. It was unwise, it was ungracious, it was impolitic. Flood and Charlemont would have raised a lofty temple to freedom, but would not permit the great preponderant majority of the nation to enter its gates, nay, even "to inscribe their names upon the entablature." But, though some of the distinguished officers of the Volunteers would have thus withheld the blessings of liberty from their fellow-countrymen, it is to be borne in mind—and principally because much argument has been based upon the concessions granted since the Union by the united legislature to the Catholics—that the principles of enlightened liberality made a wonderfully rapid progress in our native Parliament during the era of its glory.

Mr. Gardiner's Catholic Relief bill was introduced on the 15th of February, the same day on which the Dungannon Convention met in the church of Dungannon. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, endeavored to defeat the measure by suggesting that it repealed the act of settlement, and disturbed Protestant titles. A good deal of alarm was created by his opinion, and time was taken to inquire into its soundness. On examination it was considered bad, and the House went into committee on the bill on the 20th of February, 1782. The measure proposed to concede to the Catholics, 1st, the enjoyment of property; 2dly, the free exercise of their religion; 3dly, the rights of education; 4thly, of marriage; and 5thly, of carrying arms. Flood supported the bill, but ungraciously labored to establish a distinction between the rights of property and the rights of power. He said, "Though I would extend toleration to the Roman Catholics, yet I would not wish to make a change in the state, or enfeeble the Government." Mr. Gardiner, replying to the objection, that if this bill should pass, there would no longer be any *restraint* on Roman Catholics, said —"But was it not a restraint upon a man that he could hold no trust nor office in the state? That he could not be a member of Parliament, a justice, or a grand-juror? That he could not serve in the army of his country, have a place in the revenue, be an advocate or attorney, or even become a freeman of the smallest corporation? If gentlemen labored under these incapacities themselves, would they think them no restraint?" Fitzgibbon, who had endeavored to defeat the measure at first, on the ground that it would disturb Protestant titles, now supported it, saying that "though it would be improper to allow Papists to become proprietors of boroughs, there was no good reason why they should not possess estates in counties, nor why Protestant tenants holding under them should not enjoy a right of voting for members of Parliament." There was no question in this bill of allowing them to vote themselves, still less of allowing them to be members of Parliament. The Attorney-General, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. Ogle, the Provost, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Daly, Sir Boyle Roche, and Mr. Bagnal, spoke warmly for the bill. In the course of the several debates upon these measures of Mr. Gardiner, there were many objectors to each clause, and their objections rested on diverse grounds. Mr. Flood's vehement opposition to giving the Catholics any rights which might gradually invest them with political power was sustained by Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Rowley, Mr. John Burke and Mr. St. George. Many members, to their immortal honor, expressed themselves plainly and unreservedly as in favor of wiping off the whole Penal Code at once, not only in justice to the Catholics, but for the benefit of the whole country. Amongst these we find the names of Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Dillon, Captain

Hall, and Mr. Mossom. The clause permitting Catholics to go abroad for education was strenuously resisted by Fitzgibbon, Mason, Bushe, and others. It is needless to say that Mr. Grattan supported all the bills, and all their clauses. Indeed the debates are chiefly interesting because they were the occasion of the enunciation by him, for the first time, of the grand and generous thought of a true Irish nationality. He said: "I object to any delay which can be given to this clause; we have already considered the subject on a larger scale, and this is but a part of what the clause originally contained. We have before us the example of England, who four years ago granted Catholics a right of taking land in fee; the question is merely, whether we shall give this right or not, and if we give it, whether it shall be accompanied by all its natural advantages? Three years ago, when this question was debated in this house, there was a majority of three against granting Catholics estates in fee, and they were only allowed to take leases of 999 years. The argument then used against granting them the fee was, that they might influence elections. It has this day been shown, that they may have as effectual an influence by possessing leases of 999 years, as they can have by possessing the fee; at that time, I do declare I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to this country. When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burden of oppression that England had laid upon her; when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high-spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No: they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue; they did not endeavor to take advantage of your situation; they did not endeavor to make terms for themselves, but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of the country; judging by their own virtue, that they might depend upon your generosity for their reward. But now, after you have obtained a free trade, after the voice of the nation has asserted her independence, they approach this House as humble suppliants, and beg to be admitted to the common rights of men Upon the occasions I have mentioned, I did carefully observe their actions, and did then determine to support their cause whenever it came before this House, and to bear a strong testimony of the constitutional principles of the Catholic body. Nor should it be mentioned as a reproach to them that they fought under the banner of King James, when we recollect that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a British constitution. In 1779, when the fleets of Bourbon hovered on our coasts, and the Irish nation roused herself to arms, did the Roman Catholics stand aloof? Or did they, as might be expected from their oppressed situation, offer assistance to the enemy? No: they poured in subscriptions for the service of their country, or they pressed into the ranks of her glorious Volunteers.

"It has been shown that this clause grants the Roman Catholics no new power in the state; every argument, therefore, which goes against this clause goes against their having leases for 999 years, every argument which goes against their having leases for 999 years, goes against their having any leases at all; and every argument which goes against their having property, goes against their having existence in this land. The question is now, whether we shall grant Roman Catholics a power of enjoying estates, or whether we shall be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation? Whether we shall throw open the gates of the temple of liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we shall confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the Penal Code remains, we never can be a great nation; the Penal Code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched, and now it is become a bird, it must burst the shell asunder, or perish in it. I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness, and give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of Catholics, and over our own. I give my consent to it, because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of slavery; and because, as the mover of the

Declaration of Rights, I should be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more."

The relief measures of Mr. Gardiner were contained in three separate bills, very cautiously and moderately prepared, in order to avoid too rude a shock to the Protestant Ascendency. To read these bills with their restrictions and exceptions, gives a vivid idea of what Protestant Ascendency in Ireland then was. The *first* enables Catholics to take and hold, in the same manner as Protestants, any lands and hereditaments *except* advowsons, manors, and boroughs returning members to Parliament. It removes several penalties from such of the clergy as should have taken the oath and been registered; it confines its operation to the regular clergy then within that kingdom (by which the succession of other regulars from abroad might be prevented), it deprives any clergyman officiating in a church or chapel with a steeple or bell of the benefit of the act, and repeals several of the most obnoxious parts of the acts of Anne and Geo. I. and Geo. II.

The second of the series of measures related to education—"An act to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school, and for regulating the education of Papists," etc. It repeals certain parts of the acts of William and Anne, which inflicted on any Catholic teaching school, or privately instructing youth in learning, the same pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any Popish regular clergyman was subjected to (transportation, and in case of return, death), but *excepts*, out of its benefits, those who should not have taken the oath of allegiance, who should receive a Protestant scholar, or who should become ushers under Protestant schoolmasters. The act also enables Catholics (except ecclesiastics) to be guardians to their own or any other Popish child. These two first bills passed, and became law.

The third bill was for permitting intermarriages between Protestants and Papists: but the liberality of the House had not yet arrived at such a revolutionary point: they felt that they must draw the line somewhere; so they threw out this bill by a majority of eight.

Yet these wretched and pitiful measures, which by their small relaxations only made more offensively conspicuous the great oppression of the Penal Code, were regarded in Ireland as a mighty effort of liberalism. Mr. Burke, who had a soul great enough to see the matter in its true light, thus speaks of these bills in his letter to a noble lord:—"To look at the bill, in the abstract, it is neither more nor less than a renewed act of universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification. One would imagine that a bill inflicting such a multitude of incapacities, had followed on the heels of a conquest made by a very fierce enemy, under the impression of recent animosity and resentment. No man, on reading that bill, could imagine that he was reading an act of amnesty and indulgence. This I say on memory. It recites the oath, and that Catholics ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown, and government; then follows a universal exclusion of those good and loyal subjects from every, even the lowest, office of trust and profit, or from any vote at an election; from any privilege in a town corporate; from being even a freeman of such corporations; from serving on grand juries; from a vote at a vestry; from having a gun in his house, from being a barrister, attorney, solicitor, or, etc., etc., etc.

"This has surely more of the air of a table of proscriptions, than an act of grace. What must we suppose the laws concerning those good subjects to have been, of which this is a relaxation? When a very great portion of the labor of individuals goes to the state, and is by the state again refunded to individuals through the medium of offices, and in this circuitous progress from the public to the private fund, indemnifies the families from whom it is taken, an equitable balance between the Government and the subject is established. But if a great body of the people who contribute to this state lottery, are excluded from all the prizes, the stopping the circulation with regard to them must be a most cruel hardship, amounting in effect to being double and treble taxed, and will be felt as such to the very quick by all the families high and low, of those hundreds of thousands, who are denied their chance in the returned fruits of

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their own industry. This is the thing meant by those who look on the public revenue only as a spoil; and will naturally wish to have as few as possible concerned in the division of the booty. If a state should be so unhappy as to think it cannot subsist without such a barbarous proscription, the persons so proscribed ought to be indemnified by the remission of a large part of their taxes, by an immunity from the offices of public burden, and by an exemption from being pressed into any military or naval service. Why are Catholics excluded from the law? Do not they expend money in their suits? Why may not they indemnify themselves by profiting in the persons of some for the losses incurred by others? Why may they not have persons of confidence, whom they may, if they please, employ in the agency of their affairs? The exclusion from the law, from grand juries, from sheriffships, under-sheriffships, as well as from freedom in any corporation, may subject them to dreadful hardships, as it may exclude them wholly from all that is beneficial, and expose them to all that is mischievous in a trial by jury."

It has seemed needful to go into details on the provisions of these bills of Mr. Gardiner, in order to show that at the very moment when Ireland was proclaiming her independence, and preparing to fight for it—relying too upon the aid of the Catholic people—there were few indeed who so much as dreamed of making those Catholics citizens or members of civil society. This radical vice is quite enough to account for the short life of Ireland as an independent nation. In truth nobody in Europe had any idea of religious equality, none doubted the right of the orthodox to possess themselves of the lands and goods of the heterodox, until a few years after this period, when France gave the noble example of absolute equality before the law for all religions.

In the course of this same eventful February, Grattan brought on a new motion for an address to the king, declaring the rights of Ireland. But within that corrupted atmosphere, upon those bribed benches, was the very worst place for liberty to breathe.

The time had not yet arrived, though it was near at hand, for the Irish Parliament to assent to the proposition of its own freedom. They started back reluctant from the glowing form of Liberty; not even with a nation in arms behind them, and with a man of the inspired eloquence of Grattan amongst their sordid ranks, could *their* valor and *his* genius triumph over the inveterate corruption and servility of that House. Grattan's motion was lost by a majority of 137 to 68. But the fate of that statesman who had long sat at the fountain head of corruption, and who ministered so liberally to the profligacy of the Irish majority—the worst minister that England ever had, whose obstinate perseverance in principles opposed to the theory of the British constitution, lost to England the noblest member of her great confederation—was at length sealed. He was obliged to relinquish, with disgrace, the post he had held with dishonor. Defeat and disaster followed Lord North into his retirement. He was succeeded by Lord Rockingham and Charles Fox; Lord Carlisle was recalled, and the Duke of Portland was chosen to administer the complicated affairs of Ireland. Grattan, on the 14th of March, declared that he would bring on the Declaration of Rights, and he moved, and succeeded in carrying a very unusual summons, that the House be called over on Tuesday, the 16th of April next, and that the Speaker do write circular letters to the members, ordering them to attend that day, *as they tender the rights of the Irish Parliament.*

The Duke of Portland made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and he was welcomed, for no good reason that the history of the times can give, with the loudest acclamations. His arrival appeared to promise the fulfilment of all the hopes of Ireland, and he received, by anticipation, a gratitude which he never deserved. But his coming had been preceded by some of the habitual policy of his party. Letters of honeyed courtesy, as hollow as they were sweet, were dispatched by Fox to "his old and esteemed friend the good Earl of Charlemont."* Whig diplomacy and cunning never concocted a more singular piece of writing. He alludes with graceful familiarity to the long and pleasing friendship which had ex-

* Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. ii., p. 4.

isted between them, and after a variety of compliments, begs for a postponement of the House for three weeks, in order that the Duke of Portland might have an opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of Lord Charlemont, and of gentlemen of the first weight and consequence. But Fox was well aware of their opinions. They were recorded in the votes and speeches of the two Houses, and in the military transactions of the Volunteers. No man knew them better than Fox. He had been in communication with the leaders of the Patriot party, and was well aware of the merits of their claims. And his proposition was a feeble device to try the chapter of accidents. But Charlemont was firm, for Grattan would give "no time." The general of the Volunteers replied in terms of courteous dignity, but unwonted determination. He told the wily minister of England that the Declaration of Rights was universally looked up to as an essential and necessary preliminary to any confidence in the new administration. "We ask for our rights—our incontrovertible rights—restore them to us, and forever unite in the closest and best riveted bonds of affection, the kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind sister." This was the sentimental cant of politics; but the upshot was, that the Declaration of Rights was to be moved on the 16th of April, and it was only left to the genius of intrigue to yield with assumed grace what England dared no longer withhold. No civil letters to courtly vanity—no philosophic generalities and specious promises could effect any thing with Volunteer artillery. The epistles had all the graces of Horace Walpole, and were abundant in compliments; the compliments were returned, but the Declaration was retained. Grattan, if his own wisdom could have allowed it, would not have dared to pause. He stood in the first rank—a hundred thousand men were behind him in arms—he could not hesitate. It was his glory, and his wisdom to advance. And he advanced in good earnest, nor staid his foot till it was planted on the ruins of usurpation.

On the 9th of April, Fox communicated to the House of Commons in England, the following message from the king:—

"George R.: His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontent and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. G. R."

A similar communication was made to the Irish Parliament by John Hely Hutchinson, principal secretary of state in Ireland, who, at the same time, stated that he had uniformly maintained the right of Ireland to independent and exclusive legislation, and declared that he would give his earnest support to any assertion of that right whether by vote of the House, by address, or by enactment.

A scene of still greater excitement and interest occurred on this occasion, than that which had so carried away the citizens of Dublin two years before, when Grattan first introduced the question of Irish rights. The nation had become strong and confident by success—they had achieved free trade—their military organization had attained the greatest perfection of discipline and skill—their progress was, indeed, triumphant, they had but one short step to take. There was, therefore, great excitement through Ireland as to the issue of Grattan's Declaration of Right, not that they apprehended failure, but that all men felt anxious to see the realization of their splendid hopes. The streets of Dublin were lined with the Volunteers—the House of Commons was a great centre, round which all the city appeared moving. Inside, rank and fashion and genius were assembled; outside, arms were glistening and drums sounding. It was the commencement of a new government, and the king had sent a message of peace to Ireland.

The message was similar to that delivered to the English House, and when it had been read, Mr. George Ponsonby moved that an address should be presented, which might mean any thing, and meant nothing. It was to tell his majesty that the House was thankful for a gracious message, and that it would take into its serious consideration the discontents and jealousies which had arisen in Ireland, the causes of which should be in-

vestigated with all convenient dispatch, and be submitted to the royal justice and wisdom of his majesty.

When this motion, very full of the solemn plausibilities of loyalty and the generalities of pretended patriotism, was made, Henry Grattan rose to move his amendment. It was a moment of great interest. The success of the motion was certain, but all parties were anxious to learn the extent of the demands which Grattan was about to make. As the "herald and oracle of his armed countrymen" he moved the amendment which contained the rights of Ireland; and confident of its success, he apostrophized his country as already free, and appealed to the memory of those great men who had first taught the doctrine of liberty which his nobler genius had realized. He moved:

"That a humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message to this House, signified by his grace the lord-lieutenant.

"To assure his majesty of our unshaken ttachment to his majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure his majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own—the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

"To assure his majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled 'An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland:' an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

"To assure his majesty, that his majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland should receive the approbation of his majesty under the seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same anywhere, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

"To assure his majesty, that an act, entitled 'An act for the better accommodation of his majesty's forces,' being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

"That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress."

The address was carried unanimously in both Houses; and Parliament took a short recess, to allow time for the matter to be dealt with in England. Nobody, either in Ireland or in England, doubted the issue. It was quite certain that the declaration of the Irish Parliament was all-sufficient to establish the liberty of the country.

One may now be allowed to regret that Lord North's administration was no longer in power. In that case England would have refused concession; would have attempted to enforce her pretensions in Ireland: war would have been the inevitable result; Ireland would have necessarily made an alliance with France, whose great Revolution was now rapidly approaching; so there would have been happily an end to the British empire. Unfortunately the statesmen of

that country were as wise as they were treacherous. On the 17th of May, simultaneously in the two Houses at Westminster, Lord Shelburne in the Lords and Mr. Fox in the Commons, having read the addresses of the Irish Parliament, moved—"That it was the opinion of that House that the act of the 6th Geo. I., entitled '*An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*,' ought to be repealed."

On the 27th of May, the Duke of Portland officially communicated to the Irish Parliament this great and memorable concession, which he said came from "the magnanimity of the king and the wisdom of the Parliament;" closing his message with these words:—"On my own part I entertain not the least doubt but that the same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain will confirm you in your determination to share her fate also, standing or falling with the British nation." This is the kind of cant which has ruined Ireland: yet the plain and eternal truth—that while the British nation *stands*, Ireland must fall, and *vice versa*, was even then well understood by Irish patriots, and often avowed by Grattan himself. "Ireland," said he, "Ireland is in strength; she has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost: when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charleston was taken, the mutiny and sugar bills were altered. Have you not all of you, when you heard of a defeat, at the same instant condoled with England, and congratulated Ireland?"

"Poyning's Law" was still on the statute-book; and the work of enfranchisement was not complete until it was repealed: as it was an Irish statute, it was the Irish Parliament which had to repeal it; and this was immediately done on motion of Mr. Yelverton. Grattan introduced a bill "to punish mutiny and desertion," which repealed the perpetual mutiny act and restored to Parliament a due control over the army; also another bill to reverse erroneous judgments and decrees, a measure which was supposed at the time to have settled the question of the final judicature of Ireland, and to have taken from the English Lords and King's Bench their usurped appellate jurisdiction.

At the same time that the legislature was thus taking securities and guarantees (as it thought) for permanent independence, it was not forgetful of the honorable debt due to the man who, above all others, had conduced to restore the dignity and independence of Ireland. Fifty thousand pounds were voted to Henry Grattan, his friends having declined for him the larger tribute of £100,000 as at first proposed, and having also refused an insidious offer of the Phœnix Park and Viceregal Lodge, which had been made by Mr. Conolly on the part of the Government.

Ireland was now, at least formally and technically, an independent nation.

CHAPTER XXI.

1783—1784.

Effects of Independence—Settlement not final—English plots for the Union—Corruption of Irish Parliament—Enmity of Flood and Grattan—Question between them—Renunciation Act—Second Dungannon Convention—Convention of Delegates in Dublin—Catholics excluded from all Civil Rights—Lord Kenmare—Lord Kenmare disavowed—Lord Temple—Knights of St. Patrick—Portland viceroy—Judication Bill—Habeas Corpus—Bank of Ireland—Repeal of Test Act—Proceedings of Convention—Flood's Reform Bill—Rejected—Convention dissolved—End of the Volunteers—Militia.

It would be extremely pleasing to have now to record, that this nation, thus emancipated by a generous impulse of patriotism, and launched forth on a higher and wider career of existence, gave a noble example of public virtue, tolerance, purity, and liberality. Such is not the record we are to give. England had not (of course) yielded the independence of her "sister island" in good faith. Finding herself, for the moment, unable to crush the rising spirit of her Irish colony by force, she feigned to give way for a time, well determined to have her revenge, either by fraud or force, or by any possible combination of those two agencies. From the very moment of the acknowledgment of Ireland's freedom, British ministers began to plot the perpetration of "*the Union*."

The very nobility of nature and unsuspicious generosity of the leading Irish patriot of the day, so prompt and eager to gush out in unmerited gratitude, so cordially impatient to put away every shadow of ill-will between the two "sister countries," gave the English administration a great advantage in devising their plans for our utter ruin.

"It is difficult," says Mr. MacNevin, "to have much sympathy for the extravagant amount of gratitude awarded to the British Parliament by the leading men of the day in Ireland. They treated the rights of Ireland as though their establishment was not the work of Irishmen but the free gift of English magnanimity. And the address moved by Grattan 'did protest too much.'" Nothing can be imagined more artlessly innocent than this address moved by Mr. Grattan in reply to the viceroy's official announcement to Parliament of the repeal of the declaratory act. It assures his majesty "that no constitutional question between the two countries will any longer exist which can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain as she has approved our firmness so she may rely on our affection." It further assures his majesty "that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of his successes in the East and West Indies," etc.: —which was doubtlessly extremely polite, but essentially false and foolish, because the mover of the address, and every one who voted for it, knew well that successes of England anywhere in the world were disasters to Ireland.

Lord Clare, who understood the true relations between the two countries better than any other Irish statesman, in order to prove that the transactions of 1782, between Great Britain and Ireland were not considered as final, tells us, that on the 6th of June the Duke of Portland thus wrote to Lord Shelburne: "I have the best reason to hope that I shall soon be enabled to transmit to you the sketch or outlines of an act of Parliament to be adopted by the legislatures of the respective kingdoms, by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a share of the expense in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our own dominions, or those of our allies, shall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual state of her abilities, and that she will adopt every such regulation as may be judged necessary by Great Britain for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of Ireland. I am flattered with the most positive assurances from ——— and ——— of their support in carrying such a bill through both Houses of Parliament, and I think it most advisable to bring it to perfection at the present moment." And he happened to know from an official quarter, that the sketch of such an act of Parliament was then drawn. He knew the gentleman who framed it, and he knew from the same quarter, that blank and blank and blank and blank did unequivocally signify their approbation of it. This communication was received with the satisfaction which it demanded by the British cabinet. On the 9th of June Lord Shelburne wrote to the Duke of Portland in answer to his last dispatch: "The contents of your grace's letter of the 6th inst. are too important to hesitate about detaining the messenger, whilst I assure your grace of the satisfaction which I know your letter will give the king. I have lived in the most anxious expectation of some such measure offering itself: nothing prevented my pressing it in this dispatch, except having repeatedly stated the just expectations of this country, I was apprehensive of giving that the air of demand, which would be better left to a voluntary spirit of justice and foresight. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the *superintending power and supremacy to be where nature has placed it*, in precise and unambiguous terms. I am sure I need not inculcate to your grace the importance of words in an act, which must decide on the happiness of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, subjects most likely to come into frequent question."

It was easy for British statesmen to find in Ireland the suitable material for their

usual system of corruption; because the Parliament did not at all represent the nation. Not only were four-fifths of the people expressly excluded, as Catholics, from all share in the representation; but of the three hundred members of the House of Commons, only seventy-two were really returned by the people: 123 sat for "nomination boroughs," and represented only their patrons. Fifty-three peers directly appointed these legislators, and could also insure by their influence the election of about ten others. Fifty commoners also nominated ninety-one members, and controlled the election of four others. With such a condition of the popular representation, the British ministry knew that they could soon render it manageable; and they only waited till their own foreign troubles should be over to re-establish the supremacy "where nature has placed it."

The first evil omen for Ireland was the rivalry, or rather downright enmity of Flood and Grattan. The former had resigned his place, in order to act freely with the Patriots, and had labored by the side of Grattan in forming and inspiring the Volunteer force, and the potent public spirit which at length wrested from England's reluctant hands the formal recognition of Ireland's independence. If he ranks lower than Grattan on the roll of the Patriot party, it is because he remained to the last an enemy of Catholic emancipation, and persisted in favoring that vicious and petty policy of confining the *nation*, with all its powers and rights, to one-fifth part of the inhabitants.

In the first essential difference between these two men, Flood was clearly in the right. It was his opinion that a simple repeal of the declaratory act of George the First by England was not a sufficient security against the resumption of legislative control. His argument was intelligible enough: The 6th of George the First was only a declaratory act; a declaratory act does not make or unmake but only declare the law; and neither could its repeal make or unmake the law. The repeal, unless there was an express renunciation of the principle—is only a repeal of the declaration, and not of the legal principle. The principle remained as before, unless it was specially renounced. Many acts had been passed by the British Parliament binding Ireland, and some of them before the declaratory act of George The act did not legalize these statutes; it only declared that the principle of their enactment was legal—its repeal does not establish their illegality, but only repeals the declaration. Flood was historically right. In the reign of William and Mary, the English Parliament usurped the absolute right of making laws for Ireland, and in 1691 passed an act to make a fundamental alteration in the constitution of this country by excluding Roman Catholics, who were the majority of the nation, from a seat in the Lords and Commons. It was true, he argued, that the Irish had renounced the claim of England, but could such renunciation be equal to a renunciation by England? In any controversy could the assertion of a party in his own favor be equal to the admission of his antagonist? Fitzgibbon was of the same opinion as Flood, and both insisted on an express renunciation by England.

Grattan, on the other hand, refused the security of a British statute, and exclaimed that the people had not come to England for a charter but with a charter, and asked her to cancel all declarations in opposition to it. It must be said that Ireland had no charter. Her Declaration of Right was not a Bill of Rights, and Flood asked for a Bill of Rights. He was not satisfied without an express renunciation. But what guarantee against future usurpation by a future Parliament, was any renunciation, however strong? The true security for liberty was the spirit of the people and the arms of the Volunteers. When that spirit passed away, renunciations and statutes were no more than parchment—the faith of England remained the same as ever, unchangeable.

Whatever were the merits of the controversy, it was pregnant with the worst effects. The Parliament adopted the views of Grattan; the Volunteers sided with Flood. A Bill of Rights, a great international compact, a plain specific deed, the statement of the claims of Ireland and the pledge of the faith of England would have been satisfactory, and it must be confessed that men

were not far astray in asking for it. But unfortunately, the great minds of the day so far participated in the weaknesses of humanity as to yield to small impulses and to plunge into a rivalry fatal to their country, in place of uniting their powers for the completion of a noble and glorious undertaking. It was unfortunate for their glory—it was fatal for liberty.* Flood, though legally right in the argument and wise in his suggestions, may unwittingly have permitted himself to be influenced by a feeling of jealousy. He had seen the laurels he had been so long earning, placed on the brow of a younger and certainly a greater man, and his dissatisfaction was an unfortunate but a natural feeling. On the other hand, Grattan, whose peculiar work was the Declaration of Rights, felt indignant at the imputation cast on his wisdom, and the impeachment of his policy by the measures which Flood proposed. When Flood was refused leave to bring in his Bill of Rights on the 19th of June, Grattan, who had opposed it in one of his finest speeches, moved a resolution, which appears very indefensible, "that the legislature of Ireland is independent; and that any person who shall by writing or otherwise, maintain that a right in any other country to make laws for Ireland internally or externally exists or can be revived, is inimical to the peace of both kingdoms." It was a strong measure to denounce as *a public enemy* the wary statesman who read futurity with more caution than himself. He withdrew his motion and substituted another: "that leave was refused to bring in said heads of a bill, because the sole and exclusive right of legislation, in the Irish Parliament in all cases, whether internally or externally, hath been already asserted by Ireland; and fully, finally and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament."

The opinion of the Lawyers' corps of Volunteers was in favor of Flood's interpretation of the constitutional relations of the two countries. They considered that repealing a declaration was not destroying a principle, and that a statute renouncing any pre-existing right, was an indispensable guarantee for future security. They appointed a committee to inquire into the question, which reported that it was necessary that an express renunciation should accompany the repeal of the 6th of George the First. Whereupon the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, of which Grattan was colonel, presented him with an address. They reviewed the whole argument, and ended by requesting their colonel to assist with his hearty concurrence and strenuous support, the opinions propounded by a committee "chosen from the best-informed body in this nation." Such an address, including at once and the same time, an approbation of the course pursued by Flood, and a request to Grattan to support the doctrines he had from the first opposed, was construed by his nice sense of honor into a dismissal from his command. He did not resign lest his regiment might construe a peremptory resignation as an offence. But he told them, that in the succession of officers, they would have an opportunity "to indulge the range of their disposition." He was, however, re-elected, nor did he lose the command until the October of the next year, when he voted against retrenchment in the army. The Belfast First Volunteer company also addressed him. "Doubts, they said, had arisen whether the repeal of the 6th of George the First was a sufficient renunciation of the power formerly exercised over Ireland, they thought it advisable that a law should be enacted similar to the addresses which had been moved to his majesty, and which embodied the declaration of the Rights of Ireland. Grattan's answer was laconic, but explicit. He said he had given the fullest consideration to their suggestions: he was sorry he differed from them; he conceived their doubts to be ill-founded. With great

* "It was deeply lamented that at a moment critical and vital to Ireland beyond all former precedent, an inveterate and almost vulgar hostility should have prevented the co-operation of men, whose counsels and talents would have secured its independence. But that jealous lust for undivided honor, the eternal enemy of patriots and liberty, led them away even beyond the ordinary limits of parliamentary decorum. The old courtiers fanned the flame—the new ones added fuel to it—and the independence of Ireland was eventually lost by the distracting result of their animosities, which in a few years was used as an instrument to annihilate that very legislature, the preservation of which had been the theme of their hostilities"—Barrington's Rise and Fall, chap. xvii.

respect to their opinions, and unalterable attachment to their interest, he adhered to he latter. They received a different answer from Flood, whom they admitted as a member of their corps. Similar circumstances occurring in different other regiments, conduced to foster the evil passions of those two distinguished men, until they broke out into a disgraceful and virulent personal dispute. But there were worse consequences attending this unfortunate quarrel. Men whose united talents and zeal would have rendered secure the edifice of their joint labors, and the monument of their glory, were prompted to the adoption of different lines of policy. Grattan refused to advance. Flood was all for progress. Had both united to reform the constitution, and to secure its permanence, that event, which eventually put a period to the existence of the legislature of Ireland, would never have occurred. A decision in the Court of King's Bench of England, by Lord Mansfield, in an Irish case brought there by appeal, seemed to affirm the arguments, and to give weight to the objections of Flood. Mr. Townshend, in introducing in the English Commons the Renunciation Bill (January, 1783), said, that doubts were entertained as to the sufficiency of the simple repeal, and had been increased by a late decision in the Court of King's Bench, which, however, he was informed, the court was bound to give, the case having come under its cognizance before any question as to the appellate jurisdiction in Irish matters had been raised. He then moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error, or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in Ireland from being received, heard, or adjusted in any of his majesty's courts in this kingdom; and that Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr. Pitt, Mr. William Grenville, and the Attorney and Solicitor General do bring in the bill." The motion passed without a division, and the Renunciation Bill was the result. This vindicated correctness of Flood's reasoning—it did not afford any additional security to liberty A solemn international compact, and internal reform of Parliament were still required to render secure and indefeasible the settlement of '82. It is a matter of serious and grave regret, that Grattan did not take the same leading part in obtaining parliamentary reform, and relieving the legislature from internal influence, as in emancipating it from foreign control. He would have been a safe counsellor to the Volunteers; and, had it been found advisable and consistent with the spirit of the constitution to appeal to another assembly of armed delegates, it would have met under better auspices than the Dublin Convention of 1783—nor would it have terminated so ignominiously. But he was influenced by weaker counsels; and, admitting that no evil passion of any kind was busy with him, we are forced to believe that he allowed his manly judgment to be swayed by inferior and timid minds. Reform was plainly necessary to the completion of his own labors. The House of Commons did not represent the people, nor did its construction give any guarantee for the security of popular liberties. Such a body might be forced into great and extraordinary virtue, as it was in '82; under such unusual influences, with the Volunteers in arms throughout the whole country, and men like Grattan, Burgh, and Flood amongst them, they were unable to resist the tide that was flowing; but there was no principle of stability in them, they were irresponsible and corrupt. Reform was the obvious corollary of the Declaration of Right. Had the framers of the constitution of '82 united to consolidate and secure their own work, and ceased from the insane contentions by which they disgraced their success; had they given a popular character to the legislature which they freed from external control, and converted it into the veritable organ of the national will, by conferring extensive franchises on the people, by including the Catholics in their scheme, and putting an end to the system of close boroughs, it would have been impossible for any English minister, without a war, whose issue would have been doubtful, to destroy the legislative existence of the country by a union.

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And this they could have done. The Volunteers were still in force. One hundred thousand men were in arms, and had urgently pressed upon their leaders the insufficiency of their work: they had demanded reform in every provincial meeting* —at Belfast, on the 9th of June, 1783, a meeting of delegates from thirty-eight corps of Volunteers assembled after a review, and adopted the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That at an era so honorable to the spirit, wisdom, and loyalty of Ireland, A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION of the people in Parliament deserves the deliberate attention of every Irishman; as that alone which can perpetuate to future ages the inestimable possession of a free constitution. In this sentiment, we are happy to coincide with a late decision of the much-respected Volunteer army of the Province of Munster; as well as with the opinion of that consummate statesman, the late Earl of Chatham; by whom it was held a favorite measure for checking venality, promoting public virtue, and restoring the native spirit of the constitution."

Similar meetings were had, and similar resolutions adopted in every part of Ireland. If the spirit of the Volunteers had been wisely directed, and their exertions turned into the proper channel, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the constitution and liberties of Ireland would have been firmly secured on a basis that would have withstood the efforts of England. In the latter country, the question of Reform had met with the sanction of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. Reform associations had been formed, two of which, the "Yorkshire Association," and the "London Constitutional Knowledge Society," entered into correspondence with the Volunteers, applauded their spirit, and urged upon them the utility of holding a national convention of the delegates of the four provinces.

It was a suggestion quite consonant to their spirit and to their views, and they lost no time in acting upon it. In the month of July, 1783, delegates from several corps in Ulster summoned a general assembly of delegates from the entire province for the 8th of September. Five hundred representatives met in pursuance of this requisition at Dungannon.* Flood travelled from Dublin to attend, but was detained on the road by illness. The Earl of Bristol was present, and took an active part in the proceedings. He was the son of Lord Hervey, and made a considerable figure for a few years in the proceedings of the Volunteers. There is no man of whom more opposite opinions are given. Whilst some represent him as a man of elegant erudition and extensive learning, others paint him as possessing parts more brilliant than solid, as being generous but uncertain; splendid but fantastic; an amateur without judgment; and a critic without taste; engaging but licentious in conversation; polite but violent; in fact, possessing many of the qualities which the satirist attributes to another nobleman of his country, the fickle and profligate Villiers. There could be no greater contrasts in his character than in his conduct and position. He wore an English coronet and an Irish mitre; and some have thought that he was visionary enough to have assumed the port of the tribune only to obtain the power of a sovereign. He was indeed monarchical in his splendor —his retinue exceeded that of the most affluent nobleman—his equipages were magnificent—he delighted in the acclamations of the populace, and the military escort which surrounded his carriage.† He was a

* Towards the end of 1782, the Government set on foot a plan whose design was obvious enough—the embodying of Fencible regiments. The Volunteers took fire, and held meetings to oppose it in every quarter. Galway took the initiative, and was followed by Dublin and Belfast. The resolutions passed at the Tholsel in Galway, on the 1st of September, 1782, to the effect that the Volunteers were most interested in the defence of the country, and most adequate to the duty—that raising Fencible regiments without sanction of Parliament, was unconstitutional, nor justified by necessity, and might be dangerous to liberty—were adopted at several meetings. The Belfast company met, protested against the measure, and addressed Flood. The plan was not then carried into execution. It was a manifest attempt to terrify and overawe the Volunteers. They were too strong as yet to submit.

* Mr. Grattan says this meeting took place at a meeting-house of dissenters in Belfast. The statement in the text is on the authority of the Historical Collections relating to Belfast, p. 255, and Belfast Politics, p. 245. See also a pamphlet, History of the Convention, published in 1784.

† He was escorted to the Rotunda Convention by a troop of light dragoons, commanded by his nephew,

man who possessed princely qualities; he was costly, luxurious, munificent, and, in the strange antithesis of his position—bishop, earl, demagogue—was formed to attract the nation amongst which he had cast his lot. But his qualities were not dangerous; Government was more afraid of him than they needed to be; and he effected little in the history of his day, more than playing a splendid part in a transitory pageant.

The second Dungannon Convention elected for its president Mr. James Stewart, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry. He was the friend of Lord Charlemont. They passed a number of resolutions, but the most important was the following:—

"That a committee of five persons be appointed to represent Ulster in a grand national Convention, to be held at noon, in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 10th of November, then ensuing; to which, they hoped that each of the other provinces would send delegates to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear most likely to render it effectual; to adjourn from time to time, and to convene provincial meetings if found necessary."

Addresses were issued to the Volunteers of the three provinces, filled with the noblest sentiments in favor of liberty, and abundant in the impassioned if not inflated eloquence in which the spirit of the day delighted to be clothed. There was, however, an anomaly in their proceedings, and a striking and painful contrast between their abstract theories of liberty and their practical manifestation. A proposition in favor of the Catholics was rejected. Here was a body of men, not endowed with the powers of legislation, but acting as a suggestive assembly, dictating to legislation the way in which it should go, and declaring that freedom should be made more diffusive in its enjoyment; yet they are found, on grave deliberation, rejecting from their scheme the vast body of the nation, whom they professed to emancipate and raise. The practical absurdity was the rock on which they split. And it is said regretfully and without reproach, that the influence of this intolerant principle upon their counsels is attributabl to Lord Charlemont and Henry Flood These good men were the victims of a narrow religious antipathy, which prevented either of them from rendering permanent service to the cause of liberty.

George R. Fitzgerald.—*Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, c. 7.

The interval between the Dungannon meeting and the Dublin Convention was stormy; yet the first Parliament in the viceroyalty of Lord Northington opened with a vote of thanks to the Volunteers. This vote was the work of Government. It is most probable that it was a deprecatory measure, and intended to guard against any violence in the Convention. This was the only measure of conciliation during the session. Sir Edward Newenham introduced the question of retrenchment in the public expenses, principally with reference to reduction in the army. It was taken up warmly by Sir H. Cavendish and Henry Flood; and it certainly did appear as if this enmity to the regular army was a Volunteer sentiment, so strongly did the principal parliamentary friends of that distinguished body persevere in the pressing upon the legislature the question of retrenchment. Grattan was opposed to any reduction in the regular forces—he said that it was a matter of compact that they remain at a certain standard settled in 1782, and he is accordingly found an opponent on all occasions of every proposition of retrenchment. The question was unfortunate; it led to that degrading personal discussion which displayed the two greatest men in the country in the discreditable attitude of virulent and vulgar personal animosity. On Sir H. Cavendish's motion for reduction in the expenses of the kingdom, Flood eagerly and eloquently supported the proposition. But, wandering beyond the necessities of his argument, he indulged in some wanton reflections upon Grattan, and the result was an invective from the latter, so fierce, implacable, and merciless, that it leaves behind it at a great distance the finest specimens of recorded virulence. The estrangement of these illustrious men was complete. And the triumph of their passions was one, and not a very remote, cause of the downfall of their country. They could no longer unite to serve her; their

views, which had differed so widely before, thenceforward became principles of antagonism, to carry out which was a point of honor and an instinct of anger; and they whose combined wisdom would have rendered liberty secure, became unwittingly her most destructive enemies. The conservative policy of Grattan, and the progressive principles of Flood, in the acrimony of contest and the estrangement of parties, gave full opportunity to Government to perfect that scheme which ended in the Union.

We have now arrived at what may well be called the last scene of the great political and military drama in which the Volunteers played such a distinguished part. At a time of great and pressing public peril, they sprung to arms and saved their country. Having dispelled the fears of foreign invasion and secured the integrity of Ireland, they found within her own system a greater enemy. They found trade restricted and legislation powerless. They emancipated industry and commerce; and they restored a constitution. But with their achievements, their ambition increased, and concluding with reason that a constitution must be a nominal blessing, where the Parliament was not freely chosen by the people,* they resolved upon employing their powerful organization to procure a reform in Parliament. How far this was consistent with their original principle—how far they should have left to the Parliament itself the remodelling of its internal structure, and appealed to its wisdom in their civilian character, it is difficult to say. They had asserted at Dungannon—and the proposition had received the sanction of the legislature—that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not forfeit the right of discussing political affairs. Yet Grattan, in replying to Lord Clare's speech on the Union, seems to have insisted that armed men might make declarations in favor of liberty, but having recovered it, they should retire to cultivate the blessings of peace.* The Volunteers, however, did not imagine that liberty was secured until the Parliament was free. Nor is it easy to understand why, if their declarations were of value in 1782 to recover a constitution, they should not be of equal importance in 1783 to reform the legislature.

Previous to the first meeting of the Dublin Convention, provincial assemblies were held in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. They passed resolutions similar to those adopted at Dungannon—delegates were appointed—and the whole nation was prepared for the great Congress on which the fate of Ireland seemed to depend.

At length, amidst the hush of public expectation, the excited hopes of the nation, and the fears of Government, on Monday, the 10th of November, one hundred and sixty delegates of the Volunteers of Ireland met at the Royal Exchange. They elected Lord Charlemont, chairman, and John Talbot Ashenhurst and Captain Dawson, secretaries, and then adjourned to the Rotunda. Their progress was one of triumph. The city and county Volunteers lined the streets, and received the delegates, who marched two and two through their ranks, with drums beating and colors flying. Thousands of spectators watched with eyes of hopeful admiration the slow and solemn march of the armed representatives to their place of assembly; and the air was rent with the acclamations of the people. Vain noises—hapless enthusiasm! In a few weeks, the doors that opened to admit the delegates of one hundred thousand men, were closed upon them with inconsiderate haste; and the fate of the constitution they had restored was sealed amidst sullen gloom and angry discontent. But popular enthusiasm was not prophetic, or could only anticipate from a glorious pageantry a great result.

The largest room of the Rotunda was arranged for the reception of the delegates. Semicircular seats, in the manner of an amphitheatre, were ranged around the chair. The appearance of the house was brilliant: the orchestra was filled with ladies; and the excitement of the moment was intense and

* There were three hundred members: sixty-four were county members, and about the same number might be returned with great exertion by the people in the cities and towns. The remainder were the close borough members, the nominees of the aristocracy, and invariably the supporters of Government.

* Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, p. 98.

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general. Their first proceeding was to affirm the fundamental principle of Dungannon, that the right of political discussion was not lost by the assumption of arms; but the resolution was worded in that spirit of exclusion which was the bane and destruction of the Volunteers.

It was "*Resolved*, That the Protestant inhabitants of this country are required by the statute law to carry arms, and to learn the use of them," etc.

It seems difficult at this day to account for the narrow and perverse policy which prevailed in this Convention with regard to the Catholics. The delegates forming that body had it in their power to lay the foundations of the newly liberated nation deep in the hearts and interests of the whole people, and thus defy both the arts and arms of England to enslave a united Ireland. They perversely threw away this noble opportunity: their work of regenerating their country was but half done; English intrigue was soon busy on the large field thus left for its operation; and it cannot be thought wonderful if very many of the Catholics afterwards became reconciled to the fatal idea of a legislative union with England, as affording a better chance for their emancipation than living under the bitter and intolerant exclusiveness of the Irish Ascendency.

A very shameful incident occurred on one of the early days of this Convention meeting. It was known that there were some members of it who strongly urged some measure of relief to the Catholics, especially the restoration of their elective franchise; when Sir Boyle Roche, a member of Parliament, chiefly known by his good bulls and bad jokes, appeared on the floor, and obtained permission, though not a member of the Convention, to make an announcement with which he said he had been charged by Lord Kenmare, a Catholic nobleman: "That noble lord," said Sir Boyle Roche, "*and others of his creed*, disavowed any wish of being concerned in the business of elections, and fully sensible of the favors already bestowed upon them by Parliament felt but one desire, to enjoy them in peace, without seeking in the present distracted state of affairs to raise jealousies, and further embarrass the nation by asking for more."*

This was on the 14th of November. But the mean-spirited proceeding of Lord Kenmare excited much indignation amongst the Catholics then in Dublin. They did not indeed hope much from the Convention; but at least they would not permit his lordship to disavow in their name every manly aspiration. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the same day the princely demagogue, the Earl-Bishop of Derry, rose to submit to the consideration of the Convention "a paper of consequence which referred to a class of men who were deserving of every privilege in common with their fellow-countrymen." He moved that the paper should be read. It was to this effect: "Nov. 14th, 1783—At a meeting of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart., in the chair, it was unanimously *Resolved*, That the message relating to us delivered this morning to the National Convention was totally unknown to and unauthorized by us. That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind as, by our own act, to prevent the removal of our shackles. That we shall receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their generous efforts on our behalf. *Resolved*, That Sir P. Bellew be requested to present the foregoing resolutions to the Earl of Bristol as the act of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and entreat that his lordship will be pleased to communicate them to the National Convention." There were few more remarkable men in Ireland in that age of able men, than this singular Bishop of Derry. He was a steady friend to the Catholics, and supported every movement in their favor, when Charlemont and Flood coldly repulsed and resisted every suggestion of this kind. One cannot but wish that the bold bishop had been commander-in-chief of the Volunteers.

A newly elected Parliament had met a few days before this Convention; and Dublin then presented the extraordinary spectacle of two deliberative bodies, seated in two

* Mr. Plowden speaks of this as a "pretended letter of Lord Kenmare."

houses, within sight of each other, treating of the same questions, and composed in part of the same persons; for many members both of the Lords and Commons were also members of the Convention; and they passed from one building to the other, as debates of importance were to arise in either. The year which was drawing to a close had been a very busy and stirring one in Ireland. The British ministry was that famous "coalition ministry" formed by Lord North and Mr. Fox: the Irish Judicature bill, one of the series of measures for establishing the independence of Ireland, had been passed by the English Parliament.* Lord Temple had succeeded the Duke of Portland as lord-lieutenant; and in his viceroyalty, it was judged advisable to amuse the Irish with a bawble "to draw away the public mind," says Mr. Plowden "from speculative questions," especially re form: and accordingly letters patent wer issued creating the order of "Knights of St. Patrick;" and the new knights were installed with great pomp on the 17th of March, the festival of the saint. Lord Temple's government lasted but a few months: he was succeeded by Lord Northington who dissolved the Parliament; and a general election had now resulted in the House of Commons which was already in session in College Green, when the Convention of Volunteers, after first meeting in the Royal Exchange, transferred their meeting to the upper end of Sackville Street. The Convention and the Parliament stood in a very singular relation: the main object of the one was to reform and to purge the other. Certainly Parliament greatly needed to be reformed and purged; but when the medicine was offered at the sword's point, by a body clearly extra-legal and unconstitutional, it was not very likely that they would swallow it. The House of Commons was not only thoroughly vicious in its constitution, being composed chiefly of nominees of great proprietors, but also systematically corrupted by bribes, places, and promises; for it was now more essential to English policy than ever to "secure a parliamentary majority" upon all questions. Such a Parliament, of which two-thirds were already placemen, pensioners, or recipients of secret-service money, or else expected soon to be in one of those categories, could not long subsist by the side of a dictatorial Convention of armed men, which really represented the armed force of the nation, and which called upon it to come out from the slough of all that profitable corruption. One or the other, Parliament or Convention, it was plain would have to give way.

When the excitement which followed Lord Kenmare's singular disavowal of manhood had subsided, there was not much further reference to Catholics or their claims; the Convention resolved itself into committees, and appointed sub-committees, to prepare plans of parliamentary reform, for the consideration of the general body. "Then was displayed a singular scene, and

* It is the act 23 George III., c. 28, entitled, "An Act for preventing and removing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

Amongst the several acts which received the royal assent under the Duke of Portland's administration, was Mr. Eden's act for establishing the national bank. This met with some opposition, but the measure was carried, and the bank opened the year following. By this act (21 and 22 Geo. III., c. 16), the bank was established by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland. The subscribers to it were to pay in £600,000, either in cash or debentures, at 4 per cent. which were to be taken at par, and considered as money. This sum was to be the capital stock of the bank, and the debentures to that amount, when received, were to be cancelled by the vice-treasurers. For these an annuity of £24,000 was to be paid to the company, being equal to the interest payable upon these debentures; the stock was to be redeemable at any time, upon twelve months' notice, after the 1st of January, 1794. Ireland obtained likewise an important acquisition by a bill, "for better securing the liberty of the subject," otherwise called the *Habeas Corpus* act, similar to that formerly passed in England.

The sacramental test, by which the dissenting Protestants were excluded from offices of trust under the crown, was also repealed, and the nation was gratified by the repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill, and by that long-desired act for making the commission of the judges of that kingdom, to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. An act was also passed to render the manner of conforming from the Popish to the Protestant religion more easy and expeditious. Another for sparing to his majesty, to be drawn out of this kingdom whenever he should think fit, a force not exceeding 50,000 men. Part of the troops appointed to be kept therein for its defence.

yet such a scene as any one, who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter and from every speculatist, great clerks or no clerks at all, was poured in such a multiplicity of plans of reform, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but in general so utterly impracticable, 'so rugged and so wild in their attire, they looked not like the offspring of inhabitants of the earth and yet were on it,' that language would sink in portraying this motley band of incongruous fancies, of misshapen theories, valuable only if inefficient, or execrable if efficacious." *

But the plan which after some weeks of discussion was eventually adopted, was the workmanship of the ablest head in the assembly. Flood had assumed, because he was able to grasp and resolute to maintain, a predominating superiority over the Convention. It was the ascendency of a vigorous eloquence, a commanding presence, and a resistless will. With him in all his views, and beyond him in many, was the Bishop of Derry. The plan of reform which these two men approved† was adopted, and Flood was selected to introduce a bill founded on its principles and suggestions, into Parliament. They imagined that they could terrify the legislature, and they much miscalculated the power of the Volunteers. That power was already shaken; they had flung away the sympathies of the people; they had by their conduct defined themselves as an armed oligarchy, whose limited notions of freedom extended no farther than their own privileges and claims; they were abhorred and feared by Government and its parliamentary retainers; they were not trusted by the great body of the nation. It was under unfortunate auspices like these, in the midst of bitter hostility and more dangerous indifference, that Flood, leaving the Rotunda, proceeded on the 29th of December to the House of Commons with a bill, every provision of which was aimed at the parliamentary existence of two-thirds of the House. He had requested the delegates not to adjourn till its fate was ascertained. But fatigue and disappointment rendered compliance impossible.

Flood's plan embraced many of the principles which have since become incorporated with the British constitution—the destruction of borough influence, and the creation of a sound county franchise.* There was nothing revolutionary—nothing of that spirit to which modern usages give the name of radical, in its principles and details. It was only defective in its grand omission. The Catholics obtained no boon, and acquired no liberty by its provisions, and to its fate in the legislature they were naturally indifferent. We have objected to Grattan that he did not go on with the popular movement—it may with equal justice be alleged against Lord Charlemont and Flood, that by their religious intolerance they impaired the strength of popular opinion and marred the efficacy of all their previous proceedings.

The debate consequent on Flood's motion for leave to bring in his Reform Bill, was bitter and stormy. The whole array of placemen, pensioners, and nominees were in arms against the bill—they could not dis-

* Hardy's Life of Charlemont. Hardy was one of Lord Charlemont's coterie, and looked at men and things through the medium of Marino. His maiden speech was made in support of Flood's plan of reform, brought up from the Convention. It should not be forgotten that Hardy—though poor, he was incorruptible—scorned the large offers which were made to him at the Union. He was a patriot not to be purchased, when corruption was most munificent.

† The bishop would have included the Catholics.

* Scheme of Reform.—"That every Protestant freeholder or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years of forty-shillings value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote at the election of a member for the same.

"That decayed boroughs should be entitled to return representatives by an *extension* of franchise to the neighboring parishes. That suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff or his deputies, on the same day, at the respective places of election. That pensioners of the crown receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in Parliament. That every member of Parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat. That each member should subscribe an oath that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other consideration with a view of obtaining that suffrage of an election. Finally, that the duration of Parliament should not exceed the term of three years."

guise their rage and amazement—but vented their wrath against the Volunteers in furious terms. And Yelverton, who combined an unmeasured regard for self-interest with a cautious and measured love of liberty, and who had been a Volunteer, denounced the idea of a bill introduced into Parliament at the point of the bayonet.

"If this, as it is notorious it does, originates from an armed body of men, I reject it. Shall we sit here to be dictated to at the point of the bayonet? I honor the Volunteers; they have eminently served their country; but when they turn into a debating society, to reform the Parliament, and regulate the nation; when, with the rude point of the bayonet, they would probe the wounds of the constitution, that require the most skilful hand and delicate instrument; it reduces the question to this: Is the Convention or the Parliament of Ireland to deliberate on the affairs of the nation? What have we lately seen? even during the sitting of Parliament, and in the metropolis of the kingdom, armed men lining the streets for armed men going in fastidious show to that pantheon of divinities, the Rotunda; and there sitting in all the parade, and in the mockery of Parliament! Shall we submit to this?

"I ask every man who regards that free constitution established by the blood of our fathers, is such an infringement upon it to be suffered? If it is, and one step more is advanced, it will be too late to retreat. If you have slept, it is high time to awake!"

This was the logic of an attorney-general, who never deals a harder blow to liberty than when he professes himself her most obedient servant. But this transparent hypocrisy was rudely dealt with by Flood:

"I have not introduced the Volunteers, but if they are aspersed, I will defend their character against all the world. By whom were the commerce and the constitution of this country recovered?—By the Volunteers!

"Why did not the right honorable gentlemen make a declaration against them when they lined our streets—when *Parliament* passed through the ranks of those virtuous armed men to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the right honorable gentleman different? He was then one of their body; he is now their accuser! He who saw the streets lined—who rejoiced—who partook in their glory, is *now* their accuser! Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause, or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say, we have not changed, but *you* have changed. The right honorable gentleman cannot bear to hear of Volunteers; but I will ask him, and I will have a STARLING TAUGHT TO HOLLO IN HIS EAR—Who gave you the free trade? who got you the free constitution? who made you a *nation?—The Volunteers!**

"If they were the men you now describe them, why did you accept of their service, why did you not *then* accuse them? If they were so dangerous why did you pass through their ranks with your Speaker at your head to demand a constitution—why did you not *then* fear the ills you now apprehend?"

Grattan supported the bill. He said he loved to blend the idea of Parliament and the Volunteers. They had concurred in establishing the constitution in the last Parliament; he hoped that they would do it in the present. But altogether it must be said that his support was feeble—it wanted heart, it wanted the fire, the inspiration, the genius which carried the Declaration of Rights with triumph through that ineffably corrupt assembly. And yet reform was the only security for his own work—it would have rendered the constitution immortal, and erected an enduring memorial of his glory.†

* *Declaration of the Volunteer army* of Ulster, "That the dignified conduct of the *army* lately restored to the *imperial* crown of Ireland its original splendor—to nobility, its ancient privileges—and to the nation at large, its inherent rights as a sovereign independent state." Such was the assumed power of the Volunteers, in 1782. The Parliament was considered then almost anti-national.

† "It was proposed by Government to meet this question in the most decided manner, and to bring to issue the contest between the Government and this motley assembly usurping its rights. This idea met with very considerable support. A great heartiness showed itself among the principal men of consequence and fortune, and a decided spirit of opposition to the unreasonable encroachments appeared with every man attached to the Administration. The idea stated was to oppose the *leave* to bring in a bill for the reform of Parliament in the first stage

But if Grattan lacked his ancient fire, the opposition which was given by the vile brood of faction was not deficient in spirit; it was furious and fierce. The coarsest invectives and the vulgarest ribaldry were heaped upon the Volunteers—the question of Parliamentary Reform was lost sight of in the rancorous malignity of the hour, and the debate became a chaos of vituperation, misrepresentation, and personality. At length the question was put, and Flood's motion was lost. The numbers were, for the motion 77, against it 157. After the result had been ascertained, it was thought fit by the attorney-general (Yelverton) to move, "That it has now become indispensably necessary to declare that the House will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever." This was a declaration of war, less against Reform, than against the Volunteers. The gauntlet was thrown down to them—did they dare to take it up?

For awhile the Convention awaited a message from the Commons—but no message of triumph came to crown their hopes. The scene was embarrassing—lassitude had succeeded excitement—silence crept slowly on the noisy anticipations of victory. At last, adjournment was suggested—the dramatic effect was lost, the dramatic spirit had passed away. The Convention broke up, to await, without the theatric pomp of full assembly, the details of discomfiture, insult, and defeat.

on the ground of the petition originating in an assembly unconstitutional and illegal, and meant to awe and control the legislature. This bold mode of treating it was certainly most proper; at the same time it was subject to the defections of those who had been instructed on this idea of reform, and those who were still anxious to retain a small degree of popularity amongst the Volunteers. To have put it with a resolution would have given us at least fourteen votes. Grattan, having pledged himself to the idea of reform of Parliament, could not see the distinction between the refusal of leave on the ground of its having come from an exceptionable body, and the absolute denial of receiving any plan of reform. He voted against us, and spoke; *but his speech evidently showed that he meant us no harm*, and on the question of the resolution to support Parliament he voted with us. The resolutions are gone to the Lords, who will concur in them, except, it is said, Lord Mountmorris, Lord Aldborough, and Lord Charlemont."—Letter of the Lord-Lieutenant to Charles James Fox, 30th Nov., 1783.

The interval was well used by those who secretly trembled at the issue of a direct collision between Government and the Volunteers, or who had not the boldness to guide the storm which they had had the temerity to raise. Rumors there were of secret conclaves where cowardly counsels took the place of manly foresight and sagacious boldness—of discussions with closed doors, where the men who had led the national army in the whole campaign of freedom, canvassed the propriety of sacrificing to their own fears, that body, whose virtue and renown had conferred on them a reflected glory;* whilst some writers have represented the adjournment of the Convention, and the extinction of the Volunteers, or as it was called by Grattan, "their retirement to cultivate the blessings of peace," as the just and natural issue to their useful and brilliant career.† As well might it be said that the Union was the just and natural result of the constitution of 1782. And they who abandoned the Volunteers, and allowed their organization to crumble and decline, are answerable to their country for the consequences of that fatal measure of political tergiversation. A large meeting of "particular friends" assembled at Lord Charlemont's on the Sunday.‡ It was unanimously agreed that the public peace—which did not appear in any particular danger at the time—was the first object to be considered. It is to be regretted that Hardy is not more explicit on the subject of this meeting. It would have been fortunate had he informed us who were the parties concerned in this transaction; for it might have furnished a key to the subsequent conduct of many men, whose proceedings were considered inexplicable at the time. The result of their deliberations was important. The Volunteers were to receive their rebuff quietly; they were to separate in peace and good will to all men; meekly to digest the contumelies of the Government retainers; and following the advice of some of their officers, to hang up their arms in the Tem-

* Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, c. 19, p. 377.

† Grattan's Life by Henry Grattan, c. 5.

‡ Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. ii., p. 138.

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ple of Liberty. The advice was good, if the temple had been built.

On Monday the 1st of December, the Convention met. Captain Moore, one of the delegates, was about to comment on the reception of their Reform Bill by Parliament, when Lord Charlemont called him to order. Upon which, in a very dignified way, Henry Flood detailed the insulting reception of their bill by the legislature; and well aware of the temper of some of the most influential men in the Convention, he counselled moderation. But what other policy than submission was on their cards? They had put themselves in antagonism to Parliament—they had been treated with contempt and defiance—their plan had not been even discussed, but contumeliously rejected because it was the suggestion of men with arms in their hands—*arms which they dared not use.* There were only two courses open—war or submission. They adopted the latter course, not without some rebellious pride, and a flash of the old spirit that had burned so brightly at Dungannon.

Looking back over these events, one cannot resist the conclusion that if the Convention had generously and at once thrown open the door of the Constitution to the Catholics, Lord Charlemont might at this juncture have marched down to that den of corruption in College Green, cleared it out, locked the door, and thereafter dictated his Reform Bill by way of general orders: but Charlemont was not the man to strike such a blow; and besides, he and the Convention had alienated, or, at least, left in a state of indifference, the great body of the nation which would else have borne them triumphantly to the goal of perfect and permanent freedom.

The Convention adjourned, to meet next day. Mr. Flood moved a tame address to the House, declaring that seeking parliamentary reform "was not to be imputed to any spirit of innovation in them." They adjourned again; but next morning Lord Charlemont repaired somewhat earlier than usual to the Rotunda, with several of his friends, and, after some formal resolutions, pronounced the Convention dissolved. "From this time," says Dr. Madden, "the power of the Volunteers was broken. The Government resolved to let the institution die a natural death; at least, to aim no blow at it in public: but when it is known that the Hon. Col. Robert Stewart (father of Lord Castlereagh) was not only a member of the Convention—a delegate from the County Down—but chairman of a sub-committee, and that he was the intimate friend of Lord Charlemont, the nature of the hostility that Government put in practice against the institution will be easily understood. While the Volunteers were parading before Lord Charlemont, or manifesting their patriotism in declarations of resistance to the Parliament, perfidy was stalking in their camp, and it rested not till it had trampled on the ashes of their institution.

The Volunteers through the country received the accounts of their delegates with indignant amazement. They beat to arms—they met—and resolved. But the binding principle was relaxed; doubt, suspicion, and alarm pervaded the ranks that had been so firmly knit; their resolutions, though still warmed with the spirit of fiery eloquence, were but sounding words, unheeded by a government which had planted too securely the seeds of disunion, to fear the threats of men without leaders, without mutual confidence, without reliance on themselves. The Bishop of Derry became their idol; but it was beyond his power to restore them to their commanding position. Flood had gone to England, either fired with new ambition, or in despair of effecting his great objects at home. The bishop was a bad adviser, too bold and unguarded, and the Government amazed at an extraordinary reply which he gave to an address of the Bill of Rights' Battalion, a northern corps, seriously canvassed the propriety of his arrest. His reply concluded with a memorable political aphorism, "Tyranny is not government, and allegiance is due only to protection." But he was not prosecuted, nor arrested. It would have been a rash, it was a useless step. The natural progress of events effected what a measure of severity would probably have retarded, or rendered impossible—the destruction of the Volunteers. Division of opinion gained ground amongst them, yet they continued their reviews, they published their proceedings,

they passed their resolutions. But, month by month, and year by year, their numbers diminished, their military gatherings became less splendid, their exposition of political opinion was less regarded by the nation, or feared by the Government.

The Reform bill presented by the Convention having failed, Flood, after his return from England, determined to test the sincerity of the Parliament in the alleged cause of its rejection. The legislature declared that they had spurned the bill because it emanated from a military body. In March, 1784, he introduced another measure of parliamentary reform, backed by numerous petitions from the counties. The bill was read a second time, but was rejected on the motion for its committal, by a majority of seventy-four. Grattan gave a cold support. It became now clear, that the opposition was given to reform, not because it was the demand of a military body, but because the principle was odious to a corrupt Parliament. A meeting of the representatives of thirty-one corps took place at Belfast, to make preparations for a review, and they adopted a resolution that they would not associate with any regiment at the ensuing demonstration, which should continue under the command of officers who opposed parliamentary reform.* However natural was their indignation at the coolness of some, and the hostility of other professing Patriots to the great measure of constitutional change, the effect of this resolution was unfortunate. It yielded a plausible excuse to many of the officers to secede from the Volunteer body—it worked out wonderfully the policy of division which Government was in every way pursuing—it defined the distinctions which existed in the Volunteer associations, and widened the fatal breach.

We may here anticipate a little in order to close the story of the Volunteers. The rejection of the Reform bill was followed by an attempt to get up a national congress by Flood, Napper Tandy, and others. They addressed requisitions to the sheriffs of the counties, calling on them to summon their bailiwicks for the purpose of electing representatives. Some few complied with the requisition—most of them refused. The attorney-general (Fitzgibbon) threatened to proceed by attachment against those who had obeyed the mandate, and by a mixture of personal daring and ability, succeeded in preventing Mr. Reilly, the sheriff of Dublin, from taking the chair of an intended electoral meeting. Delegates were, however, selected in some quarters. and in October, a few individuals assembled in William Street, to hold the congress. The debate was with closed doors; the Bishop of Derry was not present; Flood attended, and detailed his plan of reform, in which the Catholics were not included. The omission gave offence to the Congress, and Flood, indignant at the want of support, retired. After three days' sitting, the Congress adjourned. It vanished as if it were the melancholy ghost of the National Convention.

These proceedings were alluded to in the speech which opened the session, January, 1785. They were characterized as "lawless outrages, and unconstitutional proceedings." The address in reply applied the same terms to the transactions in connection with the National Congress; and this drew from Grattan a memorable speech, and one which with reference to the Volunteers is historic. It marks the transition point when the old Volunteers ceased, and a new body composed of a different class of men, and ruled by politicians with very different views, commenced a career which terminated only in the establishment of the United Irishmen. Grattan, in the debate on the address, after defending the reform party and principles generally, from the attacks contained in the viceroy's speech, said,* "I would now wish to draw the attention of the House to the alarming measure of drilling the lowest classes of the populace, by which a stain had been put on the character of the Volunteers. The old, the original Volunteers had become respectable, because they represented the property of the nation; but attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the kingdom. They had originally been the armed property—were they to become *the armed beggary?*" To the Congress—to the parties who had presented petitions for re-

Historical Collections relative to Belfast, p. 200.

* Grattan's Speeches, vol. i., p. 212.

form he addressed indignant reproof. They had, he said, been guilty of the wildest indiscretion; they had gone much too far, and, if they went on, they would overturn the laws of their country.

It was an unfortunate period for the interests of Irish liberty, which Grattan selected, thus to dissever the ties between the Volunteers and him. They had begun to perceive that without the co-operation of the Catholics, it would be unreasonable to expect to obtain a reformed Parliament, independent of England. The men of the Ulster Plantation were the first to recognize and act upon this obvious truth. They carried their toleration so far as to march to the chapel, and to attend mass. Had proper advantage been taken of these dispositions of the people, the result would have been the acquisition of a measure of parliamentary reform, which would have insured the stability of the settlement of 1782. But they were left without guides, when most a ruling mind was required; nor is it surprising that ulterior views began to influence the ardent temperament, and to excite the angry passions of a disappointed people. But these considerations belong to the history of a later period, when the Volunteers had merged into that great and wonderful confederacy, which, within a few years, threatened the stability of the English dominion in Ireland.

The regular army had been increased to fifteen thousand men, with the approbation of the most distinguished founders of the constitution of 1782—the next act of hostility was one in which Gardiner, who had been an active officer in the Volunteers, took the leading part. On the 14th of February, 1785, he moved that £20,000 be granted to his majesty for the purpose of clothing the militia. This was intended to be a fatal blow. It was aimed by a treacherous hand. The motion was supported by Langrishe, Denis Daly, Arthur Wolfe, and Grattan. Fitzgibbon assailed the Volunteers with official bitterness. He reiterated the charges of Grattan, that they had admitted into their ranks a low description of men—their constitution was changed—they had degenerated into practices inimical to the peace of the country. They were, however, not left undefended. Curran, Hardy, and Newenham stepped forward to their vindication. These men pointed out the benefits of the institution—the Volunteers in time of war had protected the country, and preserved internal quiet—no militia was then needed—why was it required in peace? The proposition was a censure on the Volunteers.

Grattan replied:—"the Volunteers had no right whatsoever to be displeased at the establishment of a militia; and if they had expressed displeasure, the dictate of armed men ought to be disregarded by Parliament.

"The right honorable member had introduced the resolution upon the most constitutional ground. To establish a militia—he could not see how that affected the Volunteers; and it would be a hard case, indeed, if members of Parliament should be afraid to urge such measures as they deemed proper, for fear of giving offence to the Volunteers. The situation of the House would be truly unfortunate if the name of the Volunteers could intimidate it. I am ready to allow that the great and honorable body of men—the primitive Volunteers, deserved much of their country; but I am free to say, that they who now assume the name have much degenerated. It is said that they rescued the constitution, that they forced Parliament to assert its rights, and therefore Parliament should surrender the constitution into their hands. But it is a mistake to say they forced Parliament: they stood at the back of Parliament, and supported its authority; and when they thus acted with Parliament, they acted to their own glory; but when they attempted to dictate, they became nothing. When Parliament repelled the mandate of the Convention, they went back, and they acted with propriety; and it will ever happen so when Parliament has spirit to assert its own authority.

"Gentlemen are mistaken if they imagine that the Volunteers are the same as they formerly were, when they committed themselves in support of the state, and the exclusive authority of the Parliament of Ireland, at the Dungannon meeting. The resolutions published of late hold forth a very different language.

"Gentlemen talk of ingratitude. I can

not see how voting a militia for the defence of the country is ingratitude to the Volunteers. The House has been very far from ungrateful to them. While they acted with Parliament, Parliament thanked and applauded them; but in attempting to act against Parliament, they lost their consequence. Ungrateful! Where is the instance? It cannot be meant, that because the House rejected the mandate which vile incendiaries had urged the Convention to issue; because, when such a wound was threatened to the constitution, the House declared that it was necessary to maintain the authority of Parliament, that therefore the House was ungrateful!"

The Volunteers lingered some years after this. They held annual reviews—they passed addresses and resolutions—but, henceforward, their proceedings were without effect. The details of their decay do not belong to the history of the Volunteers of 1782. That body practically expired with the Convention of Dublin. Their old leaders fell away—the men of wealth abandoned them, and new men—men, not without generous qualities and high ambition, but with perilous and revolutionary views—succeeded to the control. And when, at length, the Volunteers having come into direct collision with the regular army, and wisely declined the contest, the Government issued its mandate, that every assemblage of the body should be dispersed by force, even the phantom of the army of Ireland had passed away from the scene forever.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1784—1786.

Improvement of the country—Political position anomalous—Rutland, viceroy—Petitions for Parliamentary Reform—Flood's motion—Rejected—Grattan's bill to regulate the revenue—Protective duties demanded—National Congress—Dissensions as to rights of Catholics—Charlemont's intolerance—Orde's Commercial Propositions—New propositions of Mr. Pitt—Burke and Sheridan—Commercial propositions defeated—Mr. Conolly—The national debt—General corruption—Court majorities—Patriots defeated—Ireland after five years of independence.

IRELAND was now in many respects an independent nation. Enjoying for the first time in her history an unrestricted trade, a sovereign judiciary, the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and a Parliament acknowledged to be the sovereign legislature free from the dictation of an English privy council, the country did certainly begin almost immediately to make a rapid advance in material prosperity. Many absentees returned and spent their incomes at home: the revival of other branches of industry retrieved in some degree the unwholesome competition for farms, which had left the unfortunate and friendless peasantry at the absolute mercy of their landlords. Besides all this, the very proud feeling of national independence seems to have kindled a sort of vital energy throughout the farthest extremities of the land. On the whole, although there was still much distress among the poor, and appeals to Parliament for their relief, there was soon visible a dawn of prosperity in Ireland.

Yet the political situation was evidently anomalous and insecure. Ireland had not like England a responsible body of cabinet-ministers accountable to her own Parliament The lord-lieutenant and Irish secretary ruled as before; and although they were appointed, it was said, by the King of Ireland, they really held their offices and received their instructions from the ministers of England; and their whole care was expected to be, and was, in fact, to maintain by every possible means the paramount ascendency of that more powerful kingdom. This could only be accomplished by the creation of more and more places, the still greater extension of the pension list, and more direct and shameless bribery. In short we shall soon see that organized corruption developed itself during the era of "independence" with more deadly power than ever before, until it swelled at last to that deluge of corruption, that perfect paroxysm of plunder, which bore down everything before it at the era of the "Union."

Lord Northington, on a change of ministry in England, resigned his viceroyalty on the 7th of January, 1784; and on the 24th of February was succeeded by the Duke of

* A few country corps had fixed upon holding a review at Doah, in the county of Antrim. The army marched to the spot to disperse them; but the Volunteers avoided assembling, and thus gave up the ghost.—*Dr. MacNevin's Pieces of Irish History*, p. 58.

Rutland. Just before this change, the revenue of Ireland being again, as usual, inadequate to the expenditure, £300,000 was ordered to be borrowed to meet the deficiency.

On the 26th of February, Parliament met. Mr. Gardiner moved the address to the Duke of Rutland; and then there came pouring into the House thirteen petitions for a "Reform in Parliament." It was on this measure the people's minds were now chiefly bent. They were irritated and disappointed at the manner in which the House of Commons had flung out the Reform bill introduced by Mr. Flood in the name of the Volunteer Convention. They began to perceive that with a Parliament so constituted Ireland could not really be said to control her own destinies: and they did not yet sufficiently comprehend that for this precise reason England would always steadily oppose all reform—and would be able to oppose it with success because the very corruption of Parliament which was an injury and scandal to Ireland was the great arm and agent of British domination here.

It was now on the 13th of March, that Mr. Flood made his renewed motion for a parliamentary reform; not now as a member of the dictatorial Volunteer Convention, but as an individual member. A few sentences of his speech may be given to show the notoriety of the rotten borough system; and how audaciously it was defended as a right of property. He admitted, it would be thought by certain gentlemen injurious to their private interest, if the constitution were restored to its original security; but they must also admit, that it was contrary to every principle of right and justice, that individuals should be permitted to send into that house, two, four, or six members of Parliament, to make a traffic of venal boroughs, as if they were household utensils. It seemed a point agreed upon in England, that a parliamentary reform was necessary; he should mention, he said, the opinion given by Lord Chatham, upon whose posthumous fame the present administration so firmly stood defended by the nation, though that great and illustrious man had been neglected for ten years by the public, and so large a portion of his valuable life was suffered to be lost to the community. What were his sentiments on that important matter? His words most strongly enforced its necessity; in his answer to the address of the city of London, in which he said, that a reform in Parliament was absolutely necessary, in order to infuse fresh vigor into the constitution, and that rotten boroughs ought to be stricken off.

This measure, opening the franchise to Protestant freeholders, was by several members opposed as being oppressive to the Catholics. Sir Boyle Roche, the very man who had but lately hurried to the Convention to carry Lord Kenmare's slavish self-denying message, refusing all electoral rights for the Catholics—this Sir Boyle, only anxious to defeat the reform by any means, used this argument against it:—

Sir Boyle Roche said, the design of the bill was to transfer the franchise of election from the few to the many; or, in other words, to deprive the present possessors of the patronage of boroughs, and give it to another set of men; while they were endeavoring to gratify one set of men, they should not act as tyrants to another. This bill would be a proscriptive act against the Roman Catholics, who would be all turned out of their farms to make room for forty-shilling freeholders. There was an animated debate; but its issue could not be one moment doubtful at the Castle. At four o'clock on Sunday morning the division took place: ayes, 85; noes, 159. It was clear that the Government had still its steady working majority in that corrupt assembly, on all questions which were not left open questions, and that there was no measure so little likely to be left an open question as parliamentary reform.

Two other subjects of great national importance were brought before Parliament in this session; a bill for regulation of the revenue by Mr. Grattan, and a bill to lay protective duties on the importation of manufactured goods. This latter measure seems to have been greatly needed; and the anxiety of the public for its success is a still further proof of the real meaning which in the Volunteering times was attached to the cry "Free trade, or else ——," that is to

say, freedom for the legislature of Ireland to regulate, protect, tax, admit, or prohibit all branches of Irish trade for Ireland's own benefit.

In view of the continual rejection of all projects of reform, it is no wonder that men's minds turned away from Parliament; and that plans of a revolutionary character began to be agitated. Such was the idea of a National Congress. The sheriffs of Dublin were requested to convene a preparatory meeting: they did so, for the 7th of June, 1784: but as this project eventuated in nothing important, we might omit all mention of it, were it not that the resolutions at this meeting, while denouncing the venality of Parliament introduced into their resolutions and their addresses to the king very strong expressions of their desire to emancipate the Catholics. In the resolutions we read: "We call upon you therefore, and thus conjure you, that in this important work you join with us as fellow-subjects, countrymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cause, to remove a general calamity; and for this we propose, that five persons be elected from each county, city, and great town in this kingdom, to meet in National Congress at some convenient place in this city, on Monday, the 25th day of October next, there to deliberate, digest, and determine on such measures, as may seem to them most conducive to re-establish the constitution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure to the inhabitants of this kingdom, peace, liberty, and safety.

"And while we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our constitutional rights and privileges, we recommend to your consideration the state of our suffering fellow-subjects, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, whose emancipation from the restraints, under which they still labor, we consider not only as equitable, but essentially conductive to the general union and prosperity of the kingdom."

And in the address to the king, they say: 'We farther entreat your majesty's permission to condemn that remnant of the penal code of laws, which still oppresses our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; laws which tend to prohibit education and liberality, restrain certain privileges, and proscribe industry, love of liberty, and patriotism."

The very introduction of these liberal and tolerant ideas into the preliminary proceedings frightened off the leading men of the old Volunteers.

In an address presented by the Ulster corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after some strong expressions of their detestation of aristocratic tyranny, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the Catholics, as the most just as well as effectual means of opposing it with success. In answer to this address, the Earl of Charlemont, lamented that, for the first time, he felt himself obliged to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice against the Catholics, and full of goodwill towards that very respectable body, but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties, that they would desist from a pursuit, that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favorite purpose.

As this nobleman was highly and deservedly respected, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whose apprehensions were alarmed at the bold extent of the project, and by a great number whose prejudices against the Catholics appear to have been suspended from conveniency or fashion though never conquered by principle. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin were voted him for his conduct on that occasion.

The meeting of a National Congress was a measure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the most serious attention of Government; and it appears to have been their resolution to take the most vigorous steps for preventing it if possible. A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney-general addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his very great surprise at having read a summons signed by them calling a meeting for the purpose in question. He observed, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be responsible to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself

bounden to prosecute them in the Court of King's Bench, for a conduct, which he considered so highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. These threats succeeded so far as to intimidate the sheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheless holden, delegates were chosen; and in reference for the attorney's letter, several strong resolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of assembling themselves for the redress of grievances. Government having once set their faces against the election and assembling of delegates, from denouncing threats, they proceeded to punishments.

Mr. Riley, high sheriff for the county of Dublin, in consequence of his having called together, and presided at an assembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of August, 1784, for the purpose of choosing and instructing their delegates, was the first object of ministerial prosecution. The attorney-general proceeded against him by attachment from the Court of King's Bench. The assembly, and the resolutions they came to on that occasion, signed by Mr. Riley, in his character of sheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Riley was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks (£3 6s. 8d.), and to be imprisoned one week.

This mode of legal process, except for the purpose of bringing persons before the court, to receive the sentence of such court for contempt of, and disobedience to its orders and directions, has so seldom been resorted to, that even the legality of the process itself, on any other ground, had remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the present case it met with much less opposition than might have been expected. Clamors without doors, and debates within, on the subject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promise any success. The new division of the Volunteers into parties, took off the general attention to this attack upon the use of juries, which, in any other moment, would not have been so tamely tolerated. Of such import is it, when overstrong measures are to be attempted, to prepare the public for the reception of them by internal disunion or alarm. Government did not confine their prosecutions to Mr. Riley. Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which so effectually answered the end, for which they designed it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted against the different magistrates, who called the meetings, and signed the respective resolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim. At the same time, the press too came under the lash of the attorney general: and the printers and publishers of such newspapers, as had inserted the obnoxious resolutions, suffered with the magistrates, who had signed them.

Notwithstanding these violent measures which administration were pursuing, the National Congress met, pursuant to its appointment, on the 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of number, and several of its most respectable members chose to absent themselves, they adjourned, after having passed a number of resolutions to the same purport with those that had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted in the most earnest manner the communities, which had not sent representatives: "if they respected their own consistency, if they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, not to let pass that opportunity of effecting the great and necessary confirmation of the constitution."

The divisions of the Volunteers were encouraged by Government; and for that purpose discord and turbulence were rather countenanced than checked in many counties, particularly upon the delicate and important expedient of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchise, a question, which it was artfully attempted to connect with the now declining cause of parliamentary reform. Through a long series of years Government had never wanted force to quell internal commotions; and it seemed to be now dreaded lest a union of Irishmen, should extinguish the old means of creating dissension. The desire of disuniting the Volunteers begat inattention to the grievances of the discontented and distressed peasantry of the south: that wretched people once more assumed the style of *White-*

boys: and for some time committed their depredations with impunity, particularly against Kilkenny; until a stop was put to them by the vigorous efforts of the Rev. Dr. Troy, then the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, and the clergy of his diocese; for which successful exertions he received the most satisfactory acknowledgments from Government.

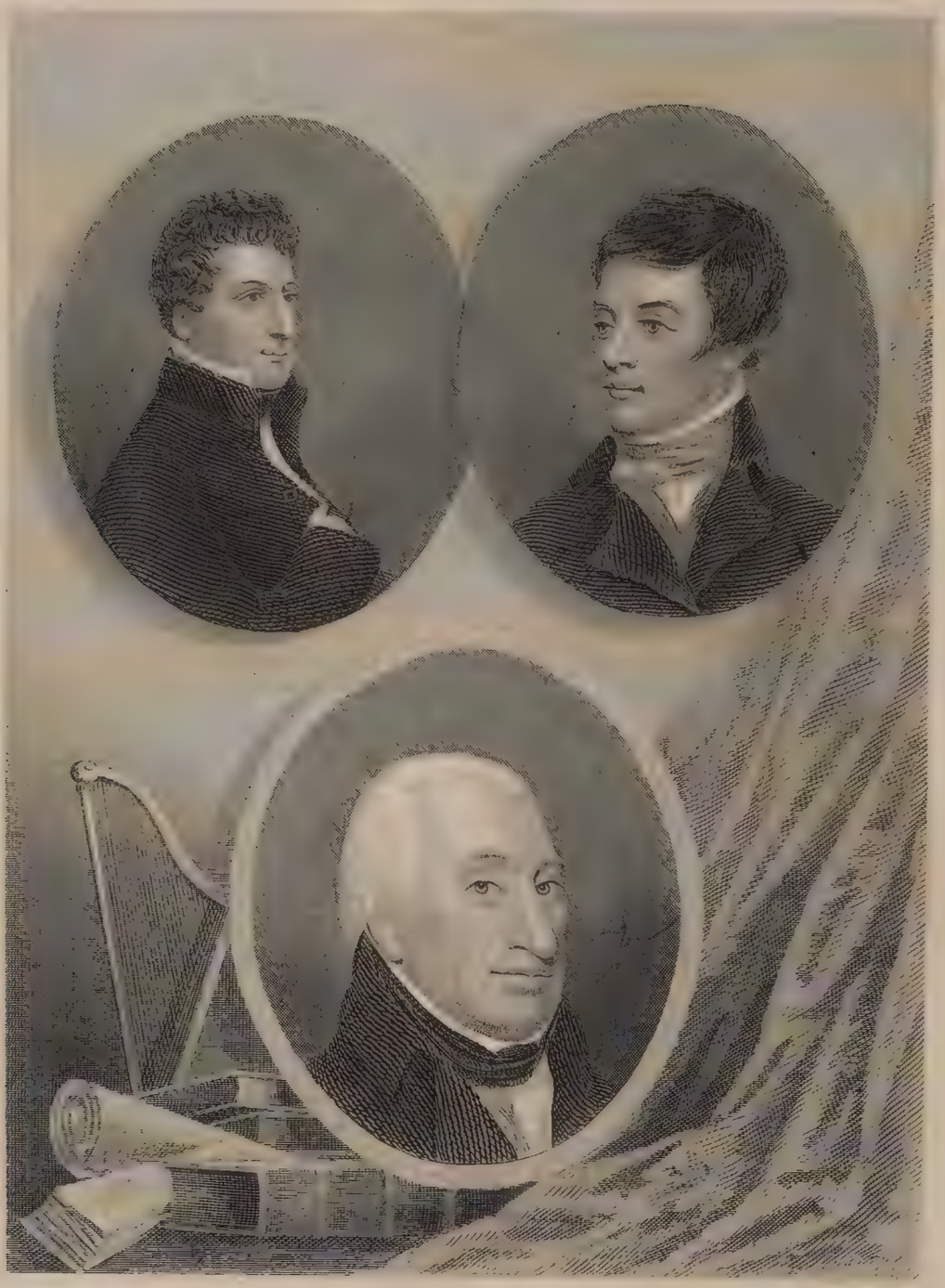
As the unanimity of the Volunteers diminished, their spirit and exertions abated: something, however, was to be attempted before the meeting of the Parliament. On the 2d of January, 1785, the second meeting of the delegates was had at Dublin, at which were present the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to more than 200 persons. Their proceedings appear to have been of the same nature as those before adopted, with this only difference, that in the proposed application to the House of Commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most general terms, and to leave the mode of redress as free and open as possible to the consideration of Parliament.

The British Parliament sat to the 25th of August, 1784, and met again on the 25th of January, 1785: and from his majesty's speech it appears, that "their first concern was the settlement of all differences with Ireland. Amongst the objects which now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to your earnest attention the adjustments of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet finally arranged: the system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am persuaded, best insure the general prosperity of my dominions."

The Parliament of Ireland met on the 20th of January, 1785, when the lord-lieutenant, addressed them in a speech recommending to their attention the regulation of the trade and commerce between the two islands. This was the prelude to Mr. Orde's famous "Commercial Propositions" for a treaty of commerce between England and Ireland. This was a favorite measure of Mr. Pitt's, and he had set his heart upon it. The terms of the proposed commercial settlement had been previously negotiated between Mr. Orde, Secretary for Ireland, and certain Irish commissioners for that purpose: and on the 7th of February Mr. Orde laid the project before the House of Commons in the form of eleven resolutions. In this original form the Commercial Propositions were not very open to objection: for, although most favorable on the whole to England, they looked fair and just. The only one which sounded alarming was the eleventh and last, which was in these words: "11th. *Resolved*, That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks,) shall produce, over and above the sum of £656,000 in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expenses, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the Parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

This excited some opposition in the House, Mr. Brownlow indignantly exclaiming against the idea of their becoming *a tributary nation.* Mr. Grattan supported the resolutions; and after some debate they were all agreed to by both Houses. On the 22d of the same month the eleven Resolutions, as transmitted from Ireland, were read in a Committee of the British House of Commons; and Mr. Pitt spoke most earnestly in favor of their passage, and of a definitive treaty or law founded upon them. There was some opposition and delay. The commercial public of England took the alarm: petitions poured in, the first of them from Liverpool: Lancashire sent a petition signed by eighty thousand persons: sixty-four petitions in all were presented, all against the measure, which was represented as a concession to Irish commerce, therefore ruinous to England. At length, on the 12th of May, 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in consequence or under pretext of the new light thrown on the subject by the examinations, petitions and reports, a new series of resolutions, twenty in number. The princi-

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.



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pal additions to the new scheme were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British Parliament should thereafter think fit to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. 2dly, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West India merchandises than such as were the produce of our own colonies; and 3dly, That Ireland should debar itself from trading with any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

In short this new scheme of Mr. Pitt was plainly intended as a mode of repealing and annulling the free trade of the Volunteers. The Volunteers were by this time disunited, disbanded, and disorganized, and the cannon of Napper Tandy had gone back to the foundry. The new series of resolutions gave occasion to eager debates in the British House of Commons. It is with regret that one finds Mr. Burke not only supporting the propositions but supporting them on the express ground that they went to re-establish the supremacy of England over Ireland. He said: "To consult the interests of England and Ireland, to unite and consolidate them into one, was a task he would undertake, as that by which he could best discharge the duties he owed to both. To Ireland, independence of legislature had been given; she was now a co-ordinate, though less powerful state; but pre-eminence and dignity were due to England; it was she alone that must bear the weight and burden of the empire; she alone must pour out the ocean of wealth necessary for the defence of it: Ireland, and other parts, might empty their little urns to swell the tide: they might wield their little puny tridents; but the great trident that was to move the world, must be grasped by England alone, and dearly it cost her to hold it. Independence of legislature had been granted to Ireland; but no other independence could Great Britain give her, without reversing the order and decree of nature: Ireland could not be separated from England; she could not exist without her; she must ever remain under the protection of England, *her guardian angel.*"

There was another Irishman in the English House of Commons, who did not see the matter altogether in this light. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, speaking of Mr. Orde, the English Secretary for Ireland, with his insidious propositions, said:—"Ireland newly escaped from harsh trammels and severe discipline, was treated like a high-mettled horse, hard to catch; and the Irish Secretary was sent back to the field to soothe and coax him, with a sieve of provender in the one hand and a bridle in the other." When the propositions, as altered, had passed the Commons, and were brought into the House of Lords, it was curious to see the question treated, not as a matter of commerce, but as a project for a future *union;* which in fact it was. Lord Lansdowne treated "the idea of a union as a thing impracticable. High-minded and jealous as were the people of Ireland, we must first learn whether they will consent to give up their distinct empire, their Parliament, and all the honors which belong to them." After debate, however, the resolutions passed the Lords by a great majority. Mr. Pitt then brought in a bill, founded upon them, which was carried, and was followed up by an address to his majesty, voted by both Houses of Parliament, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the Parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon. On the 12th of August Mr. Secretary Orde moved the House for leave to bring in a bill, which was a mere transcript of that moved by the English minister. The debates on this occasion, and more especially on the side of opposition, were long and animated. After a vehement debate, which lasted eighteen hours, the House divided at nine in the morning, upon the motion of Mr. Orde to bring in the bill. Ayes, 127; noes, 108. Such a division, upon a preliminary stage, was equivalent to a defeat; and on the Monday following (15th of August) Mr. Orde moved the first reading of the bill, and that it should be printed, declaring at the same time that he did not intend to make any further progress in the business during the present session. He had completed his duty respecting that measure.

In short, the bill was adjourned, and finally lost. On the same 15th of August Mr. Flood moved a resolution:—"*Resolved*, That we hold ourselves bound not to enter into engagement to give up the sole and exclusive right of the Parliament of Ireland, in all cases whatsoever, as well externally as commercially and internally." The bill was withdrawn: Mr. Flood withdrew his motion; and from that hour Mr. Pitt determined to lay his plans for the final extinguishment of Irish nationality and its total absorption into that of Great Britain; in other words, for the "Union."

When the Duke of Rutland again met the Parliament in January, 1785, his speech intimated that there was a strong desire on the part of Government to revive the question of the Commercial Propositions: but there now began to be a considerable organized opposition to the Castle—an opposition which had afterwards to be "broken down" by the usual and well-understood methods.

Mr. Conolly and some other gentlemen of great landed property in the country, who had been much in the habit of supporting Government, now appeared to have taken a decided part in the opposition to the Duke of Rutland's administration. On the same day the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Parnell) stated that the debt of the nation was £3,044,167; on which Mr. Conolly observed, that the expenses of Government every year increased: that the minister came regularly to that House to complain of the deficiency in the revenue, and demanded a loan, which was granted on his promise of future economy: at last the revenue was raised by new taxes to equal the expense, and still the expense had increased; he (as also Mr. Grattan) insisted upon the necessity of making a stand against the growth of expense, or else their constitution and commerce were at an end. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, Mr. Conolly moved the following resolutions: 1st, That the House did in the last session grant certain new taxes, estimated at £140,000 *per annum*, for the purpose of putting an end to the accumulation of debt. 2d, That should the said taxes be continued it was absolutely necessary that the expenses of the nation should be confined to her annual income. After a warm and long debate, there appeared upon a division 73 for Mr. Conolly's resolutions, and 149 agains them. This was extremely discouraging and even provoking, to the people out of doors who had those taxes to pay: especially as every one knew that those who in Parliament voted against all retrenchment and economy were themselves continually swelling the public expenditure by soliciting pensions or by complaisantly voting to one another immense sums of the people's money.

However, the Patriots, in the same session, returned to the charge—this time against the intolerable pension list.

Mr. Forbes led the van on the attack, and on the 6th of March moved the House, after a very animated speech, that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment, were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress. The motion produced a very interesting debate; but it shared the same fate as the bill he afterwards introduced to limit the amount of pensions, which was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. This bill was most strenuously opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Mason, Mr. George Ponsonby, the attorney-general, and the most leading men on the treasury bench, as a direct and indecent invasion of the royal prerogative, The attorney-general asserted, that the principle of the bill went to the most dangerous extent of any bill that had ever come before Parliament; it went to rob the crown of its responsibility in the disposal of the public money, and to convey it to that House, and even to the House of Peers. He then begged leave to remind the members of what happened after the passing of their favorite vote of 1757. The members of that House caballed together, forming themselves into little parties, and voting to each other hundreds of thousands. And as no Government could go on without the aid of their leaders, it cost that nation more to break through that *puisne* aristocracy, which had made a property of Parliament, than what it would by the pension list for many years. On the side of the Patriots, all the old arguments were urged with redoubled force against the pension list. Mr. Grattan

gave great offence by the strong and harsh assertion, with which he closed his speech on Mr. Forbes's motion, viz.: "*If he should vote that pensions were not a grievance, he should vote an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie.*"

Mr. Curran took a brilliant part in this debate. Alluding to the various classes of foreign and domestic knaves who were the objects of the royal bounty, he said:—"This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain; every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection; it teaches that sloth and vice may eat that bread, which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support, which they are too proud to stoop to earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in all his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus, that it is sometimes good not to be over-virtuous: it shows, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us."

The remaining subject of difference between the ministry and the Patriots in that session, was upon the police bill, which had been for a considerable time a favorite object with Government to carry, in order to strengthen their interest in the city of Dublin, which, from the days of Dr. Lucas, they had felt declining. It was conceived by the opposition, that if the bill were carried for the city of Dublin, it would in the next session be extended to every part of the kingdom: and it was also generally considered, that the report of popular risings and Popish conspiracies against the Protestant Ascendency, had been industriously exaggerated for the purpose of intimidating the Parliament into the adoption of that strong measure* of government.

Mr. Conolly took a leading part in opposing the police bill, which he observed, under the specious pretence of giving police, went to take away constitution. He was still positive, that he was well-founded in his opinion; that the conduct of the administration was inimical to the constitution. The temperance of the Volunteers since the noble duke's administration, deserved their grateful approbation. When they were misguided, and adopted measures, which he conceived improper, he was not backward in avowing himself against their proceedings; but when he reflected, that the moment the Volunteers were told their conduct was disagreeable to Parliament, they retired to the country without a murmur, such conduct secured his admiration, and made him tenacious of their liberties; nor could their arms be placed in better hands than where they were.

There were several heated debates upon

* Sir Edward Crofton, in opposing this bill, said: "I have spoken of Mr. O'Connor in a former debate; and I am firmly persuaded that, as to that gentleman, matters have been extremely exaggerated and misrepresented. I know it has been mentioned as an affair that required the interference of Government; and that camps, cannon, and fortifications, were erected. It was also rumored, that the Roman Catholics were in open rebellion; this was an insidious, infamous, and false report, calculated to cast an undeserved reflection on a body of men remarkable for their loyalty to their sovereign, and their known attachment to the constitution; it was an illiberal and an infamous attack on a people distinguished for their peaceable demeanor, and was intended but to serve the purposes of this still more infamous bill.

"However great my knowledge may have been of the loyalty of the Roman Catholics of this country, yet I must confess, on this occasion, I was made a dupe to report; for from the gentleman, who had declared the county of Roscommon to be in a state of rebellion, I could scarcely believe but Government had authority for saying so; I confess, therefore, I felt for my property: and it was natural I should make every possible inquiry; I did so, and found there was no rebellion in the country; and also found the trifling disturbances, which had been so exaggerated, were only the effects of some whiskey, to which the country people had been treated, and which every gentleman knows operates on the lower order of people, as oil of rhodium does on rats; and what was very extraordinary, there was not a broken head on the occasion."

this bill: it was treated by opposition as a most unconstitutional job, a mere bill of patronage for ministerial purposes; although it must be allowed, that the secretary offered to alter whatever should be found objectionable in the committee, and some of the noxious clauses were withdrawn. Several petitions were presented against the bill, but received with ill grace. Amongst other petitions, one was presented from the freeholders of the county of Dublin, by Sir Edward Newenham, which the attorney-general moved to have rejected, as an insult to the House; and it was rejected by 118 against Sir Edward Newenham and Colonel Sharman. The attorney-general boasted of his indulgence in not moving a censure against the petitioners: but should not again be so gentle, if the offence were repeated. This was the most important bill passed during the session. It was the origin and nucleus of that immense standing army of police and constabulary which is absolutely under the control of the British Government, and has since proved the most efficient part of the garrison by which that Government holds military occupation of Ireland.

Government succeeded, during the session, in all the measures it insisted upon: so that on proroguing Parliament on the 18th of May, the viceroy was able gravely to pay them the usual compliment upon the salutary laws enacted in that session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, as honorable proofs of their wisdom, moderation, and prudence. He moreover assured them, that his majesty beheld with the highest satisfaction the zeal and loyalty of the people of Ireland: and that he had his majesty's express commands, to assure them of the most cordial returns of his royal favor and parental affection.

It is painful to be obliged to admit that at this period (1787) five years of nominal independence had actually reduced Ireland to a condition of more helpless prostration at the feet of England than she had been before: that the policy of resuming one by one the liberties yielded for a moment to the demand of the Volunteers was either in operation or in preparation. Under Mr. Pitt's proposed commercial arrangements, Free Trade would no longer exist. The repeal of the perpetual Mutiny Bill would very soon matter little, when Government would have a standing army of police to overawe the "Lucasians" and reformers of Dublin; and which was certain to be established also in the provinces. The power of the Parliament was now unlimited as to originating its own laws; but for this very reason it had to be taken possession of in advance by the actual purchase of a commanding majority for the crown; so that the independent Parliament should still be, as described by Swift, always firm in its vocation, for the Court against the Nation. Indeed the melancholy necessity of keeping in pay a majority of Parliament is deduced by Lord Clare from the very fact of that Parliament's political independence. The Government was now, he said, at the mercy of that Parliament, and therefore had to propitiate it, or Government could not go on. His argument concludes in favor of a "union" with England, as a cure for all evils. "Such a connection" [as the present], said he, "is formed not for mutual strength and security, but for mutual debility. "It is a connection of distinct minds and distinct interests, generating national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuating faction and misgovernment in the inferior country. The first obvious disadvantage to Ireland is, that in every department of the state, every other consideration must yield to parliamentary power; let the misconduct of any public officer be what it may, if he is supported by a powerful parliamentary interest, he is too strong for the king's representative. A majority of the Parliament of Great Britain will defeat the minister of the day; but a majority of the Parliament of Ireland against the king's Government, goes directly to separate this kingdom from the British Crown. If it continues, separation or war is the inevitable issue; and therefore it is, that the general executive of the empire, as far as is essential to retain Ireland as a member of it, is completely at the mercy of the Irish Parliament; and it is vain to expect, so long as man continues to be a creature of passion and interest, that he will not avail himself of the critical and difficult situation, in which the executive Government of this kingdom must

ever remain, under its present constitution, *to demand the favors of the Crown, not as the reward of loyalty and service, but as the stipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the discharge of a public duty.* Every unprincipled and noisy adventurer, who can achieve the means of putting himself forward, commences his political career on an avowed speculation of profit and loss: and if he fail to negotiate his political job, will endeavor to extort it by faction and sedition, and with unblushing effrontery to fasten his own corruption on the king's ministers.—English influence is the inexhaustible theme for popular irritation and distrust of every factious and discontented man, who fails in the struggle to make himself the necessary instrument of it. Am I then justified in stating, that our present connection with Great Britain, is in its nature formed for mutual debility; that it must continue to generate national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuate faction and misgovernment in Ireland?" *

CHAPTER XXIII.

1787—1789.

Alarms and rumors of disturbances—Got up by Government—Act against illegal combinations—Mr. Grattan on Tithes—Failure of his efforts—Death of Duke of Rutland—Marquis of Buckingham, Viceroy—Independence of Mr. Curran—Mr. Forbes and the Pension List—Failure of his motion—Triumph of corruption—Troubles in Armagh County—"Peep-of-Day Boys"—"Defenders"—Insanity of the King—The Regency.

When Parliament met, according to the last adjournment on the 18th of January 1787, the lord-lieutenant particularly applied to them for their assistance in the effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of society. On this part of his address Mr. Conolly made some very severe observations; distinctly, indeed, charging the Government with having invented, or at least grossly exaggerated, the rumors of disturbances at the south "to intimidate the Protestants of that kingdom, and to furnish an immediate pretext for the unconstitutional police-bill:"—and "that the first thing that could be called a disturbance induced him to think Government had a hand in it." This involves a charge against the Government so atrocious and revolting—calumniating the forlorn and friendless Catholics of Munster to produce an alarm of threatened insurrection and thus be the more readily armed with a great police force, that it would be difficult to believe it, if we did not know, from subsequent events, that this kind of procedure is familiar to the British Government in Ireland, and forms one of its chief agencies. There were several statements and counter-statements as to the existence and extent of these alleged riots. Mr. Curran who then, and always, took the part of the oppressed, said: "Is it any wonder, that the wretches whom woful and long experience has taught to doubt, and with justice to doubt, the attention and relief of the legislature, wretches that have the utmost difficulty to keep life and soul together, and who must inevitably perish, if the hand of assistance were not stretched out to them, should appear in tumult? No, sir, it is not. Unbound to the sovereign by any proof of his affection, unbound to Government by any instance of its protection, unbound to the country, or to the soil, by being destitute of any property in it, 'tis no wonder that the peasantry should be ripe for rebellion and revolt: so far from matter of surprise, it must naturally have been expected.

"The supineness of the magistrates, and the low state of the commissions of the peace throughout the kingdom, but particularly in the county of Cork, should be rectified. A system of vile jobbing was one of the misfortunes of that country: it extended even to commissions of the peace: how else could the report of the four and twenty commissions of the peace, sent down to the county of Clare in one post, be accounted for? Even the appointment of sheriffs was notoriously in the hands of government; and through

* This famous speech is only cited in this place to show how very coolly a Lord Chancellor of Ireland could explain and avow the existence, the necessity and the whole mechanism of the corrupt management of the Irish Parliament. As an argument for a union, his speech may have its value, but it is much better as an argument for total separation. Those who thought, with his Lordship that England must *some how* rule over Ireland naturally became unionists: those who thought that Ireland should rule herself, and that if all her people formed one united nation she could both govern and protect herself, became still more logically *united Irishmen.*

jobbing, sheriffs themselves could not be trusted: two sheriffs ran away last year with executions in their pockets, and the late high sheriff of the county of Dublin had absconded."

There were indeed local disturbances, as in the first days of Whiteboyism, provoked solely by the tithe-devouring clergymen and by the intolerable oppressions of the landlords; but in no way partaking of an insurrectionary organization, nor directed to revolutionary ends. Mr. Fitzgibbon, then attorney-general, told Parliament some marvellous tales. He blamed the landlords as the chief cause of the disturbances; and said "he knew, that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords. He knew that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves; the landlord grasped the whole, and sorry was he to add, that not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. It would require the utmost ability of Parliament to come to the root of those evils." He closed by moving a resolution—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that some further provisions by statute are indispensably necessary to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more adequate and effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths."

A bill for these purposes was soon after brought in by Fitzgibbon, and after sharp debates, and a vigorous opposition from Mr. Conolly and others; was read a second time, committed by a very large majority, and passed.

Mr. Grattan who, while he desired to see the laws enforced, was yet very sensible of the unendurable oppressions practised on the peasantry, brought up on the 13th of March the whole subject of tithes, which he considered a disgrace to the Protestant Church as well as a grievous burden to the Catholic people. He moved the following resolution: "That if it appear, at the commencement of the next session of Parliament, that public tranquillity has been restored in those parts of the kingdom that have lately been disturbed, and due obedience paid to the laws, this House will take into consideration the subject of tithes, and endeavor to form some plan for the honorable support of the clergy, and the ease of the people."

Mr. Secretary Orde differed from Mr. Grattan, and insisted, that in the existing circumstances of the country it was impossible in any degree to hold out an expectation, that the House would even enter upon the subject. Hereupon arose a warm debate; and there were not wanting honorable members to affirm that the established Church was no burden on the people, and that rectors and vicars rather saved money to a Catholic parish than otherwise. It may be conceived how Grattan's gall rose when he heard such arguments as these. "It has been said," he exclaimed, that the exoneration of potatoes from tithe would be of no advantage to the poor. Where had gentlemen learned that doctrine? Certainly not in the report of Lord Carhampton. Or would they say, that taking sixteen shillings an acre off potatoes is no benefit to the miserable man who depends on them as his only food?"

Mr. Grattan persisted with the motion for a committee to inquire whether any just cause of complaint existed among the people of Munster, or of Kilkenny or Carlow on account of tithe, or the collection of tithe. His speech upon this occasion is considered as one of his master-pieces, both of reason and eloquence. It produced a great effect upon the country; none whatever upon the House. Only forty-nine voted for Grattan's motion; but 121 gave their voice against all inquiry. The poor peasantry were left at the mercy, as before, of the tithe-priests and proctors, and of the grinding landlords; and so remain, without improvement to this day. They felt that there was no Parliament for them, no law, no protection, no sympathy; and we cannot but agree with Mr. Curran that the only wonder would have been if they did *not* occasionally set fire to a parson's stack yard, or that they did not cut off a tithe-proctor's ears when they met him in a convenient place.

The Duke of Rutland died in October 1787: died, it is said, in consequence of his excesses and debauchery. He was a good-natured and jovial nobleman, and more than sustained the hospitable character of Dublin Castle. As for public business, he committed all that to the management of those around him, experienced intriguers who knew better than he how "to do the king's business." And as there was but one machinery known which was capable of making public business move in Ireland; and as the viceroy's advisers felt it their duty to be liberal at the nation's expense, the cost of Government rapidly increased during his viceroyalty. In the very year of his death, for example, the pension list was increased by additional grants to the amount of £8,730 over what it had been the year before. The Duke of Rutland was succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham, who met the Parliament for the first time on the 17th of January 1788. In the address of the Commons in reply to his speech, Mr. Parsons objected to one clause, which gave unqualified approbation to the public course of the late viceroy, and seemed therefore to bind the House to pursue the same measures. He remarked on the largely increased expenses and the enormous pension list, and remarked that neither in the speech from the throne, nor in the address, was the word *economy* to be found. He moved an amendment, but of course it was negatived without a division. It may be said, in general, of the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham, that it was conducted on the same principle (or negation of principle) and by the same unprincipled men as that of the Duke of Rutland. It was thought advisable to purchase a few patriots. What communications the marquis made to his converts cannot now be stated with commercial exactitude; but he certainly inaugurated his term of office by persuading to silence some noisy members of the opposition. On this occasion it is agreeable to record an honorable trait of one of those patriots whose memory is dearly cherished in Ireland, John Philpot Curran. Amongst other proselytes, that went over to the new viceroy, was Mr. Longfield, who had considerable parliamentary interest; he and the friends he introduced had uniformly opposed the late administration: amongst these was Mr. Curran, who having been brought into Parliament by Mr. Longfield, could not bend his principles to the pliancy of his friend, or take a subordinate part in supporting an administration, whose intended measures were made a secret: he therefore purchased a seat in a vacant borough, and offered it to Mr. Longfield for any person whose principles were at his command. Thus did Mr. Curran retain his seat and parliamentary independence: and Mr. Longfield was enabled to fulfil his engagements with the minister, for his own and his dependant's votes in Parliament.

Early in this first session, Mr. Forbes made another effort against the pension list, which had become his special subject. He had been taunted on a former occasion with making his attacks too general, instead of denouncing particular examples; and a sporting member of the Castle party had assured him that the man "who fires at a whole covey does not hit a feather." He now desired, that a list of the pension granted since the last session of Parliamen might be read. He then objected to a pen sion of £1000, to James Brown, Esq., late prime sergeant, on the principle only of its being granted to a member of the House during pleasure. He remarked, that by the English act for further securing the liberties of the subject, it was provided, that after the accession of the present family to the throne, no pensioner during pleasure, should sit or vote in the House of Commons. The people of Ireland had a right to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all the benefits and privileges of that act, and the Bill of Rights. He moved, "that this pension was a misapplication of the revenue." He also on the same day mentioned the pension of £640 to Thomas Higinbotham for life, adding, that he was astonished that so large a portion of the public money should be disposed of without the knowledge or privity of the chancellor of the exchequer; and that for such a transaction all the ser vants of the crown should deny any responsibility; he then objected to a pension of £1200 per annum to Robert Ashwood, for the life of his son, and also two other pensions of £300 each, and one of £200 to the

same person, for lives of his other children. He stated, that a pension of £2000 per annum had been granted in the year 1755, for the life of Frederick Robinson; that the family of Robinson had lately sold that pension to Mr. Ashworth, and had influence with Government sufficient to prevail on the minister to change the life in the grant, and to insert the lives of the young children of Mr. Ashworth in the place of Mr. Robinson; that this management was now become a frequent practice; and that thereby a grant of a pension for life operated as a lease for lives with a covenant of perpetual renewal.

He then moved that the above pension "was an improvident disposition of the revenue." It is almost needless to add that all Mr. Forbes' motions were negatived without a division. Nothing, perhaps, can better illustrate the shameless character of the universal venality than the timid objection made by a ministerial member against the *necessity* of doubling pensions to members of Parliament. Sir Henry Cavendish, though he declared his unqualified devotion to that administration, yet remarked, that doubling the pensions of members might be avoided, "for," said he, "suppose it appears that £400 a year are annexed to the name of a member of this House, and that no particular cause could be assigned for the grant, may it not be conjectured, that it was made for his service in that House, and if so, an additional pension is unnecessary, for he that has £400 a year for his vote, will not refuse voting though he were to be refused £400 a year more."—(Par. Debates, vol. viii.) In truth it would be irksome and unprofitable to record these many unavailing efforts of the patriots to restrain the progress of public corruption, but that the revelations made on such occasions exhibit the whole machinery by which Irish government was carried on, or could have been carried on for a single week: and show that British rule in that country consisted simply in making the Irish people pay large salaries to certain men for representing nd betraying them.

It is just, however, to the honest Irishmen n that corrupt assembly to signalize and remember their useless but heroic efforts against the deluge of corruption.

The most violent attack upon the minister, during this session of Parliament, was made on the 29th of February, when Mr. Forbes moved his address to the crown, in order, at least, to leave to posterity, on the face of their journals, the grievances under which the people labored in the year 1788. He prefaced his motion by a very interesting speech founded on facts, to be collected from the journals of the House, or from authentic documents then lying on the table. He travelled over much of his former arguments against the prodigality of the late administration, which had increased the pension list by £26,000. He took that opportunity of giving notice, that he meant next session to offer a bill to that House for the purpose of creating a responsibility in the ministers of Ireland, for the application of the revenue of that kingdom. The only authority under which the vice treasurer then paid any money, was a king's letter, countersigned by the commissioners of the English treasury. He adverted with marked censure, to the addition of £2000 to the salary of the secretary in the late administration, and to the large sums expended in the purchase and embellishment of his house in the Phœnix Park, and to the present intent of granting a pension of £2000 to that very secretary for life: which was establishing a most mischievous precedent for such grants to every future secretary. He was sorry to hear the ostensible minister avail himself of the same argument which his predecessors had successfully used for the last ten years in resisting every attack upon the pension list. He then enlarged upon the pernicious consequences of placing implicit confidence in the administration; and supported his thesis by the following historical illustrations.

From the year 1773 to 1776, confidence in the administration of that day had cost this nation £100,000 in new taxes, and £440,000 raised by life annuities. In 1778, confidence in the administration cost £300,000 in life annuities; a sum granted for the purpose of defence, and which produced on an alarm of invasion, one troop of horse, and half a company of invalids. In 1779 the then secretary, for the purpose of opposing a measure for relief against the abuses of the pension list, read in this House an ex

tract of a letter from the Secretary of State in England, expressive of the determination of the then English ministry, not to increase the pension list; confidence was placed in the administration of the day, and it cost the country £13,000 in new pensions, granted by the same secretary. In April, 1782, on the arrival of the principal of the new administration, confidence, in the first instance, was neither asked nor granted; certain measures were proposed by the Commons and the people, they were granted, and the country was emancipated. In 1785, confidence in the administration of that day, cost Ireland £140,000 new taxes to equalize the income and expenditure; but the grant produced £180,000 excess of expenses. The same confidence cost £20,000 per annum for a police establishment, which it had been proved at their bar contributed to the violation, instead of the preservation of the peace of the metropolis.

The same confidence, he said, cost this nation last year £100,000, charged for buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park: n fine they might place nearly two-thirds of the national debt to the account of confidence in the administration of the day. He then moved an address to his majesty setting forth the entire abuse of the pension system: that on the 1st of January, 1788, the list of pensions had increased to £96,289 per annum, *exclusive of military pensions, and charges under the head of incidents on the civil establishment, and additional salaries to sinecure officers*—both of which were substantially pensions; and that this made an amount much greater than the pension list of England. It was in vain: the bribed majority listened to Mr. Forbes with a complacent smile; and again his motion fell without a division.

After another attempt of Mr. Grattan to get a committee on tithes, Parliament was prorogued unexpectedly on the 14th of April, to the surprise and irritation of the people. The natural quickness of their sensations was accelerated by disappointment, when they found, that all that was done relative to tithes was, to provide for the clergy what some of them had lost by retention of the tithes in the two preceding years, and to secure to them forever a tithe of hemp of 5s. per acre. The failure in every popular attempt of the Patriots, went but a little way to soothe the ruffled minds of the distressed peasantry in the provinces, or of the middling and higher orders in the metropolis and larger towns. Notwithstanding the increase of peace officers under the police bill, it was sarcastically observed, that his excellency had the peace and tranquillity of the country deeply at heart, for that, upon the slightest appearance of interruption, he was sure to call in the aid of the military.

The attention of the public began at this moment to be turned away from the futile parliamentary contests to scenes which were taking place in the northern county of Armagh. The Catholics, once almost extirpated from that and some neighboring counties, had again increased and multiplied there. This had been caused in a great measure by the large emigration of Protestants to America, leaving extensive regions nearly dispeopled. Many Catholics with their families, who had been starving on the bare mountains of Connaught and Donegal began to venture back to the pleasant valleys where their fathers had dwelt, and offered to become tenants to deserted farms. Landlords accepted these tenants, for want of Protestants, and they were followed by others. Protestant farmers were thus exposed to competition, to the manifest injury of the Protestant interest; and much ill-feeling, and some violent collisions had been the consequence. At length, in 1784, the Protestants formed themselves in Armagh County, into a secret association calling itself Peep-of-Day Boys, in allusion to their custom of repairing at that hour to the houses of the Catholics, dragging them out of bed and otherwise maltreating them. Even the furious Protestant partisan, Sir Richard Musgrave, gives this account of the banditti in question:—"They visited the houses of their *antagonists* at a very early hour in the morning to search for arms; and it is most certain that in doing so they often committed the most wanton outrages—insulting their persons and breaking their furniture," etc. Of course human nature could not endure this treatment, and the Catholics of Armagh formed a counter-associa-

tion, which they called by a name quite as descriptive as the other, "The Defenders." Many encounters soon took place, and sometimes in considerable numbers: but as the Catholics were then greatly a minority of the population of the county, were very poor, and could scarcely procure any arms—which, besides, it was against the law for them to possess—it is not wonderful if the advantage rested generally, though not always, with the Protestant aggressors.

Either for the purpose or under the pretence of checking the spirit of turbulence and outrage, in the year recourse again was had to the raising of some Volunteer corps, by way of strengthening, as it was said, the arm of the civil magistrate. It was not in the nature of things, that these Volunteer corps, into which they refused to admit any Catholic, should not be more obnoxious to the Defenders, than to the Peep-of-Day Boys: for although they should not have shown favor or affection to any description of men disturbing the public tranquillity, yet it was the first part of their duty to disarm the Defenders (being Papists), and in their arms had they for some time found their only safety and defence against their antagonists. Some occasional conflicts happened both between the Defenders and Peep-of-Day Boys, and between the Defenders and the Volunteers. As a corps of Volunteers in going to church at Armagh passed by a Catholic chapel, a quarrel arose with some of the congregation, and stones were thrown at the Volunteers. After service, instead of avoiding the repetition of insult by taking another route, the Volunteers procured arms, returned to the spot, and a conflict ensued, in which they killed some of the Catholic congregation. In consequence of these rencounters, and the Defenders procuring and retaining what firearms they could, the Earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto against all Papists who should assemble in arms, and also against any person who should attempt to disarm them without legal authority. In addition to these efforts, some of the Peep-of-Day Boys sought also to disarm their antagonists by means of the law: they accordingly indicted some of the Defenders at the summer assizes of 1788; but Baron Hamilton quashed the indictments, and dismissed both parties with an impressive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love. The Defenders about this time were charged with openly sending challenges both to the Peep-of-Day Boys and the Volunteers to meet them in the field; the fact was, that the Defenders certainly did look upon them both as one common enemy combined to defeat and oppress them: whilst, therefore, this open hostility between the two parties subsisted and rankled under the daily festering sore of religious acrimony, the Defenders, who knew themselves armed against law, though in self-defence against the Peep-of-Day Boys, became the more anxious to bring their antagonists to an open trial of strength, rather than remain victims to the repeated outrages of their domiciliary visits, or other attempts to disarm them. Thus a private squabble between peasants gradually swelled into a village brawl, and ended in the religious war of a whole district.

These Protestant Peep-of-Day Boys were called also "Protestant Boys," and in some districts "Wreckers." The association of these plundering banditti afterwards developed itself into the too-famous organization of "Orangemen," which in our own day has counted among its accomplices an uncle of Queen Victoria, has made riots in Canada, and has wrecked Catholic churches and burned convents in the United States.

King George the Third, who never had much mind, this year lost the little he had, and was pronounced insane by the court physicians. Then at once arose the question of the regency. The Prince of Wales was then twenty-six years of age; and was associated politically and socially with Whigs; an association by no means creditable to them. But though not creditable, it might be useful to his friends, if he were now to be recognized regent, with full powers of royalty. On the other hand Mr. Pitt and the Tories saw constitutional objections. Mr. Fox opposed the motion of Mr. Pitt for an examination of constitutional precedents, inasmuch as the minister knew there were no precedents applicable to the case; and contended that the heir apparent, being of full age, could and ought to exercise all the

functions of royalty by his own inherent right: Mr. Pitt replied that during the sovereign's natural life, the heir apparent was no more entitled to the regency than any other subject in the kingdom; and that it was "little less than treason" to affirm the contrary. Mr. Burke supported the Whig view of the subject; that is, maintained the right of the prince to regency with full powers. The administration, however, was quite sure of a majority in both Houses; and this availed more than all the constitutional arguments in the world.

The whole question could have but little interest for the Irish nation; because whoever should be king or regent in England, the course of British government in this country would have continued precisely the same, so far as any real interest of the people was concerned: but there were unhappily Whigs and Tories in Ireland also; and on this occasion, as ever since, the Irish parties attached themselves to their respective party connections in England. It was known also that the powerful interests of the houses of Leinster, Shannon, and Tyrone, the Fitzgeralds, Boyles, and Beresfords were Whigs; being, not unnaturally, attached to the party which had supported in England the claim of Ireland to legislative independence. Some statesmen, therefore, very soon saw the probability of a collision between the two Parliaments upon the regency. Indiscreet anticipations of such a difference had already been expressed in debate. Lord Loughborough, for example, who took the lead of opposition in the Peers, amongst other arguments in support of the prince's inherent right, strongly urged the inconveniency and mischief, which might arise from the contrary doctrine, when it should come to be acted upon by the independent kingdom of Ireland. Was it remembered, said his lordship, that a neighboring kingdom stood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown. If once the rule of regular succession were departed from by the two Houses, how were they sure, that the neighboring kingdom would acknowledge the regent, whom the two Houses would take upon themselves to elect. The probability was, that the neighboring kingdom would depart, in consequence of our departure, from the rule of hereditary succession, and choose a regent of their own, which must lead to endless confusion and embarrassment.

But in answer to this part of Lord Lough borough's speech, Lord Chancellor Thurlow lamented, that any remarks should have fallen from the noble and learned lord respecting Ireland, because he considered them as not unlikely, *Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas!* Such vague and loose suggestions could answer no useful purpose, but might produce very mischievous consequences. He declared, that he had every reliance on the known loyalty, good sense, and affection of that country, and felt no anxiety on the danger of Ireland's acting improperly.

In fact, after long and violent debates in the English Lords and Commons, Mr. Pitt's measure of a limited regency was carried in England. The limitations were indeed very great: as the regent's power was not to extend to "the granting of any office in reversion, or to granting for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, any pension or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behavior; nor to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage." While the debates in England were pending, peremptory instructions were received by the viceroy, Lord Buckingham, to procure (with "unlimited discretion" as to the means)* from the Irish Parliament a formal recognition, that whomsoever Great Britain should appoint as regent, should, *ipso facto*, be received in Ireland with all the restrictions and limitations imposed upon the regent in Great Britain; with peremptory orders to convene the Parliament the instant his excellency could answer for a majority for carrying such recognition. Unusual exertions to gain over the members to that point were used by all the means, which the Castle influence, aided at that time by the British treasury, could command. Threats also were circulated, and generally credited (not rashly, as

* This statement concerning "unlimited discretion" is made on the authority of Mr. Plowden, a very careful and conscientious inquirer. Besides, if the fact had never been affirmed, it would be in itself too probable to admit of much doubt.

experience afterwards proved) that whoever possessing place or pension, should vote against the minister, would forfeit, or be deprived. Yet it was soon apparent that the canvass of the Castle would fail of success on this important and perilous occasion. The Marquis of Buckingham had grown extremely unpopular amongst the leaders of Irish politics; and it was universally believed that his government was going to be of very short duration. In short it was previously known, that Government would be left in a minority on the question: they therefore deferred the evil day as long as possible, and convened the Parliament only on the 5th of February, after the whole plan had been settled, and submitted to by the prince in England. On an emergency so pressing, the lord-lieutenant, who at no time had been popular, now found himself importuned and harassed beyond bearing: the death of Sir William Montgomery and Lord Clifden, who held lucrative places under Government, brought upon him a greedy swarm of applicants who imposed their extortionate demands with an arrogance in proportion to the value now known to be set upon a single vote at the Castle. The truth seems to be that this lord-lieutenant, with all his "unlimited discretion" had not places and pensions and money sufficient to insure the needful majorities. If the Castle majority deserted the viceroy, then, it was not on account of any fault on his part, but rather on account of his one virtue—which they could never forgive—economy of the public money. In a debate which arose in the House, while this regency question was still awaiting decision, and in which the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham was made the subject of severe comment, Mr. Corry admitted a large increase of salary in his appointment (surveyor of the ordnance), but could at the same time show some savings to the public in his department, which would fully justify whatever alteration had been made: the intention of the alteration was to place the management in the hands of men, who might be supposed above the little arts of plunder and peculation, which had before disgraced the department much to the public loss. He had ever opposed the extension of pensions, and opposition to that practice was one of the conditions on which he had accepted of office: but he could not see that the Marquis of Buckingham deserved censure because a bill to limit pensions had been opposed in his administration. The majority of the House stood pledged to oppose the bill: but the marquis *had not added a pension to the list.* This was not indeed altogether correct; as he had agreed to a pension of £2000 in favor of Mr. Orde, of the "Commercial Propositions." Mr. Grattan, in the same debate, said, "The expenses of the Marquis of Buckingham were accompanied with the most extraordinary professions of economy, and censures on the conduct of the administration that immediately preceded him; he had exclaimed against the pensions of the Duke of Rutland, a man accessible undoubtedly to applications, but the most disinterested man on earth, and one whose noble nature demanded some, but received no indulgence from the rigid principles or professions of the Marquis of Buckingham. He exclaimed against his pensions, and he confirmed them: he resisted motions made to disallow some of them; and he finally agreed to a pension for Mr. Orde, the secretary of the Duke of Portland's administration, whose extravagance was at once the object of his invective and his bounty: he resisted his pension, if report says true; and having shown that it was against his conscience, he submitted. Mr. Orde can never forgive the marquis the charges made against the man he thought proper to reward: the public will never forgive the pension given to a man the marquis thought proper to condemn." What was even worse than this, and what the Castle statesmen of that day could still less forgive, it appears, from the same speech of Mr. Grattan, that "while the Marquis of Buckingham was professing a disinterested regard for the prosperity of Ireland, he disposed of the best reversion in Ireland *to his own family;* the only family in the world that could not with decency receive it, as he was the only man in the world who could not with decency dispose of it to them."

After this it will not appear wonderful that the high and mighty aristocratic houses of Ireland, with all their train and influence, abandoned the Castle in this important crisis

Mr. Grattan, of course, and most of the Patriot minority, would have voted with the English Whigs at any rate. It is just to admit that many of the Irish Whigs would have done the same, independently of all considerations of interest and patronage; but when to these powerful parties was added the crowd of political merchants and vote-sellers who could not hope to be paid, or to be paid enough, it is not strange that the "king's business" was not efficiently done.

The 11th of February, 1789, was the great day of contest upon the Regency of Ireland: Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon took the lead on the opposite sides: the House being in committee on the state of the nation, after some preliminary conversation, in which the plan of the Castle was candidly avowed by Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Grattan said, that the right honorable gentleman had stated the plan of the Castle to be limitation and a bill. He proposed to name for the regency of that realm, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; in that they perfectly agreed, and only followed the most decided wishes of the people of Ireland; they were clear, and had been so from the first, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ought, and must be the regent; but they were also clear, that he should be invested with the full regal power; plenitude of royal power. The limitations, which a certain member proposed to impose, were suggested with a view to preserve a servile imitation of the proceedings of another country, not in the choice of a regent, which was a common concern, but in the particular provisions and limitations, which were not a common concern, but in the particular circumstances of the different countries. The bill, or instrument which he called a bill, was suggested on an opinion, that an Irish act of Parliament might pass without a king in a situation to give the royal assent, and without a regent appointed by the Irish Houses of Parliament to supply his place. The idea of limitation, he conceived to be an attack on the necessary power of Government; the idea of his bill was an attack on the King of Ireland. They had heard the Castle dissenting from their suggestion. It remained for them to take the business out of their hands, and confide the custody of the great and important matter to men more constitutional and respectable. The Lords and Commons of Ireland, and not the Castle, should take the leading part in this great duty. The country gentlemen, who procured the constitution, should nominate the regent. He should submit to them the proceedings they intended in the discharge of that great and necessary duty. Mr. Grattan contended that the proper course was not a bill, but an address, citing the authority of the address to the Prince of Orange on the abdication of King James.

Mr. Conolly then rose and said, that on that melancholy occasion, which every gentleman in and out of office lamented, and none more sincerely than he did, it had fallen to the lot of the two Houses to put into the kingly office a substitute for their beloved sovereign; and there seemed to be but one mind, which was to make that substitute the illustrious person who had, of all others, the greatest interest in preserving the prerogative of the crown, and the constitution of the realm.

He entirely coincided in the plan Mr. Grattan had proposed, because he was convinced it was consonant to the constitution, and such as his royal highness, to whom he should then move an address, must necessarily approve. He hoped they would be unanimous on the occasion. He therefore moved the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a humble address be presented to his royal highness to take upon himself the government of this realm, during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of his majesty to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

The motion was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby.

Several of the former friends of the Castle supported the address, when Mr. Fitzgibbon (who was still attorney-general, afterwards Earl of Clare) rose to oppose it. He made

this question, as he made every question, an occasion to inculcate the idea of a legislative union, which was even then his great political aim, and continued to be so until he attained it.

He maintained, that the crown of Ireland and the crown of England were inseparably and indissolubly united; and that the Irish Parliament was perfectly and totally independent of the British Parliament.

The first position was their security; the second was their freedom; and when gentlemen talked any other language than that, they either tended to the separation of the crowns, or to the subjugation of their Parliament; they invaded either their security or their liberty; in fact, the only security of their liberty was their connection with Great Britain, and gentlemen who risked breaking the connection, must make up their minds to a union. God forbid he should ever see that day; but if ever the day on which a separation should be attempted, should come, he should not hesitate to embrace a union rather than a separation.

Under the Duke of Portland's government the grievances of Ireland were stated to be:

The alarming usurpation of the British Parliament;

A perpetual mutiny bill;

And the powers assumed by the privy council.

These grievances were redressed, and in redressing them they passed a law repealing part of Poynings'. By their new law they enacted, that all bills, which should pass the two Houses in Ireland, should be certified into England, and returned under the great seal of England, without any addition, diminution, or alteration whatsoever, should pass into law, and no other. By this they made the great seal of England essentially and indispensably necessary on the passing of laws in Ireland: they could pass no act without first certifying it into England, and having it returned under the great seal in that kingdom, insomuch that were the King of England and Ireland to come in person, and to reside in Ireland, he could not pass a bill without its being first certified to his regent in England, who must return it under the seal of that kingdom before his majesty could even in person assent to it. That if the House should by force of an address, upon the instant, and without any communication with England, invest a regent with powers undefined, when the moment of reflection came, it would startle the boldest adventurers in England; and then he reminded gentlemen of the language they held with England in the day they asserted their freedom: "Perpetual connection; common fortune; we will rise or fall with England; we will share her liberty, and we will share her fate." Did gentlemen recollect the arguments used in England to justify the fourth proposition of the commercial treaty? Ireland, said they, having a Parliament of her own, may think fit to carry on a commerce, and regulate her trade by laws different from, perhaps contradictory to, the laws of Great Britain. How well founded that observation was, they would prove, if they seized the first opportunity that offered of differing from Great Britain on a great imperial question; certainly if it be the scheme to differ on all imperial questions, and if that be abetted by men of great authority, they meant to drive them to *a union*, and the method they took was certainly more effectual to sweep away opposition, than if all the sluices of corruption were opened together, and deluged the country's representatives: for it was certain nothing less than the alternative of separation could ever force a union.

Suppose the prince did not accept the regency in England; suppose their address should reach him before he was actually invested with royal powers in England, in what situation would you put him? They would call on him, in defiance of two acts of Parliament, which made the crowns inseparable, to dethrone the king his father. They would call upon him to do an act now, at which hereafter his nature would revolt. They were false friends of the Prince of Wales, who should advise him to receive an address, that might give him cause to curse the hand which presented it. He knew that liberties indecent in the extreme had been taken with the name of that august personage. He knew it had been whispered, that every man who should vote against the address, would be considered as voting against him and treating him with disrespect; but if any man had had the guilt

and folly to poison his mind with such an insinuation, he trusted to his good sense to distinguish his friends; he would trust to his good sense to determine, whether they were his friends who wished to guard the imperial rights of the British crown, or they who would stake them upon the momentary and impotent triumph of an English party. What matter to the prince, whether he received royal authority by bill or by address? Was there a man who would presume to libel him, and to assert, that the success of that measure would be a triumph to him?

There was a feature in the proceeding which, independent of every other objection to it, did in his mind make it highly reprehensible, and that was, that he considered it as a formal appeal from the Parliament of England to that of Ireland. Respecting the parties who made that appeal he should say nothing: but although there might be much dignity on their part in receiving the appeal, he could not see any strong symptoms of wisdom in it; because by so doing he should conceive we must inevitably sow the seeds of jealousy and disunion between the Parliaments of the two countries; and though he did not by any means desire of the Parliament of that country implicitly to follow the Parliament of England, he should suppose it rather a wise maxim for Ireland always to concur with the Parliament of Great Britain, unless for very strong reasons indeed they were obliged to differ from it. If it were to be a point of Irish dignity to differ with the Parliament of England to show their independence, he very much feared that sober men in that country, who had estates to lose, would soon become sick of independence. The fact was, that constituted as it was, the Government of that country, never could go on, unless they followed Great Britain implicitly in all regulations of imperial policy. The independence of their Parliament was their freedom; their dependence on the crown of England was their security for that freedom; and gentlemen, who professed themselves, that night, advocates for the independence of the Irish crown, were advocates for its separation from England,

They should agree with England in three points:—one king, one law, one religion. They should keep these great objects steadily in view, and act like wise men: if they made the Prince of Wales their regent, and granted him the plenitude of power, in God' name let it be done by bill; otherwise he saw such danger, that he deprecated the measure proposed. He called upon the country gentlemen of Ireland; that that was not a time to think of every twopenny grievance, every paltry disappointment sustained at the Castle of Dublin; if any man had been aggrieved by the viceroy, and chose to compose a philippic on the occasion, let him give it on the debate of a turnpike bill, where it would not be so disgraceful to the man who uttered it, and to those who would not listen to him, as it would be on the present occasion.

On the 17th the address was agreed upon by both Houses. Its principal clause was in these words:—

"We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on behalf his majesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

On the 19th both Houses waited on the lord-lieutenant, requesting him to transmit it to the prince. He refused to do so. On the day following Mr. Grattan moved in the House "that his excellency the lord-lieutenant having thought proper to decline to transmit to His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, the address of both Houses of Parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this House, to present the said address to his royal highness."

This was carried by a large majority; was sent up to the Lords, who concurred, and named the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont to accompany the members of the other House who should be appointed to join them in presenting the address.

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that it be *Resolved*, That his excellency the lord-lieutenant's answer to both Houses of Parliament, requesting him to transmit their address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is

ill advised, contains an unwarrantable and unconstitutional censure on the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and attempts to question the undoubted rights and privileges of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Ireland."

On the 25th of February the committee of the two Houses of Parliament, having arrived in London, proceeded to Carlton House and presented the address. They were most graciously received: but two days before, the king had recovered from his malady. It was thus unnecessary for the prince either to accept or reject the offer made to him by the Irish Parliament. He congratulated them on the happy change in his majesty's health, and assured them of the "gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart." This dangerous dispute was thus ended for that time. Its dangers were twofold. First, the prince might have refused the regency with limited powers—in that case the English Parliament would certainly have made the queen regent: and the prince might have accepted the Irish regency with unlimited powers: there would then have been two regents, and two *separate* kingdoms. Secondly, the prince might have accepted the regency precisely on the terms offered him in each country: he would then have been a regent with limited powers in England, and with full royal prerogative in Ireland; unable to create a peer in England, but with power to swamp the House with new peerages in Ireland; unable to reward his friends with certain grants, pensions, and offices in England, but able to quarter them all upon the revenue of Ireland. The peril of such a condition of things was fully appreciated both by Mr. Pitt, and by his able coadjutor in Ireland, Mr. Fitzgibbon. They drew from it an argument for the total annihilation of Ireland by a legislative union. Others who watched events with equal attention, found in it a still sounder argument for total separation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1789.

Unpopularity of Buckingham—Formation of an Irish character—Efforts of Patriots in Parliament—All in vain—Purchasing votes—Corruption—Whig Club—Lord Clare on Whig Club—Buckingham leaves Ireland—Pension List—Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders—Westmoreland, Viceroy—Unavailing efforts against corruption—Material prosperity—King William's Birthday—French Revolution.

Ireland may possibly have had worse viceroys than the Marquis of Buckingham; but scarcely one so intensely unpopular. He was parsimonious and extravagant—that is, he saved pennies, and squandered thousands of pounds; yet did not squander them on the right persons. He talked economy and practised the most reckless profusion, yet in an underhand, indirect manner which made him no friends and many enemies. In manner he was extremely reserved, whether from pride or from a natural coldness of disposition. In short, he was in every way unsuited to the Irish temperament: for there had lately been formed gradually a marked Irish character, even amongst the Protestant colonists before the era of Independence, and still more notably since that time. Gentlemen born in this country, and all whose interests and associations were here, no longer called themselves Englishmen born in Ireland, as Swift had done. The same powerful assimilating influence which had formerly made the Norman settlers, Geraldines and De Burghs "more Irish than the Irish" after two or three generations, had now also acted more or less upon the very Cromwellians and Williamites; and there was recognizable in the whole character and bearing even of the Protestants a certain dash of that generosity, levity, impetuosity, and recklessness which have marked the Celtic race since the beginning. They were capable of the most outrageous depravity and of the highest honor and rectitude; of the most insolent, ostentatious venality and corruption, as well as of the noblest, proudest independence. The formation of this modern composite Irish character is of course attributable to the gradual amalgamation of the privileged Protestant colonists with the *con-*

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verted Irish, who had from time to time conformed to the established church, to save their estates, or to possess themselves of the property of non-conforming neighbors. This was a large and increasing element in the Protestant colony ever since the time of Elizabeth; and of such families came the Currans, Dalys, Doyles, Conollys, as well as the higher names O'Neil, O'Brien, Burke, Roche, Fitzpatrick. The ancestors of these families, in abandoning their Catholic faith, could not let out all their Celtic blood, and that blood permeated the whole mass of the population, and often broke out and showed its origin, even in men partly of English descent, or at least of English names. Grattan, for example, in the character of his intellect and temperament, was as purely Celtic as Curran himself. In truth it had become very difficult to determine the ethnological distinction between the inhabitants of this island; and surnames had long ceased to be a safe guide: because ever since the "Statutes of Kilkenny" in the 15th century, thousands of Irish families, especially of those residing near or in the English Pale had changed their names in obedience to those statutes, that they might have the benefit of the English law in their dealings with the people of the Pale. They had assumed surnames, as prescribed by the statute, either from some trade or calling, as Miller, Taylor, Smith,—or from some place, as Trim, Slane, Galway,—or from some color, as Gray, Green, White, Brown. Gradually their original clan-names were lost; and it soon became their interest to keep up no tradition even of their Irish descent. Of one of the families in this category, undoubtedly came Oliver Goldsmith, whose intensely Irish nature is a much surer guide to his origin than the trade-surname of Goldsmith adopted under the statute.

It has been said that surnames were no sure guide to origin: but in one direction surnames were, and are, nearly infallible: —a Celtic surname is a sure indication of Celtic blood, because nobody ever had any interest in assuming or retaining such a patronymic, all the interests and temptations being the other way. But an English surname is no indication at all of English descent, because for several centuries—first under the Statutes of Kilkenny, afterwards under the more grievous pressure of the Penal Code, all possible worldly inducements were held out to Irishmen to take English names and forget their own.*

From so large a mingling of the Celtic element even in the exclusive Protestant colony had resulted the very marked Irish character which was noticed, though not with complacency, by English writers of that period:—and to this character the cold, dry, and narrow Marquis of Buckingham was altogether abhorrent. During the agitation of the regency question, he had succeeded in creating two new offices of great emolument: one by the separation of the excise and revenue board, which provided a place for a Beresford; another by appointing an additional commissioner to the Stamp-office. "About this time also," as Mr. Plowden says maliciously, "his excellency found it necessary to restore to the officers in barracks their wonted allowance of *firing*, which in a former fit of subaltern economy he had stopped from them. This pitiful stoppage had been laid on to the great discontent of the army, and being very ungraciously removed the alleviation was received without gratitude." Mr. Grattan, in a debate on this administration, says:—

"His great objection to the Marquis of Buckingham, was not merely that he had been a jobber, but a jobber in a mask! his objection was not merely, that his administration had been expensive, but that his expenses were accompanied with hypocrisy: it was the affectation of economy, attended with a great deal of good, comfortable, substantial jobbing for himself and his friends. That led to another measure of the Marquis of Buckingham, which was the least ceremonious, and the most sordid and scandalous act of self interest, attended with the sacrifice of all public decorum; he meant the disposal of the reversion of the place of the chief remembrancer to his brother, one of

* It would be a curious study to trace the history of Irish family names. For the first three centuries after the Norman invasion under Henry II., the movement was quite in an opposite direction: and De Burghs became Mac Williams, De Berminghams Mac Feorais, the Fitzurses, Mac Mahons; and Norman barons became chiefs of clans, forgot both French and English, rode without stirrups, and kept the upper lip unshaven.

the best, if not the very best office in the kingdom, given in reversion to an absentee, with a great patronage and a compensation annexed. That most sordid and shameless act was committed exactly about the time when the kingdom was charged with great pensions for the bringing home, as it was termed, absentee employments. That bringing home absentee employments was a monstrous job; the kingdom paid the value of the employment, and perhaps more; she paid the value of the tax also. The pensioner so paid was then suffered to sell both to a resident, who was free from the tax: he was then permitted to substitute new and young lives in the place of his own, and then permitted to make a new account against the country, and to receive a further compensation, which he was suffered in the same manner to dispose of."

It was undoubtedly, in part, owing to the excessive unpopularity of this viceroy that the short remainder of his government was so little satisfactory to himself and his employers in London; and that the Patriots were able to gain some trifling advantages; not indeed to such an extent as to accomplish a single reform or abate a single abuse, but at least to shake the regular venal parliamentary majorities and alarm the Government. As the late gloomy prospect of a change in the Irish administration had driven many gentlemen to the opposition benches, Mr. Grattan was willing to avail himself of the earliest fruits of their conversion; accordingly, on the third of March, 1789, he offered to the House a resolution which he thought absolutely necessary, from a transaction which had lately taken place. He thought it necessary to call the attention of the House to certain principles, which the gentlemen, with whom he had generally the honor to coincide, considered as the indispensable condition, without which no government could expect their support, and which the present Government had resisted.

The first was a reform of the police: at present the institution could only be considered as a scheme of patronage to the Castle, and corruption to the city; a scheme which had failed to answer the end of preserving public peace, but had fully succeeded in extending the influence of the Castle.

Another principle much desired, was to restrain the abuse of pensions by a bill similar to that of Great Britain. That principle he said, Lord Buckingham had resisted, and his resistance to it was one great cause of his opposing his Government. To this he would add another principle, the restraining revenue officers from voting at elections: this, he observed, was a principle of the British Parliament, and it was certainly more necessary in Ireland, from what had lately taken place, where, by a certain union of family interests, counties had become boroughs, and those boroughs had become private property.

But the principle to which he begged to call the immediate attention of the House was, that of preventing the great offices of the state from being given to absentees: that was a principle admitted by all to be founded in national right, purchased by liberal compensation, and every departure from it must be considered as a slight to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who certainly were better entitled to the places of honor and trust in their own country, than any absentee could possibly be; but besides the slight shown to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, by bestowing places of honor, of profit, and of trust on absentees, the draft of money from this country, the institution of deputies (a second establishment unnecessary, were the principals to reside), the double influence arising from this raised the abuse into an enormous grievance. Mr. Grattan concluded with a motion to condemn this last practice.

A very warm debate ensued, in which Mr. Corry and some other gentlemen admitted the principle of the resolution, although they opposed its passing, because it was a censure on the Marquis of Buckingham. To get rid of the question, an adjournment was moved and carried by a majority of 115 against 106. Thus early had the old majority began to fall into their former ranks. Still the superiority of votes bore no proportion to 200 and upwards, of which the former full majorities consisted. Mr. Grattan, accordingly, on the following day (4th of March) moved for leave to bring in *a bill for the better securing the freedom of election for members to serve in Parlia-*

ment, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majesty's revenue from giving their votes at such election.

But none of the measures proposed by Mr. Grattan could be carried in that House. In fact the deserting members of the majority were soon whipped back into their ranks: for on the 14th of March the lord-lieutenant made a speech to both Houses, officially informing them of the full recovery of the king. It was immediately apparent that Mr. Pitt was again supreme; and it was even intimated very plainly that the members of either House who had concurred in the address to the prince, or who had voted for a censure on the conduct of the marquis, should be made to repent of their votes.

The House having by this time been nearly marshalled into their former ranks, Mr. Grattan thought it useless to divide them on the second reading of the place bill, on the 30th of April; it was negatived without a division. The only subject particularly interesting to the history of Ireland, which came before Parliament during the remainder of that session, was the subject of tithes: Mr. Grattan having presented to the House, according to order, a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of inquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of that kingdom, and to report a plan for ascertaining the same: he followed up his motion with a very elaborate, instructive, and eloquent speech upon this important national object. The House adjourned from the 8th to the 25th of May, on which day the lord-lieutenant prorogued the Parliament, and made a speech of a general nature, without a word of reference to any of the extraordinary circumstances of the session.

The administration, alarmed by the late symptoms of disaffection, and by the renewed combination of the powerful aristocratic houses, as exhibited in the proceedings on that regency question, now set itself deliberately to purchase back votes in detail, and again to check the Irish oligarchical influence. It has been already mentioned, in the account of Lord Townshend's administration, that he, at a very heavy expense to the nation, broke up an aristocracy which before his time had monopolized the whole power of the Commons and regularly bargained for terms with every new representative for managing the House of Commons Mr. Fitzgibbon (and no man knew better) now admitted, *that this manœuvre cost the nation upwards of half a million:* that is, that he had paid or granted so much to purchase that majority in Parliament, by which he governed to the end of his administration.

Mr. Grattan, some years afterwards, commenting on this declaration of Fitzgibbon's and the astonishing scene of corruption which followed it, broke out in this fierce language:—"*Half a million, or more, was expended some years ago to break an opposition; the same, or a greater sum may be necessary now:* so said the principal servant of the crown. The House heard him: I heard him: he said it standing on his legs to an astonished and an indignant nation; and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on; the peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption were everywhere; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all."

Indeed no bounds were now set, either to the corruption or to the proscription. The Government kept no measures with its enemies, and had nothing to refuse to its friends. Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, and real governor of the country, was a man as audacious, as resolute, and nearly as eloquent as Grattan himself. It is impossible to deny to the man, on this and on subsequent occasions, a certain tribute of admiration for his potent will and fiery manhood, and all the credit which may be supposed due to a bold, out-spoken, insolent defiance and disdain of every sentiment of public conscience. Under his advice and superintendence, market-overt was held for votes and influence; prices of boroughs, and of parts of boroughs, of votes, titles, and peerages were brought to a regular tariff. Not a peerage, not an honor, nor a place

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nor pension was disposed of but expressly for engagements of support in Parliament. And every little office or emolument that could be resumed by Government was granted upon a new bargain for future services. But this was not enough: proscription of enemies was to go hand in hand with reward of service. It mattered not, that in response to the atrocious threat of punishing those who had opposed the Government, the famous "Round Robin" was signed by the leading peers and most illustrious commoners of Ireland, denouncing this attempt at intimidation and coercion. It was signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Archbishop of Tuam, and eighteen peers, as well as by Grattan, Conolly, Curran, the Ponsonbys, O'Neill, Charles Francis Sheridan, Langrishe, Ogle, Daly, and many others; and declared that any such proscription was an attack on the independence of Parliament, and was in itself sufficient ground for relentless opposition against any government. The bold attorney-general was not to be intimidated by this—the Duke of Leinster himself, who held an office of high rank, was forthwith dismissed: Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. George Ponsonby, the Earl of Shannon, and a dozen other high officials, who had supported the regency of the Prince of Wales were unceremoniously treated in like manner. At the same time the offices were given, or rather sold to others, for past or future service; and Fitzgibbon himself, who had indeed earned, and who was yet to earn, all the favors which the British Government can heap on one man, was made Lord Chancellor. Good working majorities were now secure, and "the king's business" was to be done in future without fail and with a high hand.

It seems very strange now, that Mr. Grattan and his friends should not have perceived the utter failure and futility of their great and famous achievement of '82 for any practical purpose in checking the deadly domination of England. It is strange that he in particular, who had always avowed himself in favor of full emancipation to the Catholics, did not at last come to the conclusion that the only hope of the country lay, not in Parliament, but in preparation for armed resistance by a *united* nation. In short, the wonder is, that it was not Grattan himself who invented the association of *United Irishmen*. He, with his powerfu political following could have given to tha organization a consistency and a power such as it never possessed, and might have made of Ninety-eight a greater Eighty-two. But in fact he shunned all extra-parliamentary action, and denounced the United Irish to the last. He was so proud of the achievement of Eighty-two that he never could be brought to see its imperfection. Besides, there grows up in members of Parliament, after some years' habit of working in that body, a kind of superstitious reverence for it; an unwillingness to acknowledge any political vitality out-of-doors, and a morbid idea that the eyes of the universe are upon that House, or at least ought to be. Here he stood, after eight years of "independence," confronting an independent Parliament, of whom one hundred and four were bribed as placemen or pensioners, and about a hundred and twenty more owned by proprietors of boroughs, vainly fulminating hi indignant protests against corruption—*al* his efforts to reform any abuse whatever, totally defeated—his Volunteers well got rid of, and succeeded by a militia under immediate control of the crown, and a police force in the metropolis to make sure that no popular demonstrations should ever again attempt to overawe that "independent Parliament;" and yet he could not think of admitting the only rational conclusion—that the united people should be organized to take the government out of hands so incompetent or so vile.

But although the Patriotic party did not go the length of revolutionary projects, they felt the necessity of combining and organizing their parliamentary forces. The "Round Robin" was the parent of the "Whig Club." The leaders of opposition had found it advisable, in order to consolidate their force into a common centre of union, to establish a new political society under the denomination of the Whig Club; an institution highly obnoxious to the Castle: they adopted th same principles, were clad in the same uniform of blue and buff, and professedly acted in concert with the Whig Club of England At the head of this club were the Duke of

Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, both the Messieurs Ponsonby, Mr. Curran, and a number of leading members of opposition in both Houses. It was a rendezvous and round of cabinet dinners for the opposition. Here were planned and arranged all the measures for attack on the ministry. Each member had his measure or his question in turn; the plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was assigned that share in the attack which he was most competent to perform. This club, aided by some popular newspapers, announced its days of dining, proclaimed its sentiments in the shape of resolutions, and enforced them in the press by articles and paragraphs. Some men afterwards well known as United Irishmen, became members of the Whig Club; especially Archibald Hamilton Rowan a gentleman of property in the county of Down, and James Napper Tandy, the Volunteer Artillery commander, who was admitted by acclamation. Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare), in his celebrated speech for the Union—which is the most valuable historic document concerning the events of his day (on the side of plunder, corruption, and English domination)—thus, with vindictive sarcasm, speaks of the buff-and-blue club:—"The better to effectuate the great national objects of a limitation of the pension list, an exclusion of pensioners from the House of Commons, a restriction of placemen, who should sit there, and a responsibility for the receipt and issue of the public treasury, a Whig Club was announced in a manifesto, signed and countersigned, charging the British Government with a deliberate and systematic intention of sapping the liberties and subverting the Parliament of Ireland. All persons of congenial character and sentiment were invited to range under the Whig banner, for the establishment and protection of the Irish constitution, on the model of the Revolution of 1688; and under this banner was ranged such a motley collection of congenial characters, as never before were assembled for the reformation of the state. Mr. Napper Tandy was received by acclamation, as a statesman too important and illustrious to be committed to the hazard of a ballot. Mr. Hamilton Rowan also repaired to the Whig banner. Unfortunately, the political career of these gentlemen has been arrested; Mr. Tandy's by an attainder of felony, and an attainder of treason; Mr. Hamilton Rowan's by an attainder of treason. The Whig secretary, if he does not stand in the same predicament, is now a prisoner at the mercy of the crown, on his own admission of his treason; and if I do not mistake, the whole society of Irish Whigs have been admitted, *ad eundem*, by their Whig brethren of England. In the fury of political resentment, some noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank in this country stooped to associate with the refuse of the community, men whose principles they held in abhorrence, and whose manners and deportment must always have excited their disgust."

There was public thanksgiving in the churches of Dublin for the king's recovery: and in the Catholic chapel of Francis Street a solemn high mass was performed "with a new grand *Te Deum* composed on the occasion by Giordani. The Catholics were stil unrecognized by the law, as citizens or members of civil society, and existed only 'by connivance;' but some Catholic writers tell us with complacency, as a happy instance of the increasing liberality of the times, that several of the first Protestant nobility and gentry assisted at this mass. Plowden says, 'So illustrious an assemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worship in that kingdom since the Reformation. Besides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there were present on the occasion the Duke of Leinster, the Earls and Countesses of Belvedere, Arran, and Portarlington, Countesses of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia, and Delvin, Mr. D. La Touche and family, Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, Mrs. Jeffries, Mrs. Trant, and several other persons of the first distinction.'"

In the month of June of this year the Marquis of Buckingham went to Cork, stayed for a day at the villa of Mr. Lee at Black Rock, and from thence quietly embarked for England. He never returned; and it was observed by Mr. O'Neill in the House of Commons "that if he had not taken a back-stairs departure from the

kingdom, he would have been greeted on his retreat in a very different manner from what he had been on his arrival." Of the course of this bad viceroy's government we find no better summary than that given by Mr. Grattan in a speech delivered while Lord Buckingham still sat in Dublin Castle.

"This was the man; you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed profession: a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people; and with a double tongue, speaking contradictory languages.

"This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and peculation faints with idle alarms; he finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police—he continues it; he finds the country overburdened with a shameful pension list—he increases it; he finds the House of Commons swarming with placemen—he multiplies them; he inds the salary of the secretary increased to prevent a pension—he grants a pension; he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by compensations to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee, his brother; he finds the Government at different times had disgraced itself by creating sinecures to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother; he finds the second council to the commissioners put down because useless—he revives it; he finds the boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact—he divides them; he finds the boards of customs and excise united by public compact—he divides them; he finds three resolutions, declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine; he finds the country has suffered by some peculations in the ordnance—he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places to nembers of Parliament."

Before dismissing the Marquis of Buckingham and his viceroyalty, it is right to add that during his government the pension list, already enormous, was increased by new pensions to the amount of £13,000 a year.* It was a good argument, morally, for reform, but a still better argument, materially and practically, against reform. Parliamentary patriots might have seen that they were moving in a vicious circle: the more irresistible, logical, and argumentative were their assaults on the citadel of corruption, the more impregnable became that citadel, by means of the very corruption itself: and it must be admitted that although the Marquis of Buckingham absconded, like any defaulting bank officer from Ireland, he left British policy in full, successful, and triumphant operation.

On the 30th of June, 1789, Fitzgibbon, the new lord chancellor, and Mr. Foster the Speaker of the House, were sworn in lords-justices. The Marquis of Buckingham resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Westmoreland.

In the last year of the Buckingham ad-

* This being mere matter of account, says Mr. Grattan, I extract it from the papers laid before Parliament. Appendix to the 13th vol. Journ. Com., p. 271.

A list of all Pensions placed on the Civil Establishment during the period of the Marquis of Buckingham's Administration, with an account of the total Amount thereof.

Fitzherbert Richards, Esq.	£400
James Cavendish, Esq.	150
Harriet Cavendish.	150
Lionel, Lord Viscount Strangford.	400
Robert Thornton, Esq.	300
Right Honorable Thomas Orde.	1700
Duke of Gloucester.	4000
Georgina, Viscountess Boyne.	500
Lady Catherine Marlay.	300
Honorable Rose Browne.	300
Walter Taylor.	300
Francis d'Ivernois.	300
David Jebb, Esq.	300
Lady Catherine Toole.	200
Thomas Coughlan, additional.	200
William, Viscount Chetwynd, additional.	200
Charles, Viscount Ranelagh, and Sarah, Viscountess Ranelagh, his wife, and survivor.	400
Lucia Agar, Viscountess Clifden, and Emily Anne Agar her daughter, and survivor.	300
Sir Henry Mannix, Bart.	500
Sir Richard Johnstone, Bart., and William Johnstone, Esq., his son, and survivor	800
Sarah Hernon.	70
Elizabeth Hernon.	70
Henry Loftus, Esq.	300
Diana Loftus.	300
William Colville, Esq.	600
	£13,040

ministration, the violent feuds of the Peep-of-Day-Boys and Defenders had taken almost the proportions of a small civil war. Many of the Protestant landlords in Armagh and Tyrone Counties diligently fomented and embittered these disputes, "with the diabolical purpose," says Mr. Plowden, "of breaking up the union of the Protestants and Catholics, which had been effected by serving together as Volunteers, and was one of the effects of that system, which the Government appeared most to dread. Reports were industriously set afloat, and greedily credited by most Protestants of the county of Armagh, who long had been pre-eminent amongst their brethren for their zealous antipathy to Popery, that if Catholics, who had obtained arms, and learned the use of them during the war, were permitted to retain them, they would soon be used in erecting Popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. The Defenders had long and frequently complained, that all that efforts to procure legal redress against the outrages committed upon them by the Peep-of-Day Boys were unavailing: that their oppressors appeared to be rather countenanced, than checked by the civil power; and that the necessity of the case had driven them into counter-combinations to defend their lives and properties against these uncontrolled marauders. Whilst these petty, but fatal internal hostilities were confined chiefly to the county of Armagh, it appears that the Defenders had generally remained passive according to their first institution and appellation: and that they only became aggressors, when they afterwards were compelled to emigrate from their country. Their hostility was now at its height; Government sent down two troops to quell them, but above fifty on both sides had been killed in an affray before the horse arrived. Tranquillity lasted whilst the troops remained. But it was impossible that a large assemblage of men, void of education, prudence, or control, should long remain together without mischief."

The "Defenders," that is the luckless Catholics of those northern counties, struggling only to live by their labor; surrounded by a larger population of insolent and ferocious Protestant farmers, remained *always*, as their name imports, strictly on the defensive. They never were mad enough to became "aggressors" at all: and Mr. Plowden, in the passage just cited, falls into the not unusual error of Catholic writers, who are so determined to be impartial that they lean to the party which they abhor. It is right to understand once for all—and we shall have but too many occasions of illustrating the fact—that in all the violent and bloody contentions which have taken place between the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster from that day to the present, without any exception, the Protestants have been the wanton aggressors. It was with the utmost difficulty that Catholics could procure arms; but they knew that their Protestant neighbors were all armed. They knew also that if there were to be any examination into the facts before justices of the peace, or at the assizes, they were sure to meet a bitter, contemptuous hostility on the bench and in the jury-box; and witnesses ready to swear that a Popish funeral was a military parade, and a faction-fight an insurrection. Therefore it was not in the nature of things that such an oppressed race should voluntarily seek a collision, or should resort to violence save in the utmost extremity of almost despairing resistance. It is true also, that from the very origin of Peep-of-Day Boys (who afterwards ripened into Orangemen), down to the present moment (1867), many of the greatest proprietors in Ulster, peers and commoners, have carefully stimulated the ferocity of the ignorant Protestant yeomanry by their own insolent behavior towards the oppressed people, and especially by inculcating and enlarging upon all the dreadful details of that bloody fable, the "Popish Massacre" of 1641. Sir John Temple's horrible romance was a fifth gospel to the "Ascendency" of the North; and was often enlarged upon (like the other four) by clergymen in their pulpits, to show that it is the favorite enjoyment of Papists to rip up Protestant women with knives; to murder the mothers and then to put the infants to their dead mother's breast, and say: "*Suck, English bastard!*"—to delude men out of houses by offers of quarter, and then to cut their throats, and so on. Indeed when the con-

scientious Dr. Curry published his examination of the histories of that pretended massacre, his friends feared for his life: it was held proof positive, in his day, of a design to "bring in the Pretender," if one presumed to deny or doubt the terrible drowning of Protestants at Portadown bridge—or to question the fact of their ghosts appearing in the river at night, breast-high in the water, and shrieking "*Revenge! Revenge!*" From such historic literature as this were derived the opinions formed of Catholics by Peep-of-Day Boys, and by their worthy successors the Orangemen. The baleful seeds of hatred and iniquity sown thus in the minds of benighted Protestants, by those who ought to have taught them better, fell in congenial soil, and grew, flourished, and ripened, as we shall soon have to narrate, in a harvest of bloody fruit.

The Earl of Westmoreland's administration was precisely like that of his predecessors. It was observed in Parliament by several of the opposition members "that it was but a continuance of the former administration under a less unpopular head." Major Doyle said (10 Parl. Deb., p. 233): "The same measures were continued by the present viceroy, as if some malicious demon had shot into him the spirit of his departed predecessor, and that the Castle of Dublin was only the reflected shadows of the Palace of Stowe."

It is truly irksome to follow the unavailing parliamentary struggles made by a few faithful Irishmen in those days; and the commemoration of them might well be dispensed with but for the pride and pleasure which we cannot but feel in the knowledge that even in that dark day there were some glorious intellects and noble hearts in Ireland, who, environed around and almost overwhelmed by the deluge of scoundrelism, yet did hold up the standard of rectitude and call upon the demoralized nation to follow that standard. It was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. We find in the parliamentary debates, during the session of 1790, the same sort of series of motions for committees, or for resolutions, against corruption, against increase of pensions and the like, with which the country was now familiar. It was familiar also with the uniform defeat of all those efforts. Mr. Curran, for example, moved, "That a humble address should be presented to his majesty, praying that he would order to be laid before that House the particulars of the causes, consideration, and representations, in consequence of which the boards of stamps and accounts had been divided, with an increase of salary to the officers; also, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to that House the names of the persons who recommended that measure."

In his speech in support of this motion, Curran assailed the purchased majority with some of that biting and devouring sarcasm which the court so much dreaded, and which—had Curran been purchasable—would have insured him the highest price.

"He brought forward that motion," he said, "not as a question of finance, not as a question of regulation, but as a penal inquiry, and the people would now see, whether they were to hope for help *within these walls.*" He rose in an assembly of three hundred persons, one hundred of whom had places or pensions; in an assembly, one-third of whom had their ears sealed against the complaints of the people, and their eyes intently turned to their own interest; he rose before the whisperers of the treasury, the bargainers and the runners of the Castle: he addressed an audience, before whom was holden forth the doctrine, that the crown ought to use its influence on the members of that House.

He rose to try when the sluices of corruption had been let loose upon them, whether there were any means left to stem that torrent.

The debate broke out into great intemperance on both sides: the division upon the motion was 81 in support, and 141 against it.

Mr. Curran's doubt "whether there was hope for help within those walls," was plainly ripening into a certainty, that there was none.

In the same way we find the indefatigable Mr. Forbes again trying his place bill and pension bill. This time he moved for an address to the king, setting forth the shabby details which he had long busied himself in

bringing to light:—how there was an immense increase in the pension list, of pensions granted to members of that House, at the pleasure of the crown. How "an addition of £300 per annum, has been lately granted to the salary of the custommer of Kinsale, to commence from the 29th of September, 1789; and a further addition of £200 payable on a contingency, both for the life of the present possessor: an office which has been for years considered as useless and obsolete, to which no duty whatsoever is annexed, nor any attendance required. That an addition of £400 per annum has been lately granted to the salary of comptroller of the pipe, though £53 10*s.* has for years been considered as an adequate compensation for the discharge of the duties of That office. That an addition of £150 per annum has also been lately granted to the barrack-master of Dublin. *That the persons to whom those additional salaries have been granted, are all members of this House.*" And so forth; things which the king and Mr. Pitt, his minister, knew very well; which hey intended; in which they meant to ersevere; and which they called governing he country. Of course the address to the king was negatived by a large majority: the "comptroller of the pipe" and the customer of Kinsale were not likely to vote for a measure which would deprive their little families of bread. Mr. Grattan spoke on this motion of Forbes: but perhaps the most notable passage in the debate is the short, nervous speech of Mr. O'Neil, which plainly showed that he, too, despaired of effecting any thing in Parliament, and foresaw another kind of struggle. Mr. O'Neil said "he thought it wholly unnecessary for gentlemen on the other side to adduce a single argument upon any question, while they had an omnipotent number of 140 to support them. On the subject of influence, the denial of it, he said, was ridiculous, as there was not a lady then sitting at tea in Dublin, who, if she were told that there were 120 men in that House, composed of placemen and pensioners, would not be able to say how the question would be decided, as well as the tellers on the division. He said the very first act in every session of Parliament, which was the bill of supply, went to raise the interest for a million and a half of money for ministers to divide amongst themselves. I do say and I said it prophetically," continued he, "that the people will resist it. The members of this House bear but a small proportion to the people at large. There are gentlemen outside these doors, of as good education and of as much judgment of the relative duties of representation, as any man within doors, and matters are evidently ripening, and will shortly come to a crisis." Mr. O'Neil was right: but he and Mr. Grattan, and others who acted with them, are never to be forgiven, that they did not help matters to come to a crisis, and did not preside over and guide that crisis when it came.

The remainder of this shameful Parliament is little worthy of commemoration. Mr. George Ponsonby moved a resolution against places and pensions; defeated by a large majority. Mr. Grattan, filled with the same *sæva indignatio* which once gnawed the heart of Swift, astonished the House by a speech calling for impeachment of ministers, concluding with this motion, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire, in the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have entered into any corrupt agreement with any person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his majesty as fit and proper to be by him made peers of this realm, in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independence of Parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land." It was defeated by the usual majority; 144 against, and 82 for the motion. A few days after, Mr. Grattan was provoked to utter one of his audacious speeches in the House. It was in one of the debates on Mr. Forbes' motion:—"Sir, I have been told it was said, that I should have been stopped, should have been expelled the Commons, should have been delivered up to the bar of the Lords for the expressions delivered that day.

"I will repeat what I said on that day: I said that his majesty's ministers had sold the peerages, for which offence they were

impeachable. I said they had applied the money for the purpose of purchasing seats in the House of Commons for the servants or followers of the Castle, for which offence I said they were impeachable. I said they had done this, not in one or two, but in several instances, for which complication of offences I said his majesty's ministers were impeachable, as public malefactors, who had conspired against the common weal, the independence of Parliament, and the fundamental laws of the land; and I offered, and dared them to put this matter in a course of inquiry. I added, that I considered them as public malefactors, whom we were ready to bring to justice. I repeat these charges now, and if any thing more severe were on a former occasion expressed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. Why do you not expel me now? Why not send me to the bar of the Lords? Where is your adviser? Going out of the House I shall repeat my sentiments, that his majesty's ministers are guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to the bar of the the Lords, I shall repeat those sentiments, or if the Tower is to be my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of these ministers, and return not to capitulate, but to punish. Sir, I think I know myself well enough to say, that if called forth to suffer in a public cause, I will go farther than my prosecutors, both in virtue and in danger."

All similar efforts failed in the same manner; effecting nothing but an occasional opportunity of discharging a torrent of indignant invective against the solid phalanx of Castle members, equally insensible to invective, to sarcasm, to shame, and to conscience; and the Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, 1790; the viceroy assuring them in his speech from the throne that "he had great pleasure in signifying his majesty's approbation of the zeal they had shown for the public interest, and the dispatch with which they had concluded the national business." Three days after the Parliament was dissolved.

But although the Parliament of the "independent" kingdom of Ireland was in so wofully corrupt a condition, yet we find that in material prosperity the country continued to advance. The population had increased very rapidly, and it is estimated, for the year 1788, at 4,040,000, an increase of a million and a half in twenty years. This is a sure sign of general ease and abundance of the necessaries of life. The revenue was also increasing fully in proportion to the increase of people; and the Catholics, being now empowered to hold longer leases, and to take mortgages on money lent, had well improved their limited opportunities, and were become in all the towns an opulent and influential portion of the people. Yet the Catholics, while personally they were respected, were as a body both oppressed and insulted. Of the four millions, they were more than three; yet this great mass of people, the original and rightful owners of all the land, were still a proscribed race, still under the full operation of the most odious of the penal laws, excluded from Parliament, from the franchise, from the professions, from the corporations, from the juries, from the magistracy, from all civil and military employment. Public ceremonials were calculated and devised with the special design to humiliate them, and remind them of the high national estate from which they had fallen; and even in those proud days of the Volunteering, the anniversaries of their fatal defeats were regularly celebrated in Dublin by the high officers of state with all possible civic and military pomp. The author of the "Irish Abroad and at Home" tells us, from his own recollections:—"King William's birth-day (the 4th of November) was observed with great ceremony. Within my own recollection, and even till the period of the Union, on each 4th of November, the troops composing the garrison of Dublin marched from their respective barracks to the Royal Exchange, and there turning to the right up to the Castle, and to the left to the college, lined the streets, Cork Hill, Dame Street, and College Green, on each side the way.

"At the same time the lord-lieutenant would be holding a levee; a drawing-room wound up the observances, at which the nobility, the bishops, the members of the House of Commons (the Speaker at their head), the judges, the bar, the provost, vice-provost, and fellows of Trinity College, the lord mayor, aldermen, and other public

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functionaries were present. The levee over, the lord-lieutenant issued in his state-carriage and with great pomp from the Castle, passed down the line of streets, and round the statue of King William, and then returned to the Castle; followed also in carriages by the great officers of state, the bishops, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and those of the gentry who had been present at the levee."

But as the Catholics advanced in prosperity and increased in numbers, this condition of inferiority in their own native land became more and more intolerable to them: the complete failure of the constitutional "independence" of '82 was creating amongst the more rational Protestants a desire of uniting themselves with the powerful Catholic masses; a "Catholic Committee" had now been for some years in existence, connived at by Government, and on the whole there was a considerable ferment in the public mind at the moment when, on the 14th of July, 1789, all Europe rang and shook with the downfall of the Bastile. Within three weeks after, on the memorable 4th of August, feudality and privilege were suddenly struck down and swept away: in that most aristocratic of countries all men became suddenly equal in one night; and the great French Revolution was in full career.

CHAPTER XXV.

1790—1791.

New election—New peers—Sale of peerages—Motion against Police Bill—Continual defeats of Patriots—Insolence of the Castle—Progress of French Revolution—Horror of French principles—Burke—Divisions amongst Irish Catholics—Wolfe Tone—General Committee of Catholics—Tone goes to Belfast—Establishes first United Irish Club—Dublin United Irish Club—Parliamentary Patriots avoid them—Progress of Catholic Committee—Project of a Convention—Troubles in County Armagh.

NOTWITHSTANDING the progress which had been made by the people in political knowledge and spirit, stimulated by the mighty events then going forward in France, yet the influence of the Castle prevented any great change in the return of members to the new Parliament. The dissolution took place on the 8th of April, 1790, and the new Parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the 20th of May, but before that time, was further prorogued to the 10th of July, when it met for dispatch of business

Such of the constituencies as were really free to *elect*, of course took care to send to Parliament all the most prominent reformers. Grattan, Forbes, Curran, Ponsonby, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, occupied their old places on the opposition bench. We find among the new members several noted names. A certain young Major Wellesley was returned for the borough of Trim, afterwards called to high destinies under the title of Duke of Wellington. Jonah Barrington was member for Tuam: he had seen the rise, and was destined to chronicle the Rise and Fall, of the Irish nation. Arthur O'Connor came as member for Philipstown: his name will appear again in this narrative. Robert Stewart came as one of the members for Down County; and had an opportunity of studying the modes of buying and selling in that great mart of votes and influences; opportunities which he improved with the zeal of a clerk in a commercial house learning his business. We shall see that he spent the season of his apprenticeship profitably. In the mean time, it is interesting to record that this gentleman sought his election, and was returned, expressly as an avowed reformer and patriot; and that on the hustings at Downpatrick he took the following pledge:—"That he would in and out of the House, with all his ability and influence, promote the success of a bill for amending the representation of the people; a bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in Parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the *British* House of Commons; a bill for limiting the numbers of placemen and pensioners and the amount of pensions; a bill for preventing revenue-officers from voting at elections; a bill for rendering the servants of the crown in Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money," etc.,—in short, all the measures of reform which were at that time the ostensible objects of the opposition.

The purpose of convening the Parliament was to obtain a vote of credit: accordingly the chancellor of the exchequer moved for a vote of credit for £200,000, to be ap

plied by the lord-lieutenant towards the expense of Government.

On the 24th of the month his majesty's answer to the address of the Commons was communicated to the House, which was strongly expressive of his satisfaction at their determination to support the honor of his crown, and the common interest of the empire, at that important crisis: the Parliament was then prorogued, and did not meet for the dispatch of business till the 20th of January, 1791. In the autumn, Mr. Secretary Hobart went over to England, as it was generally presumed, to concert the plan of the next parliamentary campaign with the British cabinet. It was also rumored, that the Irish government having in the widest plenitude adopted the principles and system of Lord Buckingham's administration, the right honorable secretary had also much consultation with that nobleman. Lord Westmoreland in the mean time was not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity, the want of which in his predecessor he felt very strongly operating upon his own government. In a country excursion for nearly nine months he visited most of the nobility through the kingdom: his excellency and his lady on all solemn occasions appeared clad in Irish manufactures: just as in our own day an ameliorative viceroy has sometimes condescended to wear a "poplin waistcoat." We are even told that Lord Westmoreland further increased his popularity by giving permission to represent "The Beggar's Opera," which was then a favorite of the Dublin people, but the representation of which had been prohibited in Lord Buckingham's time.

The business of this session differed very little from that of the last before the dissolution. The Patriots appeared rather to have lost, than acquired, strength by the new election. Their number did not at any time during the course of this session exceed fourscore. But their resolution to press all the questions which they had brought forward in the last Parliament, appeared more violently determined than ever; insomuch, that Mr. George Ponsonby in replying to Mr. Cook, assured him, that the hope he had expressed of gentlemen on his side of the House not bringing forward those measures, which they had done for some sessions past, was a lost hope, for that nothing but the hand of death or success should ever induce them to give up their pursuit. Accordingly Mr. Ponsonby, on the 3d of February, moved as usual for a select committee to inquire into the pension list. It was got rid of by a motion for adjournment. Then Mr. Grattan, supported by Mr. Curran, renewed the charge upon its practice of selling peerages: it was rejected by 135 against 85.

Mr. Curran then moved the following resolution, in which he was seconded by Mr. Grattan, viz.: "That a committee be appointed, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament, who do not hold any employment or enjoy any pension under the crown, to inquire in the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have, directly or indirectly, entered into any corrupt agreement with any person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his majesty for the purpose of being created peers of this kingdom, in consideration of their paying certain sums of money, to be laid out in the purchase of seats for members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independence of Parliament, and in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

The ministerial members on all these occasions loudly complained of the reiteration of the old charges even without new arguments to support them; they strongly insisted that no particular facts were alleged, much less proved; and that general fame, surmise, and assertion, were no grounds for parliamentary impeachments, or any other solemn proceedings in that House. Mr. Grattan, before answering the objections advanced against the motion, adverted to the general dull and empty declamation uttered by the advocates of a corrupt government against the defenders of an injured people.

Four times, had those advocates told them, they had brought this grievance forth, as if grievances were only to be matter of public debate when they were matters of novelty; or as if grievances were trading questions for a party or a person to press, to sell, and

to abandon; or as if they came thither to act farces to please the appetite of the public, and did not sit there to persevere in the redress of grievances, pledged as they were, and covenanted to the people on these important subjects.

Under these continual defeats of every generous effort to abate a single evil or injustice, it seems to have been some satisfaction to the members of the opposition to indulge at least in violent philippics. Mr. Grattan, for instance, in making a renewed effort against the unconstitutional police system:—Ministers had, he said, resorted to a place army and a pensioned magistracy: the one was to give boldness to corruption in Parliament, and the other to give the minister's influence patronage in the city. Their means were, this police establishment: the plan they did not entirely frame: they found it. A bill had shown its face in the British House of Commons for a moment, and had been turned out of the doors immediately: a scavenger would have found it in the streets of London: the groping hands of the Irish ministry picked it up, and made it the law of the land.

The motion against the police was negatived by what Mr. Grattan called the *dead majority*. Next the opposition tried another favorite measure—to prevent placemen and pensioners from having seats in Parliament; in other words, that the "dead majority" should be turned out-of-doors and deprived of their daily bread. This measure was supported as usual by Mr. Forbes, and of course by the same arguments: there was nothing new to say: there was the evil visible before them; or rather the 104 evils, each with its bribe in its pocket, wrung from the earnings of those people whose legislature they poisoned. But the Castle members were utterly disgusted with these threadbare topics; they called for something new; and so Mr. Mason had the cool audacity to say, that having opposed this bill every session for thirty years, he would not weary the House with fresh arguments against it: his decided opinion was, that the influence of the crown was barely sufficient to preserve the constitution, and to prevent it from degenerating into the worst of all possible governments, a democracy.

Indeed, the terror of this democracy, and the manifest peril to oligarchical government both in England and in Ireland, arising from the thundering French revolution and its reverberations through many millions of hearts in the two islands—these were the considerations that rendered the supporters of Government more sternly resolute to maintain every part of their system as it stood. Reformers of any abuse began about this time to be called "Jacobins," and the "Mountain;" and it was intended for the most ribald abuse, to charge a person with advocating the *Rights of Man*.

Equally violent and equally unsuccessful were the four remaining attacks made by the gentlemen of the opposition: viz., Mr. Grattan's motion for the encouragement of the reclaiming of barren land; on the first reading of the pension bill; the second reading of the responsibility bill; and Mr. George Ponsonby's motion respecting *fiats* for levying unassessed damages upon the parties' *affidavits* of their own imaginary losses.

We must now turn away for a time from these eloquent futilities in Parliament. It is difficult now to analyze the strong political passion which seized upon all the public, as the mighty drama of French Revolution swept upon its way. The year 1791 stimulated that passion to the greatest height. The great theatrical performance of the federation of all mankind in the Champ de Mars, had taken place on the 14th of July of the last year, when the King of France had sworn to maintain the constitution. The church lands had been sold for the use of the public: Mirabeau, the great tribune, was dead, and the last hope of conciliation between the people and the crown, died with him. Then the great coalition of Europe against France was formed; and the king attempted his flight beyond the Rhine. Every thing betokened both war and invasion coming from abroad, and the approaching triumph at home of the Jacobin Republicans, with the usual violence and slaughter which attend such immense changes. It was impossible to look on at these things unmoved. Two fierce parties were at once formed in Ireland, the one Republican, the other anti-Gallican.

The sympathy which several of the armed corps and other public bodies exultingly expressed with the assertors of civil freedom in those countries, was obnoxious to Government, and it became the system of the Castle to affix a marked stigma upon every person who countenanced or spoke in favor of any measure that bore the semblance of reform or revolution. Even the ardor for commemorating the era of 1688, was attempted to be damped; the word *liberty* always carried with it suspicion, often reprobation. In proportion to the progress of the French revolution to those scenes, which at last outraged humanity, were some efforts in favor of the most constitutional liberty resisted in Parliament, as attempts to introduce a system of French equality. Such was the general panic, such the real or assumed execration of every thing that had a tendency to democracy, that comparatively few of the higher orders through the kingdom retained, or avowed, those general Whig principles, which two years before that man was not deemed loyal, who did not profess.

Mr. Burke by his book on the French revolution, published in the year 1790, had worked a great change in the public mind, and the few in the upper walks of life, who did not become his proselytes, merely retaining their former principles, were astonished to find their ranks thinned and their standard fallen.

The Catholics also could not possibly remain insensible to the great events of the time: but the effect produced upon them was a strangely complex kind. As a grievously oppressed race they could not but sympathize with the oppressed peasantry and middle classes of France as they struck off link after link of the feudal chain: but on the other hand the Irish Catholics, not like the French, had remained deeply attached to their religion, the only consolation they had: and the French "Civil Constitution" for the clergy, and sale of church lands, were represented to them as anti-religious, and dangerous to faith and morals. Publications were circulated upon the conservative tendencies of the Catholic religion * to render its followers loyal, peaceable, and dutiful subjects. Pastoral instructions were published by the Catholic bishops in their respective dioceses, in favor of loyal subordination and against "French principles." On the other hand, the trading Catholics in the towns, and such of the country population as were readers of books, were very generally indoctrinated with sentiments of extreme liberalism. It was not to be expected, they thought, that *they* could be "loyal" to a Government which they knew only by its oppressions and its insults: it was not likely that they would be indignant against the French for abolishing *tithes*, nor for selling out in small farms the vast domains of the emigrant nobles. On the whole therefore a very large proportion of the Catholics looked to the proceedings of the French with admiration and with hope. As for the Irish Dissenters, who were much more numerous than the Protestants of the established church, they were *Gallican* and republican to a man.

Considering that the only real enemy of Ireland, both then and ever since, was the English Government, it was very unfortunate that the divisions amongst the Catholics themselves, and the hereditary estrangement and aversion between them and the Presbyterians, made it next to impossible to create a united Irish nation, with one sole bond, and one single aim, the destruction of British government in this island. This, however, was precisely the great task undertaken by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young Protestant lawyer of Dublin; of English descent by both the father's side and the mother's, a graduate of Trinity College, and who at the time when he first flung himself into the grand revolutionary scheme of associating the Catholics to the body of the nation, was not personally acquainted with a single individual of that creed. It is needless to say that Tone had been a democrat from the very commencement—that is from the commencement of the French revolution. In his narrative of his own life, Tone has given so clear an account of the dissensions which broke up the Catholic Committee, the circumstances which led to his own alliance with the Catholic body, and the first formation of the clubs of "United Irishmen," that

* One of the most noted of these publications was one called "The Case Stated," by Mr. Plowden.

it may here be presented in his own words, in a slightly abridged form:—

"The General Committee of the Catholics, which, since the year 1792, has made a distinguished feature in the politics of Ireland, was a body composed of their bishops, their country gentlemen, and of a certain number of merchants and traders, all resident in Dublin, but named by the Catholics in the different towns corporate to represent them. The original object of this institution was to obtain the repeal of a partial and oppressive tax called quarterage, which was levied on the Catholics only, and the Government, which found the committee at first a convenient instrument on some occasions, connived at its existence. So degraded was the Catholic mind at the period of the formation of their committee, about 1770, and long after, that they were happy to be allowed to go up to the Castle with an abominable slavish address to each successive viceroy, of which, moreover, until the accession of the Duke of Portland, in 1782, so little notice was taken that his grace was the first who condescended to give them an answer; and, indeed, for above twenty years, the sole business of the General Committee was to prepare and deliver in those records of their depression. The effort which an honest indignation had called forth at the time of the Volunteer Convention, in 1783, seemed to have exhausted their strength, and they sunk back into their primitive nullity. Under this appearance of apathy, however, a new spirit was gradually arising in the body, owing, principally, to the exertions and the example of one man, John Keogh, to whose services his country, and more especially the Catholics, are singularly indebted. In fact, the downfall of feudal tyranny was acted in little on the theatre of the General Committee. The influence of their clergy and of their barons was gradually undermined, and the third estate, the commercial interest, rising in wealth and power, was preparing, by degrees, to throw off the yoke, in the imposing, or, at least, the continuing of which the leaders of the body, I mean the prelates and aristocracy, to their disgrace be it spoken, were ready to concur. Already had those leaders, acting in obedience to the orders of the Government which held them in fetters, suffered one or two signal defeats in the committee, owing principally to the talent and address of John Keogh; the parties began to be defined, and a sturdy democracy of new men, with bolder views and stronger talents, soon superseded the timid counsels and slavish measures of the ancient aristocracy. Every thing seemed tending to a better order of things among the Catholics and an occasion soon offered to call the energy of their new leaders into action.

"The Dissenters of the North, and more especially of the town of Belfast, are from the genius of their religion and from the superior diffusion of political information among them, sincere and enlightened Republicans. They had ever been foremost in the pursuit of parliamentary reform, and I have already mentioned the early wisdom and virtue of the town of Belfast, in proposing the emancipation of the Catholics so far back as the year 1783.

"The Catholics, on their part, were rapidly advancing in political spirit and information. Every month, every day, as the revolution in France went prosperously forward, added to their courage and their force, and the hour seemed at last arrived, when, after a dreary oppression of about one hundred years, they were once more to appear on the political theatre of their country. They saw the brilliant prospect of success which events in France opened to their view, and they determined to avail themselves with promptitude of that opportunity, which never returns to those who omit it. For this, the active members of the General Committee resolved to set on foot an immediate application to Parliament, praying for a repeal of the penal laws. The first difficulty they had to surmount, arose in their own body; their peers, their gentry (as they affected to call themselves), and their prelates, either seduced or intimidated by Government, gave the measure all possible opposition; and, at length, after a long contest, in which both parties strained every nerve, and produced the whole of their strength, the question was decided on a division in the committee by a majority of at least six to one, in favor of the intended application. The triumph of the young democracy was complete;

but, though the aristocracy was defeated, it was not yet entirely broken down. By the instigation of Government they had the meanness to secede from the General Committee, to disavow their acts, and even to publish in the papers, that they did not wish to embarrass the Government by advancing their claims of emancipation. It is difficult to conceive such a degree of political degradation; but what will not the tyranny of an execrable system produce in time? Sixty-eight gentlemen, individually of high spirit, were found, who, publicly, and in a body, deserted their party, and their own just claims, and even sanctioned this pitiful desertion by the authority of their signatures. Such an effect had the operation of the penal laws on the minds of the Catholics of Ireland, as proud a race as any in all Europe! *

"The first attempts of the Catholic Committee failed totally; endeavoring to accommodate all parties, they framed a petition so humble that it ventured to ask for nothing, and even this petition they could not find a single member of the legislature to present; of so little consequence, in the year 1790, was the great mass of the Irish people! Not disheartened, however, by this defeat, they went on, and in the interval between that and the approaching session, they were preparing measures for a second application. In order to add a greater weight and consequence to their intended petition, they brought over to Ireland Richard Burke, only son of the celebrated Edmund, and appointed him their agent to conduct their application to Parliament. This young man came over with considerable advantages, and especially with the *éclat* of his father's name, who, the Catholics concluded, and very reasonably, would, for his sake, if not for theirs, assist his son with his advice and directions. But their expectations in the event proved abortive. Richard Burke, with a considerable portion of talent from nature, and cultivated, as may be well supposed, with the utmost care by his father, who idolized him, was utterly deficient in judgment, in temper, and especially in the art of managing parties. In three or four months' time, during which he remained in Ireland, he contrived to embroil himself, and, in a certain degree, the committee, with all parties in Parliament, the opposition as well as the Government, and ended his short and turbulent career by breaking with the General Committee. That body, however, treated him respectfully to the last, and, on his departure, they sent a deputation to thank him for his exertions, and presented him with the sum of two thousand guineas.

"It was pretty much about this time that my connection with the Catholic body commenced, in the manner which I am about to relate.

"Russell* had, on his arrival to join his regiment at Belfast, found the people so much to his taste, and in return had rendered himself so agreeable to them, that he was speedily admitted into their confidence, and became a member of several of their clubs. This was an unusual circumstance, as British officers, it may well be supposed, were no great favorites with the republicans of Belfast. The Catholic question was, at this period, beginning to attract the public notice; and the Belfast Volunteers, on some public occasion, I know not precisely what, wished to come forward with a declaration in its favor. For this purpose, Russell, who, by this time, was entirely in their confidence, wrote to me to draw up and transmit to him such a declaration as I thought proper, which I accordingly did. A meeting of the

* Mr. Tone's account of the secession of the sixty-eight members from the General Committee is not sufficiently explanatory. Mr. Plowden, an excellent authority on this point, says that it was caused chiefly by dissatisfaction on account of "public acts of Communication of Protestants in the North with France." In particular, the people of Belfast had sent an address of warm congratulation to the society of "Friends of the Constitution" at Bordeaux; and had received an eloquent reply. Communications of this kind, says Plowden, "gave particular offence to Government, who manifested great jealousy and diffidence towards all persons concerned in them." It was to express their horror of co-operating in any degree with such men and measures, that the men of landed property and the prelates seceded. The seceders shortly after presented to the lord-lieutenant a petition or address, which went no farther than a general expression of submissiveness and respect to Government, "throwing themselves and their body on their humanity and wisdom." This was called tauntingly the "Eleemosynary Address."

* Thomas Russell, Tone's most intimate friend and comrade.

corps was held in consequence, but an opposition unexpectedly arising to that part of the declarations which alluded directly to he Catholic claims, that passage was, for .he sake of unanimity, withdrawn for the present, and the declarations then passed unanimously. Russell wrote me an account of all this, and it immediately set me to thinking more seriously than I had yet done upon the state of Ireland. I soon formed my theory, and on that theory I have unvaryingly acted ever since.

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter—these were my means. To effectuate these great objects, I reviewed the three great sects. The Protestants I despaired of from the outet, for obvious reasons. Already in possession, by an unjust monopoly, of the whole power and patronage of the country, it was not to be supposed they would ever concur in measures, the certain tendency of which must be to lessen their influence as a party, how much soever the nation might gain. To the Catholics I thought it unnecessary to address myself, because, as no change could make their political situation worse, I reckoned upon their support to a certainty; besides, they had already begun to manifest a strong sense of their wrongs and oppressions: and, finally, I well knew that, however it might be disguised or suppressed, there existed in the breast of every Irish Catholic, an inextirpable abhorrence of the English name and power. There remained only the Dissenters, whom I knew to be patriotic and enlightened; however, the recent events at Belfast had showed me that ill prejudice was not yet entirely removed from their minds. I sat down accordingly, and wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the Dissenters, and which I entitled "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland," the object of which was to convince them that they and the Catholics had but one common interest, and one common enemy: that the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them, and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds, to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people. These principles I supported by the best arguments which suggested themselves to me, and particularly by demonstrating that the cause of the failure of all former efforts, and more especially of the Volunteer Convention in 1783, was the unjust neglect of the claims of their Catholic brethren. This pamphlet, which appeared in September, 1791, under the signature of a Northern Whig, had a considerable degree of success. The Catholics (*with not one of whom I was at the time acquainted*) were pleased with the efforts of a volunteer in their cause, and distributed it in all quarters. The people of Belfast, of whom I had spoken with the respect and admiration I sincerely felt for them, and to whom I was also perfectly unknown, printed a very large edition, which they dispersed through the whole North of Ireland, and I have the great satisfaction to believe that many of the Dissenters were converted by my arguments. It is like vanity to speak of my own performances so much; and the fact is, I believe that I am somewhat vain on that topic; but, as it was the immediate cause of my being made known to the Catholic body, I may be, perhaps, excused for dwelling on a circumstance which I must ever look upon, for that reason, as one of the most fortunate of my life. As my pamphlet spread more and more, my acquaintance amongst the Catholics extended accordingly. My first friend in the body was John Keogh, and through him I became acquainted with all the leaders, as Richard McCormick, John Sweetman, Edward Byrne, Thomas Braughall, in short, the whole sub-committee, and most of the active members of the General Committee. It was a kind of fashion this winter (1791) among the Catholics to give splendid dinners to their political friends, in and out of Parliament, and I was always a guest, of course. I was invited to a grand

dinner, given to Richard Burke, on his leaving Dublin, together with William Todd Jones, who had distinguished himself by a most excellent pamphlet in favor of the Catholic cause, as well as to several entertainments, given by clubs and associations. I was invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though I highly esteemed, I knew as yet but by reputation. In consequence, about the beginning of October, I went down with my friend Russell, who had, by this time, quit the army, and was in Dublin, on his private affairs. That journey was by far the most agreeable and interesting one I had ever made: my reception was of the most flattering kind, and I found the men of the most distinguished public virtue in the nation, the most estimable in all the domestic relations of life: I had the good fortune to render myself agreeable to them, and a friendship was then formed between us which I think it will not be easy to shake. It is a kind of injustice to name individuals, yet I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of observing how peculiarly fortunate I esteem myself in having formed connections with Samuel Neilson, Robert Simms, William Simms, William Sinclair, Thomas McCabe: I may as well stop here; for, in enumerating my most particular friends, I find I am, in fact, making out a list of the men of Belfast most distinguished for their virtue, talent, and patriotism. To proceed. We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland. At length, after a stay of about three weeks, which I look back upon as perhaps the pleasantest in my life, Russell and I returned to Dublin, with instructions to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, being Protestants, and, if possible, to form, in the capital, a club of United Irishmen. Neither Russell nor myself was known to one of those leaders; however, we soon contrived to get acquainted with James Napper Tandy, who was the principal of them, and, through him, with several others, so that, in a little time, we succeeded, and a club was accordingly formed, of which the Honorable Simon Butler was the first chairman, and Tandy the first secretary The club adopted the declaration of their brethren of Belfast, with whom they immediately opened a correspondence. It is but justice to an honest man who has been persecuted for his firm adherence to his principles, to observe here, that Tandy, in coming forward on this occasion, well knew that he was putting to the most extreme hazard his popularity among the corporations of the city of Dublin, with whom he had enjoyed the most unbounded influence for near twenty years; and, in fact, in the event, his popularity was sacrificed. That did not prevent, however, his taking his part decidedly: he had the firmness to forego the gratification of his private feelings for the good of his country. The truth is, Tandy was a very sincere Republican, and it did not require much argument to show him the impossibility of attaining a republic by any means short of the united powers of the whole people; he therefore renounced the lesser objects for the greater, and gave up the certain influence which he possessed (and had well earned) in the city, for the contingency of that influence which he might have (and well deserves to have) in the nation. For my own part, I think it right to mention, that, at this time, the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations. My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England, so deeply rooted in my nature, that it was rather an instinct than a principle. I left to others, better qualified for the inquiry, the investigation and merits of the different forms of government, and I contented myself with laboring on my own system, which was luckily in perfect coincidence as to its operation with that of those men who viewed the question on a broader and juster scale than I did at the time I mention."

Wolfe Tone was shortly after, on the recommendation of John Keogh, appointed secretary to the "General Committee" of the Catholics, and long labored zealously in their service. But he was not content with mere Catholic agitation. He and his friends continued with unabated zeal in the organi-

zation of the United Irish Society, which he hoped to see swallow up all others.

On the 30th of December, 1791, the United Irishmen of Dublin held a special session, at which they approved of a circular letter which was calculated to encourage similar societies; and to it they annexed a declaration of their political sentiments, and the test which they had taken as a social and sacred compact to bind them more closely together. They also, in their publications, animadverted severely upon the sixty-four addressers. The general disposition to republicanism which appeared in the publications and whole conduct of these new societies, became daily more and more obnoxious to Government: they were chiefly composed of Dissenters: yet several leading men amongst them were Protestants of the established church: it was believed and, constantly preached up by the Castle, that this new, violent, and affectionate attachment of the Dissenters for their Roman Catholic brethren, proceeded not from any sentiment of liberality or toleration, but purely to engage the co-operation of the great mass of the people the more warmly in forwarding the several popular questions lately brought before Parliament.

The truth is that the patrician "Patriots" of Parliament were quite shy of association with the members of the new societies. Some of them were alarmed about French principles of democracy, which could scarcely be expected to be agreeable to a privileged class: others thought that the United Irishmen and the existing Catholic Committee both consisted of low people; and they were possessed by that general aversion felt by members of Parliament against all extra-parliamentary movements.

From that time shyness, jealousy, and distrust subsisted between those new societies and the Whig Club, though the agents and writers for Government attempted to identify their views, measures, and principles, as appears by the newspapers, and other publications of that day. Tone, on his side, who had wholly given up Parliament as a thing not only useless but noxious to the nation, felt the utmost resentment at the members of the opposition for any longer keeping up the delusion of parliamentary patriotism, and avowed that he respected more the Castle members themselves. "They want," said he, "at least one vice, hypocrisy."

The Catholic General Committee had new life infused into it, through the energy of Keogh and the labors of Wolfe Tone.

"There seems," says Tone in his sanguine way "from this time out, a special Providence to have watched over the affairs of Ireland, and to have turned to her profit and advantage the deepest laid and most artful schemes of her enemies. Every measure adopted, and skilfully adopted, to thwart the expectations of the Catholics, and to crush the rising spirit of union between them and the Dissenters, has, without exception, only tended to confirm and fortify both, and the fact I am about to mention, for one, is a striking proof of the truth of this assertion. The principal charge in the general outcry raised in the House of Commons against the General Committee was, that they were a self-appointed body, not nominated by the Catholics of the nation, and, consequently, not authorized to speak on their behalf. This argument, which, in fact, was the truth, was triumphantly dwelt upon by the enemies of the Catholics; but, in the end, it would have perhaps been more fortunate for their wishes, if they had not laid such a stress upon this circumstance, and drawn the line of separation so strongly between the General Committee and the body at large. For the Catholics throughout Ireland, who had hitherto been indolent spectators of the business, seeing their brethren of Dublin, and especially the General Committee, insulted and abused for their exertions in pursuit of that liberty which, if attained, must be a common blessing to all, came forward as one man from every quarter of the nation, with addresses and resolutions, adopting the measures of the General Committee as their own, declaring that body the only organ competent to speak for the Catholics of Ireland, and condemning, in terms of the most marked disapprobation and contempt, the conduct of the sixty-eight apostates, who were so triumphantly held up by the hirelings of Government as the respectable part of the Catholic community. The question was now fairly decided. The aristocracy shrunk back in disgrace and obscurity, leav-

ing the field open to the democracy, and that body neither wanted talents nor spirit to profit by the advantages of their present situation.

"It is to the sagacity of *Myles Keon, of Keonbrook, County Leitrim*, that his country is indebted for the system on which the General Committee was to be framed anew, in a manner that should render it impossible to bring it again in doubt whether that body were or not the organ of the Catholic will. His plan was to associate to the committee, as then constituted, two members from each county and great city, actual residents of the place which they represented, who were, however, only to be summoned upon extraordinary occasions, leaving the common routine of business to the original members, who, as I have already related, were all residents of Dublin. The committee, as thus constituted, would consist of half town and half country members; and the elections for the latter he proposed should be held by means of primary and electoral assemblies, held, the first in each parish, the second in each county and great town. He likewise proposed, that the town members should be held to correspond regularly with their country associates, these with their immediate electors, and these again with the primary assemblies. A more simple and, at the same time, more comprehensive organization could not be devised. By this means the General Committee became the centre of a circle embracing the whole nation, and pushing its rays instantaneously to the remotest parts of the circumference. The plan was laid, in writing, before the General Committee by Myles Keon, and, after mature discussion, the first part, relating to the association and election of the country members, was adopted with some slight variation; the latter part, relating to the constant communication with the mass of the people, was thought, under the circumstances, to be too hardy, and was, accordingly, dropped *sub silentio*."

This was a project for a regular convention of delegates, which was then a measure perfectly legal, as indeed it still is in England.

On the proposal for this convention there was immediate alarm and almost frantic rage on the part of the Ascendency: for the Catholics were by this time over three millions; and the representatives of such a mass of people, meeting in Dublin, and backed by the active sympathies of the fast-growing United Irish Society, were likely to be perilous to the Government at a moment of such high political excitement. Grand juries and town corporations passed violent resolutions against it, and pledged themselves to resist and suppress it. But the committee had taken counsel's opinion, and felt quite secure on the legal ground. Some of the further proceedings may most fitly be given in the words of Wolfe Tone's own narrative, with which we must then part company, not without regret: for his "Autobiography" breaks off here:—*

"This (1792) was a memorable year in Ireland. The publication of the plan for the new organizing of the General Committee gave an instant alarm to all the supporters of the British Government, and every effort was made to prevent the election of the country members; for it was sufficiently evident that, if the representatives of three millions of oppressed people were once suffered to meet, it would not afterwards be safe, or indeed possible, to refuse their just demands. Accordingly, at the ensuing assizes, the grand juries, universally, throughout Ireland, published the most furious, I may say frantic, resolutions, against the plan and its authors, whom they charged with little short of high treason. Government, likewise, was too successful in gaining over the Catholic clergy, particularly the bishops, who gave the measure at first very serious opposition. The committee, however, was not daunted; and, satisfied of the justice of their cause, and of their own courage, they labored, and with success, to inspire the same spirit in the breasts of their brethren throughout the nation. For this purpose, their first step was an admirable one. By their order, I drew up a state of the case, with the plan for the organization of the committee annexed, which was laid before Simon Butler and Beresford Burton, two lawyers of great eminence, and, what was of consequence here, king's counsel, to know

* Some parts of his journals indeed will be found most valuable references farther on.

whether the committee had in any respect contravened the law of the land, or whether, by carrying the proposed plan into execution, the parties concerned would subject themselves to pain or penalty. The answers of both the lawyers were completely in our favor, and we instantly printed them in the papers, and dispersed them in handbills, letters, and all possible shapes. This blow was decisive as to the legality of the measure. For the bishops, whose opposition gave us great trouble, four or five different missions were undertaken by different members of the sub-committee, into the provinces, at their own expense, in order to hold conferences with them, in which, with much difficulty, they succeeded so far as to secure the co-operation of some, and the neutrality of the rest of the prelates. On these missions the most active members were John Keogh and Thomas Braughall, neither of whom spared purse nor person where the interests of the Catholic body were concerned. I accompanied Mr. Braughall in his visit to Connaught, where he went to meet the gentry of that province at the great fair of Ballinasloe. As it was late in the evening when we left town, the postillion who drove us, having given warning, I am satisfied, to some footpads, the carriage was stopped by four or five fellows at the gate of Phœnix Park. We had two cases of pistols in the carriage, and we agreed not to be robbed. Braughall, who was at this time about sixty-five years of age, and lame from a fall off his horse some years before, was as cool and intrepid as man could be. He took the command, and by his orders I let down all the glasses, and called out to the fellows to come on, if they were so inclined, for that we were ready; Braughall desiring at the same time *not to fire, till I could touch the scoundrels.* This rather embarrassed them, and they did not venture to approach the carriage, but held a council of war at the horse's heads. I then presented one of my pistols at the postillion, swearing horribly that I would put him instantly to death if he did not drive over them, and I made him feel the muzzle of the pistol against the back of his head; the fellows on this took to their heels and ran off, and we proceeded on our journey without further interruption. When we arrived at the inn, Braughall, whose goodness of heart is equal to his courage, and no man is braver, began by abusing the postillion for his treachery and ended by giving him half a crown. I wanted to break the rascal's bones, but he would not suffer me, and this was the end of our adventure.

"All parties were now fully employed preparing for the ensuing session of Parliament. The Government, through the organ of the corporations and grand juries, opened a heavy fire upon us of manifestoes and resolutions. At first we were like young soldiers, a little stunned with the noise, but after a few rounds we began to look about us, and seeing nobody drop with all this furious cannonade, we took courage and determined to return the fire. In consequence, wherever there was a meeting of the Protestant Ascendency, which was the title assumed by that party (and a very impudent one it was), we took care it should be followed by a meeting of the Catholics, who spoke as loud, and louder than their adversaries, and, as we had the right clearly on our side, we found no great difficulty in silencing the enemy on this quarter. The Catholics likewise took care, at the same time that they branded their enemies, to mark their gratitude to their friends, who were daily increasing, and especially to the people of Belfast, between whom and the Catholics the union was now completely established. Among the various attacks made on us this summer, the most remarkable for their virulence, were those of the grand jury of Louth, headed by the Speaker of the House of Commons; of Limerick, at which the Lord Chancellor assisted; and of the corporation of the city of Dublin; which last published a most furious manifesto, threatening us, in so many words with a resistance by force. In consequence, a meeting was held of the Catholics of Dublin at large, which was attended by several thousands, where the manifesto of the corporation was read and most ably commented upon by John Keogh, Dr. Ryan, Dr. McNeven, and several others, and a counter-manifesto being proposed, which was written by my friend Emmet, and incomparably well done, it was carried unan

imously, and published in all the papers, together with the speeches above mentioned; and both speeches and the manifesto had such an infinite superiority over those of the corporation, which were also published and diligently circulated by the Government, that it put an end, effectually, to this warfare of resolutions.

"The people of Belfast were not idle on their part; they spared neither pains nor expense to propagate the new doctrine of the union of Irishmen, through the whole North of Ireland, and they had the satisfaction to see their proselytes rapidly extending in all directions. In order more effectually to spread their principles, twelve of the most active and intelligent among them subscribed £250 each, in order to set on foot a paper, whose object should be to give a fair statement of all that passed in France, whither every one turned their eyes; to inculcate the necessity of union amongst Irishmen of all religious persuasions; to support the emancipation of the Catholics; and, finally, as the necessary, though not avowed, consequence of all this, to erect Ireland into a republic, independent of England. This paper, which they called, very appositely, the *Northern Star*, was conducted by my friend Samuel Neilson, who was unanimously chosen editor, and it could not be delivered into abler hands. It is, in truth, a most incomparable paper, and it rose, instantly, on its appearance, with a most rapid and extensive sale. The Catholics everywhere through Ireland (I mean the leading Catholics) were, of course, subscribers, and the *Northern Star* was one great means of effectually accomplishing the union of the two great sects, by the simple process of making their mutual sentiments better known to each other.

"It was determined by the people of Belfast to commemorate this year the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile with great ceremony. For this purpose they planned a review of the Volunteers of the town and neighborhood, to be followed by a grand procession, with emblematical devices, etc. They also determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to bring forward the Catholic question in force, and, in consequence, they resolved to publish two addresses, one to the people of France, and one to the people of Ireland. They gave instructions to Dr. Brennan to prepare the former, and the latter fell to my lot. Brennan executed his task admirably, and I made my address, for my part, as good as I knew how. We were invited to assist at the ceremony, and a great number of the leading members of the Catholic Committee determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to show their zeal for the success of the cause of liberty in France, as well as their respect and gratitude to their friends in Belfast. In consequence, a grand assembly took place on the 14th of July. After the review, the Volunteers and inhabitants, to the number of about 6,000, assembled in the Linen-Hall, and voted the address to the French people unanimously. The address to the people of Ireland followed, and, as it was directly and unequivocally in favor of the Catholic claims, we expected some opposition, but we were soon relieved from our anxiety, for the address passed, I may say, unanimously: a few ventured to oppose it indirectly, but their arguments were exposed and overset by the friends to Catholic emancipation, amongst the foremost of whom we had the pleasure to see several Dissenting clergymen of great popularity in that county."

It will be seen that on the whole some progress was already made, and much more was soon to be expected in harmonizing the Catholics and Dissenters, at least in the towns. A harder task remained—to make peace between them in the country. In the County Armagh, Peep-of-Day Boys were growing more ferocious, and of course, the Defenders more strongly organized for resistance. As before, the country gentlemen of that county, as ignorant and savage a race of squires as any in Ireland, took part with the aggressors. At an assizes, in 1791, the grand jury passed a resolution declaring that there had sprung up among the Papists "a passion for arming themselves, contrary to law"—and that this was matter of serious alarm, etc. As the usual pretext of the visits of the Protestant Boys, "Wreckers," and other such banditti was to search for arms, such a resolution of the grand jury was neither more nor less than an invitation to continue such visits, and an assurance of

protection to the "Wreckers." These troubles had now extended considerably into Tyrone, Down, and Monaghan Counties: and it stirs indignation even at this day to think of so many wretched families always kept in wakeful terror; lying down in fear and rising up with a heavy heart, or perhaps flying to the desolate mountains by the light of their own burning cabins.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1791—1792.

Principles of United Irish Society—Test—Addresses—Meeting of Parliament—Catholic relief—Trifling measure of that kind—Petition of the Catholics—Rejected—Steady majority of two-thirds for the Castle—Placeholding members—Violent agitation upon the Catholic claims—Questions put to Catholic Universities of the Continent—Their answers—Opposition to project of Convention—Catholic question in the Whig Club—Catholic Convention in Dublin—National Guard.

The first clubs of "United Irishmen" were perfectly legal and constitutional in their structure, in their action, and in their aims; and so continued until the new organization was adopted in 1795. They consisted, both in Belfast and in Dublin, of Protestants chiefly, though many eminent Catholics joined them from the first. The first sentence of the constitution of the first club, at Belfast, is in these plain and moderate words.

"1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty."

Recollecting the hopeless character of the Irish Parliament of that day, one can scarcely pretend that it did not need "reform;" and as it most certainly would never reform itself, unless acted upon strongly by an external pressure, the idea seems to have been reasonable to endeavor to procure a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion for that end. It was too clear also that a Parliament so constituted never would emancipate the Catholics—that is, never would tolerate a "brotherhood of affection" or a "communion of rights." It was therefore extremely natural for patriotic Protestants, who felt that Ireland was their country, and no longer a colony but a nation to take some means of assuring their fellow countrymen, the Catholics, that they at least did not wish to perpetuate the degradation and exclusion of three millions of Irishmen; and thereupon to concert with them some common action for getting rid of this incurable oligarchy, which was the common enemy of them all. This was the whole meaning and purpose of the society for more than three years; and its means and agencies were as fair, open, and rational as its objects. Addresses, namely, to the people of Ireland, and sometimes to Reform clubs in England and in Scotland; articles in the newspapers, particularly in the *Northern Star;* and the promotion of an enlarged personal intercourse between the two sects who had lived in such deadly estrangement for two centuries. When they met one another face to face, worked together in clubs and meetings, visited one another's houses, fondled one another's children, ther could not but grow up somewhat of tha feeling of "Brotherhood" which is the firs word of their constitution, the very cardinal principle of their society.

But this "Brotherhood"—what was it but the French *fraternité!* And their "Civil, political, and religious liberty" was a phrase which to the ear of Government sounded of *égalité* and the *Champ-de-Mars.* The whole of the programme given above, which looks to-day so just and sensible, was then felt to be reeking all over with "French principles." The Government therefore kept an eye steadily on these societies, as will soon appear in the sequel.

The Dublin club, which was formed in November of the same year, 1791, adopted the same declaration of principles, or constitution; but added a "test," which was nothing but a solemn engagement to be taken by each new member—"that he would persevere in endeavoring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion," etc., and "that he would never inform on or give evidence against any member of this or similar societies for any act or expression of theirs done or made collectively or indi-

vidually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation,"—in other words, that if brotherhood amongst Irishmen, and the claim of civil and religious liberty should be made a crime by law (as it was but too likely) he would not inform upon his comrades for their complicity in those crimes.

From this time active correspondence was carried on. A strong address, written by Dr. Drennan, was sent by the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland, in which this sentence occurs—one of many similar suggestions which were undoubtedly intended to lead the way to something more and better than a reform in Parliament. "If Government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not, by an obstinate adherence to them, drive that people *into Republicanism*." There was another address from the same body, to "the Volunteers of Ireland" (for the wreck of that organization still existed in some places), adopted at a meeting of which Drennan was chairman, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, secretary, and containing still stronger expressions. This document became in 1794 the subject of a prosecution for seditious libel against Rowan the secretary, who was convicted by a carefully packed jury of his enemies, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of five hundred pounds.

In the mean time, parliamentary proceedings were going forward, much in their usual way. A session opened on the 19th of January, 1792; but it is impossible now to take much interest in following the futile efforts of the opposition. Mr. Grattan, who carefully avoided the United Irishmen, could still at least abuse the Government in terms of eloquent scurrility, and did not fail to do so, in moving an amendment to the address:—"By this *trade* of Parliament the king was absolute: his will was signified by both Houses of Parliament, who were then as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Like a regiment they had their adjutant, who sent to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young; and men thus carted as it were into that House to vote for the minister, were called the representatives of the people."

The country, as well as the ministers had heard all this abuse before, and had begun almost to regard it as a discharge of blank cartridge. Yet the session is in some measure notable for a trifling Catholic Relief measure, introduced by Sir Hercules Langrishe, and rather unexpectedly supported by the Government. In fact it was evident to the English Government that the Catholics were becoming a real element for good or for evil in this Irish nation: they had refused to be extirpated; refused to be brutalized by ignorance, for they would fly to the ends of the earth for education; they had so well profited also by the petty and grudging relaxations already granted them, that a large proportion of them were rich and influential; they were, in short, a power to be conciliated if that could be cheaply done, and so detached from "French principles" and made grateful to the Government. It is not, therefore, surprising to find Mr. Secretary Hobart (of course by orders from England) seconding the motion of Langrishe for leave to bring in this bill. Sir Hercules thus defines the objects of his bill for the Catholics:—

1st. He would give them the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country.

2dly. He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained, because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity. That would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a license, as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3dly. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel statute which served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing certain restraints and disabilities under which his majesty's Roman

Catholic subjects labor, from statutes at present in force."

This bill was prepared and concerted by its author in concert with Edmund Burke; and was perhaps as liberal in its provisions as any bill which could at that moment be presented with any chance of success: yet, meagre as it was, it called forth a storm of bigoted and brutal opposition. The General Committee of the Catholics—Edward Byrne, Esq. in the chair—held a meeting and passed some resolutions, which it is somewhat humiliating to read, but which were certainly politic in the circumstances. Here is the document:—

"*Dublin, February 4th*, 1792.

"General Committee of Roman Catholics. Edward Byrne, Esq. in the Chair.

"*Resolved*, That this committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that the application of the Catholics for relief, extends to *unlimited and total emancipation;* and that attempts have been made, wickedly and falsely, to instil into the minds of the Protestants of this kingdom an opinion, that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

"*Resolved*, That several Protestant gentlemen have expressed great satisfaction on being individually informed of the real extent and respectful manner of the applications for relief; have assured us, that nothing could have excited jealousy, or apparent opposition to us, from our Protestant countrymen, but the above-mentioned misapprehensions.

"*Resolved*, That we therefore deem it necessary to declare, that the whole of our late applications, whether to his majesty's ministers, to men in power, or to private members of the legislature, as well as our intended petition, neither did, nor does contain any thing, or extend further, either in substance or in principle, than the four following objects:

"1st. Admission to the profession and practice of the law.

"2d. Capacity to serve in county magistracies.

"3d. A right to be summoned, and to serve on grand and petty juries.

"4th. The right of voting in counties *only for Protestant members of Parliament;* in such a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote, unless he either rented and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, *in addition* to his forty shillings freehold; or else possessed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year."

That is to say, the Catholic Committee found itself obliged earnestly to disavow the sacrilegious thought of being allowed to vote on the same qualification as the Protestant forty-shilling freeholders; disclaimed with horror the idea of voting for Catholic members of Parliament; and publicly declared to Parliament and to all mankind that they did not presume to aspire to "total emancipation." But humble and scanty as their claim was, it was more than the Langrishe bill proposed to grant them. There was no provision in it for admitting them to the elective franchise upon any terms whatever. The committee prepared a petition, which was signed by some of the most respectable mercantile men of Dublin, and while the bill was in progress, the petition was presented by Mr. Egan. This gave rise to a conversation on the following Monday (20th February). On that day Mr. David La Touche moved, that the petition of the Roman Catholic committee, presented to the House on the preceding Saturday, should be read by the clerk: it was read, and he then moved, that it should be rejected. The motion was seconded by Mr. Ogle. The greater part of the House was very violent for the rejection of the petition. Some few, who were against the prayer of the petition, objected to the harsh measure of rejection. Several of the opposition members supported Mr. La Touche's motion. Even Mr. G. Ponsonby, on this occasion voted against his friend Mr. Grattan. The solicitor-general attempted to soften the refusal to the Catholics by moving, that the prayer of the petition, as far as it related to a participation of the elective franchise should not then be complied with. The attorney-general and some other stanch supporters of Government had spoken similar language; that they hoped quickly to see all religious distinctions and restrictions

done away, but that the fulness of time was not yet come. Mr. Forbes, the Hon. F. Hutchinson, Colonel (now Lord) Hutchinson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Grattan spoke strongly against the motion and in favor of admitting the Catholics to a share in the elective franchise. Much virulent abuse was heaped upon that part of the body of Roman Catholics which was supposed to be represented by the Catholic Committee. At a very late hour the House divided, 208 for rejecting the petition, and 23 only against it. Then Mr. La Touche moved, that the petition from the society of the United Irishmen of Belfast, should be also rejected: and the question being put was carried with two or three negatives.

The bill itself passed quietly through the committee; and on the third reading, Sir Hercules Langrishe congratulated the country on the growth of the spirit of liberality. The growth was slow, and the liberality was rather narrow: nor would this measure deserve mention—as it was soon superseded by a much larger one—but to show the very humble and unpretending position taken by the only body then representing the Catholics. It must be remembered, too, that war in Europe was by this time imminent and certain; and though England had not yet formally joined the coalition against France, that event was becoming daily more inevitable; and the Government was very desirous, as usual in such moments of danger, to send a message of peace to Ireland, and to show the three millions of Catholics that their real friends were, not those "fraternal" United Irishmen, but Mr. Pitt and the Earl of Westmoreland.

Upon al. other questions, the state of parties in Parliament continued nearly the same that it had been for many years; that is, the Castle was always certain of more than a two-thirds majority. Mr. G. Ponsonby, after an elaborate argument, moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland with the countries lying eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; which was lost by 156 votes against 70. On the same day, Mr. Forbes, faithful to his special mission, brought forward his regular Place and Pension bills: they were both put off to a distant day, without a division, though no' without some debate. Indeed these attack on the places and pensions were now mor intolerable to the Government and its sup porters than ever before; and they were louder than ever in their reprobation of such Jacobin movements, as a manifest attempt to diminish the royal prerogative and bring in French principles.

A singular motion was made this session, which merits notice as an illustration of the shameless and desperate corruption of the times. Mr. Browne moved to bring in a bill to repeal an act of the last session touching the "weighing of butter, hides, and tallow" in the city of Cork, and the appointment of a weighmaster in that city. This office had long been in the gift of the corporation of the city, and the corporation had always found one weighmaster more than enough: but the Government, in pursuance, said Mr. Browne, of their settled policy of "creating influence," had taken the appointment, split it into three parts, and bestowed it on *three members of Parliament.* Mr. Grattan seconded the motion. It was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer on the express ground that it was an "insult to the crown," and therefore a manifest piece of French democracy and infidelity, intended to overthrow the throne and the altar. There was a sharp debate, in which Patriots said many cutting things; and at half-past two in the morning the motion was negatived without a division. Is it wonderful that the minds of honest people were now altogether turned away from such a Parliament? It was prorogued on the 18th of April. The Speaker, in his address to the viceroy, speaks of one gratifying fact, "the extension of trade, agriculture, and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progress raised this kingdom to a state of prosperity and wealth never before experienced in it." But at the same time he let his excellency know, that this prosperity "would soon cease" if they did not carefully cherish the blessed constitution in church and state. "Its preservation, therefore," he continued, "must ever be the great object of their care, and there is no principle on which it is founded so essential to its preservation, nor more justly

dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has settled the throne of these realms on his majesty's illustrious house; on it, and on the provisions for securing a Protestant Parliament, depends the Protestant Ascendency, and with it the continuance of the many blessings we now enjoy."

It appears from the studied allusions to the Protestant Ascendency, which in the speech of the Speaker were evidently aimed against the petition of the Catholics for a participation in the elective franchise, that Mr. Foster wished to raise a strong and general opposition to that measure throughout the country: but the speech of the lord-lieutenant imported, that the Government, moved by the impulse of the British councils, was disposed rather to extend than contract the indulgences to the Roman Catholics. His majesty approved of their wisdom in the liberal indulgences that had been granted, but suggested no apprehensions of danger to the Protestant interest, which had been almost a matter of course in all viceregal speeches, to the great comfort of the "Ascendency."

This year was a season of most vehement agitation and discussion upon the Catholic claims. That body, was, of course, greatly dissatisfied with the miserable measure of relief granted by the shabby bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Mr. Simon Butler, chairman of the Dublin society of United Irishmen, published, by order of that society, a "Digest of the Popery Laws," bringing into one view the whole body of penalties and disabilities to which Catholics still remained subject after all the small and nibbling attempts or pretences of relief. The pamphlet thus truly sums up the actual condition of the Catholics at that moment, after Sir Hercules Langrishe's Act:—

"Such is the situation of three millions of good and faithful subjects in their native land! Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities; expelled from grand juries, restrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the bench, from the bank, from the exchange, from the university, from the college of physicians: from what are they not excluded? There is no institution which the wit of man has invented or the progress of society produced, which private charity or public munificence has founded for the advancement of education, learning, and good arts, for the permanent relief of age, infirmity, or misfortune, from the superintendence of which, and in all cases where common charity would permit, from the enjoyment of which the legislature has not taken care to exclude the Catholics of Ireland. Such is the state which the corporation of Dublin have thought proper to assert, 'differs in no respect from that of the Protestants, save only in the exercise of political power;' and the host of grand juries consider 'as essential to the existence of the constitution, to the permanency of the connection with England, and the continuation of the throne in his majesty's royal house.' A greater libel on the constitution, the connection, or the succession, could not be pronounced, nor one more pregnant with dangerous and destructive consequences, than this, which asserts, that they are only to be maintained and continued by the slavery and oppression of three millions of good and loyal subjects."

At the same time the General Committee prepared a "Declaration," of Catholic tenets on certain points with regard to which people of that creed had long been wantonly belied: such as keeping of faith with heretics; the alleged pretension of the Pope to absolve subjects from their allegiance; of clergymen to dispense them from oaths, and the like. All these alleged doctrines the Declaration indignantly and contemptuously denied; and it was signed universally throughout Ireland by clergy and laity. To the Declaration was added a republication of the well-known "Answers of six Catholic Universities abroad to the queries which had been propounded to them, at the request of Mr. Pitt, three years before, on behalf of the English Catholics." The universities were those of Paris, Louvain, Alcala,

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Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid. The queries and the answers form a highly important document for the history of the time. We give the queries in full, and an extract or two from the answers—only premising that Mr. Pitt sought these declarations, not to satisfy his own mind, because he was too well informed to need this, but only to stop the mouths of benighted country gentlemen and greedy Ascendency politicians, who would be sure to bawl out against the concessions to Catholics which he in that perilous time and for political reasons was determined to grant.

THE QUERIES.

1. Has the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

And the six universities responded unanimously and simultaneously in the negative upon all the three points. The answers are all exceedingly distinct and categorical. That of the university of Alcala, in Spain, may serve as a specimen :—

"To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction, and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature.

"To the second it is answered, in like manner—That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

"To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt Catholic from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

"Signed in the usual form. March 17th, 1789."

The learned doctors of some of these universities could not refrain, while they gave their answers, from administering a rebuke to those who asked such questions. For instance, the Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, "Having been requested to give an opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but is struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this 18th century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom [England] that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives."

The publication of the Catholic Declaration, with the opinions of the universities, was very far indeed from satisfying the theologians of the Protestant interest; especially as there came forth at the same time the detailed plan for electing delegates this year to the Convention of Catholics which had already been decided upon. These Papists were evidently preparing to rise a little out of their abject humility. The Protestant theologians thought themselves too acute to be imposed upon by all those fine protestations of Papists, and professions made by Popish universities. Since when, they desired to know, was it held that the declaration of persons charged with systematic perfidy—that they were persons who keep faith—was held to be evidence of their good character? They also cited examples of the Pope having actually, in former ages, absolved, or attempted to absolve subjects from their allegiance. Besides, was it not well known that those universities in France and Spain were full of Popish doctors, who would desire nothing better than to delude the minds of unsuspecting Irish Protestants and so pave the way for the overthrow of the Protestant Church, resumption of forfeited estates, and fulfilment of Pastorini's prophecies! It seems to have been more especially the "plan" for election of dele-

gates to the Catholic Convention that excited the alarm and wrath of the "Ascendency."

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, a general outcry was raised against it; sedition, tumult, conspiracy, and treason, were echoed from county to county, from grand jury to grand jury. Some legislators, high in the confidence of their sovereign, and armed with the influence of station and office, presided at those meetings, and were foremost in arraigning measures, upon the merits of which in another place and in another function they were finally to determine.

The exaggerated and alarming language of most of the grand juries imported, that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general insurrection, ready to hurl the king from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the constitution to pieces.

The Leitrim grand jury denominated the plan "An inflammatory and dangerous publication," and stated, "that they felt it necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were ready to support, with their lives and fortunes, their present most valuable constitution in church and state; and that they would resist, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of any body of men, however numerous, who should presume to threaten innovation in either."

The grand jury of the county of Cork denominated the plan "An unconstitutional proceeding, of the most alarming, dangerous, and seditious tendency; an attempt to overawe Parliament;" they stated their determination to "protect and defend, with their lives and property, the present constitution in church and state." That of Roscommon, after the usual epithets of "alarming, dangerous, and seditious," asserted that the plan called upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to associate themselves in the metropolis of that kingdom, upon the model of the national assembly of France, which had already plunged that devoted country into a state of anarchy and tumult unexampled in any civilized nation: they stated it to be "an attempt to over-awe Parliament;" they mentioned their serious and sensible alarms for the existence of their present happy establishment in church and state; and their determination, "at the hazard of every thing dea to them, to uphold and maintain the Prot estant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Sligo *Resolved*, "tha they would, at all times, and by every constitutional means in their power, resist and oppose every attempt then making, or thereafter to be made, by the Roman Catholics, to obtain their elective franchise, or any participation in the government of the country." And that of Donegal declared, that though "they regarded the Catholics with tenderness, they would maintain, at the hazard of every thing dear to them, the Protestant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Fermanagh, professing also "the warmest attachment to their Roman Catholic brethren," felt it, however, necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were "ready with their lives and fortunes to support their present invaluable constitution in church and state." And that of the County of Derry, after expressing their apprehensions lest that pro ceeding "might lead to the formation of hierarchy (consisting partly of laity) whicl would destroy the Protestant Ascendency, the freedom of the elective franchise, and the established constitution of this country," tendered their lives and fortunes to support the happy constitution as established at the revolution of 1688. A very great majority of the leading signatures affixed to those resolutions, were those of men either high in the government of the country, or enjoying lucrative places under it, or possessing extensive borough interest.

The grand jury of the county of Louth, with the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, declared, "that the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hano ver, and finally tended to shake, if not destroy, their connection with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depended the happiness and prosperity of that kingdom; that they would on

pose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that they would support with their lives and fortunes the present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house." The freeholders of the county of Limerick charged the Catholic Committee with an intention to over-awe the legislature, to force a repeal of the penal laws, and to create a Popish democracy for their government and direction in pursuit of whatever objects might be holden out to them by turbulent and seditious men. They then instructed their representatives in Parliament, "at all events, to oppose any proposition which might be made for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchise:" at this meeting the chancellor was present. The corporation of Dublin in strong terms denied the competency of Parliament to extend the right of franchise to the Catholics, which they called "alienating their most valuable inheritance;" and roundly asserted against the fact, that "the last session of Parliament left the Roman Catholics in no wise different from their Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power."

Some of the grand juries indignantly rejected the proposals made to them of coming to any resolutions injurious to their Catholic brethren. Agents had been employed to tamper with every grand jury that met during the summer assizes. Nothing could tend more directly than this measure of pre-engaging the sentiments of the country against three millions of its inhabitants, to raise and foment discord and disunion between Protestants and Catholics. Counter-resolutions, answers and replies, addresses and protestations, were published and circulated in the public papers from some grand jurymen, and from many different bodies of Catholics; several bold and severe publications appeared during the course of the summer, not only from individuals of the Catholic body, but from the friends of their cause amongst the Protestants. It is scarcely questionable but that the virulent and acrimonious opposition raised against the Catholic petition for a very limited participation in the elective franchise, enlivened the sense of their grievances, opened their views, and united their energies into a common effort to procure a general repeal of the whole Penal Code.

The General Committee of the Catholics, and the United Irish Society were unavoidably coming closer together. In a debate of the committee, Mr. Keogh, a gentleman of great manliness of character as well as power of intellect, fairly said that for a late publication (Digest of the Popery Laws), the United Irishmen and their respected chairman, Mr. Simon Butler, demanded their warmest gratitude.*

At that time the United Irish Society was the only association of any kind which even admitted a Catholic into its ranks. No Catholic could be in the Whig Club; nor would it even permit the Catholic question to be agitated there. This point was decided in a singular debate of the Whig Club in November, 1792, when Mr. Huband, having proposed that the sense of the meeting should be taken upon the course to be pursued by members with respect to Catholic claims—

Some gentlemen decidedly asserted, that they did not think the Catholic question ought to be mentioned or discussed in the Whig Club. They were averse to their having any concern in it, and one went so far as to say, that if it were admitted to be debated in that society, he would with his own hand strike his name out of the list of the members.

* Mr. Plowden, in an apologetic sort of way, says upon this occasion, "It was natural for persons staggering under oppression cordially to grasp every hand that held out relief." Nothing can be more provoking than the affectation of "loyalty" to the House of Hanover which certain Catholic writers, previous to emancipation, thought it needful to make. Plowden, in another place, speaking of the same publication made by the United Irishmen, says:—"It would be unfair, if the historian were to represent the transactions of a particular period from consequences that appeared at a distant interval of time, and the subsequent fate of many of the actors in the scenes. It is his duty faithfully to represent them as they really passed at the time. Merit and demerit can only attach from previous or co-existing circumstances; not from the posthumous issue engendered in the womb of time by future base and unavowed connections. It was not because an individual was guilty of treason in the year 1798, that every previous act or transaction in which that individual was concerned for the twenty, ten, or five preceding years, was affected with the venom of his latter crime."

On which Mr. A. Ham. Rowan observed, that he would be as tenacious as any other gentleman, of remaining in any society where improper subjects were proposed for discussion; but that for his part, he would not hesitate to strip off his Whig Club uniform, and throw it to the waiter, if the Catholic question were deemed an unfit subject for their discussion.

Mr. W. Brown called the attention of gentlemen to the purpose of their association. They placed themselves in the front of the public cause, to further it, not to stop its further progress; the second principle of their declaration was, a solemn engagement to support the rights of the people, etc. Who, said he, are the people? I dare any gentleman to name the people of Ireland without including the Roman Catholics. What! is it a question, shall three millions of Irishmen continue slaves or obtain their freedom! Is it a question to be deserted by men professing patriotism, professing to redress the public oppression, pledged to stand together in defence of their country's liberties? No; it is not.

To desert the cause of the Catholics, would be to desert the principles of their institution, it would be to deserve the calumny thrown against them by their enemies, that they were an opposition struggling for power, not a band of patriots for the public weal; it would rob their names of honor, their rank and wealth of consequence, and it would finally sink them from a station of political importance, down to the obscurity and insignificance of an interested and impotent party.

On the question being put, whether the Catholic question should be taken into consideration or not on Wednesday fortnight, it was negatived on a division by thirteen.

The long-talked-of Convention of the Catholics was actually held in December of this year: the elections of delegates had been regularly and quietly held, in pursuance of the "plan," and the first meeting of the delegates assembled at Tailors' Hall, Dublin, on the 2d of December, 1792; two hundred delegates being present.

While this peaceable convention was holding its meetings, another phenomenon appeared in Dublin, which gave still greater uneasiness both to the "Ascendency" and to the Castle. The National Guard, a new military body, was arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp, under a cap of liberty, instead of a crown. Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy; they affected to address each other by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French. This corps was in high favor with the populace, and was always cordially greeted as they appeared in the street or on parade. Government really felt alarm: a general insurrection was apprehended: they pretended to have information of the particular nights fixed for that purpose. The magistrates, by order of Government, patrolled the streets with bodies of horse each night. It was given out from the Castle, that the custom-house, the post-office, and the jail, were the first places to be attacked; and that the signal for rising was to have been the pulling down of the statue of King William in College Green with ropes. Many other false rumors of conspiracies and assassinations were set afloat. In the mean while the National Guards, and all the Volunteer corps of Dublin, were summoned to assemble on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began with an affectation of Gallicism, "*Citizen Soldier.*" However, the meeting was prevented; and Government issued a proclamation, on the 8th of December, against their assembling. The National Guards did not assemble; and the only persons who appeared on parade were, A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer.

This Catholic Convention, and this National Guard appeared dangerous in the eyes of Fitzgibbon (now Earl of Clare)—the object of his life was the legislative union, and he foresaw that unless conventions of delegates and associations of armed citizens were prohibited and prevented by law, that great measure never could be carried. Accordingly his busy brain was already busy in maturing a series of measures to deprive all Irishmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, of every means of expressing their wishes by delegates, and every means of asserting their rights by arms.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1792—1793.

The Catholic Convention—Reconciliation of differences amongst the Catholics—Their deputation to the king—Successes of the French fortunate for the Catholics—Dumouriez and Jemappes—Gracious reception of the Catholic deputation—Belfast mob draw the carriage of Catholic delegates—Secret Committee of the Lords—Report on Defenders and United Irishmen—Attempt of committee to connect the two—Lord Clare creates "alarm among the better classes"—Proclamation against unlawful assemblies—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—French Republic declares war against England—Large measure of Catholic relief immediately proposed—Moved by Secretary Hobart—Act carried—Its provisions—What it yields, and what it withholds—Arms and gunpowder act—Act against conventions—Lord Clare the real author of British policy in Ireland as now established—Effect and intention of the "Convention act"—No such law in England—Militia bill—Catholic Committee—No reform—Close of session.

The Catholic Convention met under rather favorable auspices. In the course of the summer a reconciliation or coalition had been generally effected between the committee and several of the sixty-four addressers, including bishops. Convinced that his majesty's ministers in England were disposed to favor their pretensions, it was found political in the body to act in concert; and to this accommodating disposition and desire of internal union, is to be attributed the moderation of the public acts of that convention. They framed a petition to the king, which was a firm though modest representation of their grievances: it was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the several delegates for the different districts which they respectively represented. They then proceeded to choose five delegates to present it to his majesty: the choice fell upon Sir Thomas French, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, and Mr. Bellew. These gentlemen went by short seas: in their road to Donaghadee they passed through Belfast in the morning, and some of the most respectable inhabitants waited upon them at the Donegal Arms, where they remained about two hours: upon their departure, the populace took their horses from their carriages and dragged them through the town amidst the liveliest shouts of joy and wishes for their success.* The delegates returned these expressions of affection and sympathy, by the most grateful acknowledgements and assurances of their determination to maintain that union which formed the strength of Ireland. On the 2d of January, 1793, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his majesty by Mr. Dundas, secretary of state for the home department, and had the honor of presenting their humble petition to his majesty, who was pleased most graciously to receive it.

His majesty had his reasons. Fortunately for the Catholics, England was at this moment in a condition of extreme difficulty and peril. She was already engaged in the coalition of European powers to crush the new-born Hercules of France. The French, under Dumouriez, had happily driven back the Prussian invaders from the passes of the Argonne. Dumouriez had followed up his successes, entered Belgium and gained over the Austrians the glorious victory of Jemappes. The King of France had already been removed from his throne to the Temple prison; and on the very day when the King of England was so graciously receiving the Catholic delegates, that unhappy French monarch was awaiting his trial, sentence, and execution at the hands of his people: all of which took place a few days afterwards. This event was to be the signal for England to enter actively into the war. Ever since August of last year the British Court had refused all communication with M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, and he was finally dismissed from England immediately on the arrival of news of King Louis' exe-

* Of this extraordinary demonstration, never exampled before, and never imitated since, Wolfe Tone says:—"Whatever effect it might have on the negotiation in England, it certainly tended to raise and confirm the hopes of the Catholics at home. 'Let our delegates,' said they, 'if they are refused, return by the same route.' To those who look beyond the surface it was an interesting spectacle, and pregnant with material consequences, to see the Dissenter of the North drawing, with his own hands, the Catholic of the South in triumph, through what may be denominated the capital of Presbyterianism. However repugnant it might be to the wishes of the British minister, it was a wholesome suggestion to his prudence, and when he scanned the whole business in his mind, was probably not dismissed from his contemplation."

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cution. War, therefore, was now inevitable, and war on such a scale and against such a foe as would tax the utmost energies and resources of Great Britain. It was determined accordingly to endeavor to purchase the three millions of Irish Catholics, who make such excellent recruiting material; so that instead of having Irish brigades against them, they might have Irish regiments for them. It was also a part of this policy to detach the Catholics from the United Irishmen, to disgust them with "French principles," and predispose them to look favorably on the Legislative Union. The delegates returned from London, in the complacent language of Mr. Plowden:—"the welcome heralds of the benign countenance and reception they had received from the father of his people."

On the 10th of January, 1792, the Irish Parliament met. The speech from the throne recommended attention to the claims of the Catholics. The House of Lords very early in the session appointed a secret committee to inquire into the state of the nation, with special reference to the troubles in the North between Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders. The Secret Committee made a most extraordinary report; in which they appear to find no criminal rioters in the North except the poor Defenders. "All, so far as the committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, poor ignorant laboring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they were assisting the Catholic cause." The committee further endeavored to connect in some way with those agrarian disturbers, the political demonstrations of the United Irishmen at Belfast and other towns. They report with high indignation:—

"That an unusual ferment had for some months past disturbed several parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim; it was kept up and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issued almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs in both those places, calling themselves committees under various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications were circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appeared to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with their laws. *The conduct of the French was shamefully extolled*, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations had been held up of their assistance by a descent upon that kingdom, and prayers had been offered up at Belfast from the pulpit, for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations, which had been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in Dublin, under the title of the First National Battalion: their uniform was copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoats and striped trousers, gilt buttons, impressed with a harp and letters importing 'First National Battalion,' no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats had been left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men had been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies were daily increasing in numbers and force, they had exerted their best endeavors to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, some of them having expressly stated, that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, had been sent within the last few months to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appeared could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms were drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts had been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honor of the king's forces, had proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies was to procure a reform of Parliament; but the obvious intention of most of them appeared to be to over-awe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbore mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any man-

ner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who had come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries was, that in their opinion it was incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of that kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they pleased without any legal authority: and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the king's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes *or subscriptions*, etc.," ought not to be permitted.

It is very easy to see the object of this report: it was simply Lord Clare's method of preparing the way for his coercion acts, which were to apply not only to the Defenders but also to the United Irishmen and to the Catholic Convention itself.

The policy adopted towards the Catholics at that time took the form which it has worn ever since, and which may be described in four words—to conciliate the rich and to coerce the poor. This extravagant report of the Lords' committee, giving so overcharged a picture of the insurrectionary spirit of the North, was in order to create "alarm among the better classes," the uniform preparative for coercion and oppression in Ireland.

On the 31st of January the House of Commons took into consideration a proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and privy council, dated the 8th December last, for dispersing all *unlawful assemblies:* and Lord Headfort moved a vote of thanks to the viceroy for this proclamation "to preserve domestic tranquillity from those whose declared objects were *tumult, disaffection, and sedition.*" This occasioned some debate; but the address passed without a division. This proceeding of the House proves that the great Government majority in the House, as well as the Lords, were in full concurrence with the Government in favor of coercion. It is further interesting from an incident which befell at the close of the debate—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a very vehement tone, declared, "I give my most hearty disapprobation to that address, for I do think that the lord-lieutenant and the majority of this House, are the worst subjects the king has." A loud cry of "to the bar," and "take down his words," immediately echoed from every part of the House. The House was cleared in an instant, and strangers were not re-admitted for nearly three hours.

He was admitted to explain himself, and on his explaining, the House

"*Resolved, nem. con.*, That the excuse offered by the Right Hon. Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the said words so spoken, is unsatisfactory and insufficient:" and he was ordered to attend at the bar on the next day, when his apology was received, though not without a division upon its sufficiency: for receiving it, 135; against it, 66.—(12 *Par. Deb.*, p. 82.)

Mr. Grattan also expressed himself with some indignation in this debate, on the classing up the remnant of his old Volunteers along with such seditious company as United Irishmen and National Guards: for Mr. Secretary Hobart had read to the House, as part of the outrageous proceedings which had dictated the strong measure of the proclamation, a certain summons of the corps of goldsmiths, calling on the delegates of that corps to assemble and celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick (from Valmy), and the French victory in the Low Countries (Jemappes). Mr. Grattan was soon to learn that in the application of the new laws which were now to be enacted the remnant of the classic old Volunteers was to be held no more sacred than the most republican United Irish club, or the poorest lodge of Defenders.

On the 1st of February the French Republic declared war against England (which was now known to be the very head and heart of the coalition against France): and on the 14th of that month the Irish secretary, Mr. Hobart, presented a petition from some Catholics, and described at length the measure which he intended to introduce. A few days after, he brought in his "Relief Bill," and had it read a first time. It was opposed by Mr. Ogle, and by the famous Dr. Duigenan. Throughout its passage it was supported by the Court party, because it was a Court measure; and Mr. Grattan, Mr. Curran, and most of the opposition supported it, of course, Dr. Duigenan raked up several times all the most hideous accusations that ever bigotry had invented and ignorance

believed against Papists, in order to oppose the grant of any relief to such miscreants. On the second reading, Mr. G. Ponsonby and Mr. Latouche spoke against it. When the bill was in committee, Mr. George Knox, in a liberal and able speech moved, that the committee might be empowered to receive a clause to admit Roman Catholics to sit and vote in the House of Commons. Major Doyle seconded the motion, which was strongly supported by Mr. Daly, Col. Hutchinson, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. John O'Neil, Mr. Hardy, and some other gentlemen friendly to Catholic emancipation; it was, however, rejected upon a division by 163 against 69.

The bill finally passed both Houses and received the royal assent, on the 9th of April. This act, which was received with so much gratitude, and was extolled as such a triumph of liberality, enables Catholics to vote for members of Parliament—that is, for Protestant members and none other—admits them to the bar, that is, the outer bar—all the honors and high places of the profession being reserved for Protestants—enables them to vote for municipal officers—that is, Protestant officers exclusively—permits them to possess arms, provided they possess a certain freehold and personal estate, and take certain oaths, neither of which conditions applied to Protestants; allows them to serve on juries, but not to sit on parish vestries; admits them, under certain restrictions, to hold military and naval commissions, certain of the higher grades being excepted—and it subjects the exercise of most of these new privileges to the taking of a most insulting and humiliating oath. As this act (33 Geo. III., c. 21.) settled for thirty-six years the whole condition and relations of the Catholics, it is here given in full:—

"33 Geo. III., c. xxi.

"*An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.*

"*Whereas*, various acts of Parliament have been passed, imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued: *Be it therefore enacted*, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That his majesty's subjects, being Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or married to Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real and personal, or touching the acquiring of property or securities affecting property; save such as his majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at elections for members to serve in Parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a Papist or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion to vote at an election of members to serve in Parliament, that he should at, or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in any wise notwithstanding.

"II. *Provided always, and be it further enacted*, That all Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his majesty's Protestant

subjects, in like cases, by any law or laws now of force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths as are herein before excepted.

"III. *And provided always*, That nothing hereinbefore contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or alter any law or act of Parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by persons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as hereinafter is enacted.

"IV. *Provided also*, That nothing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend to give Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry for levying of money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the demising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the parish clerk, or at the election of any churchwarden.

"V. *Provided always*, That nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of Parliament.

"VI. *Provided also*, That nothing herein contained, shall extend to authorize any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession, any arms, armor, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns, or fire-arms, or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armor, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except Papists, or persons of the Roman Catholic religion, seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also, save and except Papists or Roman Catholics possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled, '*An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him;*' and also in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same of ten pounds, or a personal property of three hundred pounds above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property, which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of sixpence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the person making such affidavit, and possessing such property, may keep and use arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of ten pounds and upwards, if freehold, or the value of thre hundred pounds if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"VII. *And be it enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs and successors, in this kingdom; and to hold or take degrees, or any professorship in, or be masters or fellows of any college, to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion; or to hold any office or place of trust in, and to be a member of any lay-body corporate, except the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration re-

quired to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any such person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, any law, statute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, 'An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him;' and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:

"'I, A. B., do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion. I, A., B., do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence, or color, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey an order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, I hold, that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto; I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or any priest, or of any person whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God.'

"VIII. *And be it enacted*, That Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, may be capable of being elected professors of medicine, upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunn, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"IX. *Provided always, and be it enacted*, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, or Common Pleas, lord chief baron of the Court of Exchequer, justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or baron of the Court of Exchequer, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, master or keeper of the rolls, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, vice-treasurer, or deputy vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the Exchequer, or auditor general, lieutenant or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majesty's most honorable privy council, prime sergeant, attorney-general, solicitor-general, second and third sergeants at law, or king's council, masters in chancery, provost or fellow of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; postmaster-general, master, and lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, generals on the staff, and sheriffs and sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom; or

any office contrary to the rules, orders, and directions made and established by the lord-lieutenant and council in pursuance of the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of King Charles the Second, entitled, 'An act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act entitled, An act for the better execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of this kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and for making some alterations of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual settlement of this kingdom,' unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

"X. *Provided also, and be it enacted*, That nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

"XI. *And be it enacted*, That no Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

"XII. *Provided also, and be it enacted*, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person, who hath been or professed himself or herself to be a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage betwen two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.

"XIII. *And whereas* it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be pleased so to alter the statutes of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin, and of the University of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into or to take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle, which now exists by statute law; *be it enacted*, That from and after the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath, save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"XIV. *Provided always*, That no Papist or Roman Catholic or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, 'An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him,' in some one of his majesty's four courts in Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit and dwell, in open court.

"XV. *Provided always, and be it enacted*, That the names of such persons as shall so take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls, for that purpose to be appointed by said respective courts; and that the said rolls once in every year shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the Rolls Office in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof, and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby em-

powered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, for each of which certificates the sum of one shilling and no more shall be paid.

"XVI. *And be it further provided and enacted*, That from and after the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any Parliament, until he shall have first produced and shown to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough, or town-corporate, to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament doth or shall respectively belong, at the election of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oath and declaration, either from the Rolls Office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant so producing and showing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote, as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town-corporate, but not otherwise."

This law, it may be thought, saved tolerably well the main privileges of the odious "Ascendency;" and still left the two sects, or two nations in the relative position of a superior and an inferior *caste:* but the requirements of English policy at this time were absolute and undeniable. It was however felt by the thoroughgoing Protestants of Ireland to be a sore humiliation thus at last to have to acknowledge the civil existence of Papists at all, and that Papists no longer breathed altogether by "connivance." But the irritation of the Protestant interest was soothed by certain other measures which the Government carried through this session—the Gunpowder Act and the Convention Act. The Gunpowder Act, entitled "An act to prevent the importation of Arms Gunpowder, and Ammunition into this Kingdom, and the removing and keeping of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammunition without license," contained very oppressive provisions, authorizing magistrates and police to make searches for arms; and may be called the first of the regular series of "Arms Acts," with which Ireland is so familiar down to the present day. It was not at all opposed in Parliament: indeed, like all the other Arms Acts, it purported to be a temporary measure, to be in force only until the 1st of January, 1794, and the end of then next session of Parliament. The Government pretended that it was needed just at that time to defeat and suppress the seditious conspiracy which Lord Clare and the Committee of the Lords had discovered; but which did not then exist at all and, which afterwards was occasioned, or indeed rendered necessary, by the atrocious abuse of the very coercive laws which were said to be intended to defeat it.

But the second of these two acts, the Convention Act, Lord Clare's special and favorite measure, stamps that nobleman as the true author and creator of British policy in Ireland, from his own time until this hour. The bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Clare himself. Its real and plain object was to prevent the prevalence of the successful example of the Catholic Convention, and to anticipate a Convention which it was alleged that the United Irish Society was about to convene at Athlone.

This act (33 Geo. III., c. 29) to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his majesty or the Parliament, recites, that the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations, and other addresses to the king, or to both or either Houses of Parliament, for alteration of mat-

ters established by law, for redress of alleged grievances in church and state, may be made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder: and it enacts, that all such assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or otherwise constituted or appointed are unlawful assemblies, and that all persons giving or publishing notice of the election to be made of such persons or delegates, or attending, or voting or acting therein by any means, are guilty of a high misdemeanor. The act concludes with a declaration, "that nothing in it shall impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects to petition the king or Parliament for redress of any public or private grievance."

This measure gave rise to long and acrimonious debates. When it was in committee, Mr. Grattan made a vigorous speech against it: his chief objection to it was, that it was a false declaration of law, and deprived the subject of his constitutional right of petitioning effectually against grievances by rendering the previous measure of consultation and deliberation criminal. Especially he was indignant that it by implication condemned all previous conventions of delegates which had ever been held, including his own Volunteer Convention. He said—"This bill is said to be an expedient to restore peace; why then is it a *reflection?* Why do the preamble and declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate, all the Volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the committee of the lawyers' corps, and the corps that appointed that committee; the committee of the Catholics, their late conventions, and all the Catholics who appointed that convention—that is the whole Catholic body—offenders, men guilty of an unlawful assembly, and this moment liable to be prosecuted! For so much has the bill in object: not the peace of the country, but reflection on great bodies, the gratification of spleen at the expense of the constitution, by voting false doctrine into law, and the brightest passages of your history into unlawful assemblies. Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell insurgents: let them read the bill. It is not a riot act; it does not go against riots that are, but conventions that are not. The title of the bill, as first brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults arising from conventions; but as the bill had nothing to say to riots, and no riots appeared to have arisen from conventions, such title was in decency dropped, and the object of the bill was now professed to be an act against conventions. Gentlemen said a national convention at Athlone was intended. He did believe that such a one had been intended some time ago, but that then it was not so; or if then intended, that it would be trifling and contemptible. His objection to the bill was, that it was a trick, making a supposed National Convention at Athlone, in 1793, a pretext for preventing delegation forever."

All opposition was vain. The Government had fabricated an *alarm*, purposely to get this act passed. Mr. Secretary Hobart's remarks on occasion of this debate, expose clearly enough the whole policy of the Government:—

Mr. Hobart declared, nothing gave him more pain, than that the debate on this bill should have extended to such length, or that it should, on the close of the session, create any thing like a disunion of sentiment. He declared that nothing but the very *alarming* state to which the country had been reduced by a spirit of popular commotion, excited by conventions, usurping the privileges of representation, and assuming to control Parliament, could have induced him to consent to the introduction of this bill; and even the nobleman, who had brought it into the other House, before he had done so, had considered it over and over again, and did not bring it forward until absolute necessity called for some effectual measure to stem the torrent of sedition, at a time when writs had been issued by the society called United Irishmen, for the purpose of assembling the convention at Athlone, and under a conviction, that if Parliament should break up without adopting the bill, which in his idea never did, nor never was intended to meddle with the constitutional rights of the people, the constitution itself might be subverted before Parliament could be assembled.

The act passed: on the final division, the teller in favor of the passage was Arthur

Wellesley. There is not, and never was, any such law in England. From that day to this, it has effectually prevented the people of Ireland from deliberating in an orderly and authoritative manner, by means of accredited delegates, upon their own affairs. It was afterwards the rock ahead which confronted O'Connell in all his agitation. This law it was which prevented his calling together the promised "Council of Three Hundred," and left him only the alternative of inorganic "Monster meetings"—which latter indeed were also made criminal by a prudent interpretation of law.

In this same session of Parliament, and before the passage of the Catholic Relief bill, there was passed a new Militia bill, introduced by Lord Hillsborough, to establish the militia, as his lordship said, "as nearly as circumstances would permit, on the same plan as that of England." The whole number of men he proposed to be 16,000, upon a rough estimate 500 for each county. The new Militia law was one of the most efficient of that series of measures now secured by the Government to enable them at any time to crush down every popular movement which was not to their own taste.

The General Committee of the Catholics had adjourned after dispatching their delegates to the king, and they had left a subcommittee sitting in Dublin, with power to act for them between their rising and their next meeting; but they made a material alteration in its constitution, by associating to the twelve members who then formed it, the whole of the country delegates, each of whom was henceforward to be, *ipso facto*, a member thereof. They then resolved, unanimously, that they would reassemble when duly summoned by the sub-committee, who were invested with powers for that purpose. "We will attend," cried a member from a remote county (*O'Gorman, of Mayo*), "if we are summoned to meet across the Atlantic."

The sub-committee had entered into a series of negotiations with Mr. Secretary Hobart respecting the details of their Relief bill. But although the original demand in the address to the king was for *general relief*, including admission to both Houses of Parliament, it soon became evident to the minister that they would take much less. Wolfe Tone, in his indignant narrative of these proceedings, says:—

"In the first interview with the Irish minister, the two Houses of Parliament were at once given up, and the question began to be, not how much must be conceded, but how much might be withheld. So striking a change did not escape the vigilance of the administration; they instantly recovered from the panic which had led them into such indiscreet, and, as it now appeared, unnecessary concessions at the opening of Parliament; they dexterously seduced the Catholics into the strong ground of negotiation, so well known to themselves, so little to their adversaries; they procrastinated, and they distinguished, they started doubts, they pleaded difficulties; the measure of relief was gradually curtailed, and, during the tedious and anxious progress of discussion, whilst the Catholic mind, their hopes and fears, were unremittingly intent on the progress of their bill, which was obviously and designedly suspended, the acts already commemorated (*Militia, Gunpowder, and Convention Acts*) were driven through both Houses with the utmost impetuosity, and, with the most cordial and unanimous concurrence of all parties, received the royal assent."

In fact, the leading Catholics, whether prelates or landed proprietors, seemed to be, or affected to be, quite satisfied with the poor relief they had obtained: and we find henceforth less and less disposition on their part to join in, or to countenance, the ultra-liberal views of the United Irishmen.* In truth, there was no body of men in the three kingdoms more naturally disposed to abhor "French principles" than the Catholic peers, gentry, and bishops, who thought their own interests safer under the British Government than in the liberty and equality of a republic

* One of the most striking indications of the success which attended the policy of Government to attach to them the leading Catholics, and especially the bishops, and so keep the Catholic body out of the United Irish ranks, appears in the tone of the pastoral letters of various prelates to their flocks, in which they warned them against "nefarious designs" and lawless persons. From this moment, also, the laborious Mr. Plowden, in his useful *Historical Review*, never has a good word for the unfortunate Defenders, or any other Irishmen who did not choose to submit quietly and patiently to the very uttermost extremities of tyranny.

on the French model. The ablest workers, it is true, on the General Committee, John Keogh, McNeven, and Richard McCormick, joined the United Irish Society, which had not yet become revolutionary, republican, and separatist, but which was soon to be forced into that extreme position.

The same session of Parliament of 1793, saw the passage of some measures which had been amongst the favorite objects of the opposition for years. It seemed, indeed, at the commencement of that session as if the principle of Parliamentary Reform were to be admitted and fully carried out. The several great objects which had been urged by the opposition, ever since the last Parliament, with great perseverance and ability, were the Responsibility bill, the Place and the Pension bill. There were also other measures of great consequence, but of less general importance; such as the disqualifying of revenue officers from sitting in Parliament, and the repeal of the Police act. By the Responsibility bill, no money could be disposed of by the sole order from the king, as was before the case; for Irish officers were to sign all warrants; and every warrant and officer came before Parliament. The necessary consequence of such a bill was, that the hereditary revenue was given up, and, like the additional supply, voted annually. The great effect and consequence of such a measure, any man who understood government, must see at a glance.

By the Pension bill all pensioners for years or during pleasure were excluded; and the sum, which then was near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year, was reduced to eighty thousand.

By the Place bill, all new places from the date of the bill were disqualified. Officers of revenue, whose duty required their absence from Dublin, were excluded: and the principle of excluding them all was carried.

Besides the acts already mentioned, the following popular acts were passed in the session of 1793, viz. (33 Geo. III., c. xxv.): "An Act to encourage the Improvement of Barren Land;" (xxxi.) "An Act for regulating the Trade of Ireland to and from the East Indies, under certain conditions and provisions for a time therein mentioned;" (33 Geo. III., c. xxxiv.) "An Act for the support of the Honor and Dignity of His Majesty's Crown in Ireland, and for granting to His Majesty a Civil List Establishment, under certain Provisions and Regulations;" (33 Geo. III., c. xli.) "An Act for securing the Freedom and Independence of the House of Commons, by excluding therefrom Persons holding any Offices under the Crown, to be hereafter created, or holding certain Offices therein enumerated, or Pensions for Term of Years, or during His Majesty's Pleasure;" (33 Geo. III., c. xlviii.) "An Act to remove Doubts respecting the Functions of Juries in Cases of Libel;" (33 Geo. III., c. lii.) "An Act for the Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, by granting the Sums therein mentioned for the Support of Commercial Credit."

But no general measure of reform could be carried. The conciliatory disposition of the Government abated sensibly in proportion as the French successes on the Continen seemed more doubtful. In fact, Dumouriez lost the Low Countries as quickly as he had won them: rather indeed he had given up his conquests to the Allies; having, as is well known, become a traitor to his country. The miserable wretch subsisted for many years on a pension from the English Government, and died in Buckinghamshire, in 1823. It was believed for a time in England that the French Revolution was going back, and that the danger was in a great measure past. They resolved therefore to rely on the trifling concessions they had already made to conciliate the opposition party and the upper classes of the Catholics, and to make relentless use of their new coercion acts in "stamping out" United Irishmen.

The session was closed on the 16th of August, 1793.

HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1793—1795.

Small results of Catholic Relief Bill—Distinctions still kept up—Excitement against the Catholics—Trials of Defenders—Packing Juries—Progress of United Irishism—Opposed by Catholic bishops—Arrests of Bond and Butler—Prosecution of A. Hamilton Rowan—Last effort for Parliamentary Reform—Defeated—United Irish Meeting in Dublin dispersed by the Police—Rev. Wm. Jackson and Wolfe Tone—Rowan charged with Treason—Rowan escapes—Tone allowed to quit the country—Vow of the Cave Hill—Fitzwilliam's Administration—Fitzwilliam deceived by Pitt—Dismissal of Mr. Beresford—Plan of Mr. Pitt—Insurrection first—"Union" afterwards—Fitzwilliam recalled—Great Despondency—The "Orangemen"—Beginning of Coercion and Anarchy.

The limited and grudging measure for relief of the Catholics had by no means had the effect of destroying the odious distinctions which had so long divided Irishmen of different religious persuasions. The law indeed was changed, but the insolent and exclusive spirit which had inspired the Penal Code; the very marked and offensive disabilities which still left the Catholic people in a condition of legal inferiority, gave the "Ascendency" ample opportunity to make them feel daily and hourly that they were still a proscribed and oppressed race. Great difficulties at first prevailed in raising the different regiments of militia; for although Catholics were rendered capable of serving in them, no Catholic officers were appointed; this marked reprobation of all gentlemen of that communion so directly in the teeth of the act, diffused a general diffidence amidst the lower orders, and it was found necessary to appoint several Catholic officers, before the militia corps could be completed.

Catholics were not yet eligible as mayors or sheriffs, but there was now no legal exclusion of them from the guilds of merchants. Accordingly, thirty highly respectable Catholic merchants of Dublin applied for admission into their guild, but were rejected on the mere ground of their religion. In every part of the kingdom continual efforts were made to traduce and vilify the whole Catholic body, in order to defeat and annul the measures which the legislature had passed in their favor. Never, perhaps, in all the history of the country, had the virulent malignity of the bigots been so busy in charging upon Catholics all manner of evil principles and practices. Their indignant denials of these imputations were utterly unheeded. Every town corporation followed the example of that of Dublin, and excluded Catholics even from the poor privilege of belonging to the guild of their trades. The growth and progress of Defenderism, particularly in the county of Meath, afforded fuel to the enemies of the Catholic body, which they studied to implicate in the outrages which were sometimes committed. Painful industry was employed to work up the imaginations of the inhabitants into the expectation of a general massacre of all the Protestants throughout that county. No arts were left untried to criminate the Catholic body; every exceptionable word or action of an individual, however contemptible, was charged on the whole; and the object was now, not so much to suppress the Defenders, as to fasten their enormities on the Catholic body.

On several trials which took place at the assizes for Meath County in prosecuting men charged with being Defenders, the juries were composed exclusively of Protestants. Catholics, it is true, were legally competent to sit on juries, but in every case of prosecution by the crown, the Protestant sheriff took care to show them that they were not regarded as "good and lawful men." Irritated and humiliated by such continued oppression, it is not wonderful if many of the Catholics began to despair of being ever allowed to live in peace and honor in their native land without such a revolution as would destroy both the "Ascendency" and the English connection along with it. Great numbers of them about this time joined the United Irish Society, which was not yet indeed a revolutionary or republican body in form, although its principal leaders were revolutionists in principle, and already foresaw the necessity which shortly after drove them into armed insurrection. The Catholic bishops, it must be admitted (if it be any credit to them), most vehemently opposed the United Irishmen, and omitted no occasion of protesting their "loyalty," and pouring execration upon

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

"French principles." In the humble address to the King from nine Catholic bishops, we find these strong expressions, which prove a spirit of the most determined submissiveness under oppression :—

"Whilst we lament the necessity that inflicts the calamities of war upon any, even the most depraved of our fellow-creatures, we incessantly supplicate the Almighty Disposer of events, that, blessing your Majesty's arms with success, He may crown you with the glory of stopping the progress of that atheistical faction, which aims at the subversion of every religious and moral principle.

"We look towards that unhappy nation, which is the object of hostility, and acknowledge with humble thanksgiving the goodness of Divine Providence, which, under the best of constitutions, has bestowed on the land we live in, freedom exempt from anarchy, protection guarded against oppression, and a prince calculated by his wisdom and virtue to preserve that happy condition of society."

It is a part of the history of our country that these four archbishops and five bishops did actually bear this high testimony to the freedom and happiness of Ireland, at a time when every accused Catholic was tried before a packed jury of his enemies—when no Catholic could be a magistrate or sheriff, and therefore no Catholic had the least chance of justice in any court—when the unfortunate flocks of these prelates were having their stacks of grain sold to pay tithes to clergymen they never saw, and church-rates to support churches which they never entered.

The government now began a system of active operations against the United Irishmen. Two of their chiefs, Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, the first a barrister, the second a Dublin merchant, had already, in 1792, been summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, charged with having acted as chairman and secretary of one of the meetings in Taylor's Hall, at which an address to the people was adopted, very strongly denouncing the corrupt composition of Parliament. This was construed as an offence against the privilege of Parliament; and Butler and Bond were condemned to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay each a fine of £500. The next leader marked for vengeance was the famous Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the friend of Tone, and one of the boldest of the early chiefs of the Society. It was determined to prosecute him on a charge of sedition, on account of an address "to the Volunteers," adopted at a meeting where he acted as secretary. The address had been adopted and published two years before; yet the government had hesitated all this while to bring him to trial. In fact, arrangements had first to be perfected to ensure the packing of the jury. This was done by making John Giffard, one of the most unscrupulous and indefatigable partizans of the "Ascendancy," one of the Sheriffs of Dublin; he knew precisely on what jurors the Castle could depend. It was on occasion of this trial that the system of jury-packing was thoroughly organized and reduced to an art; it has since that time formed the chief instrument of British government in Ireland.

The prosecuted address was written by Drennan; and its first paragraph will show the nature of the "sedition :"—

"Citizen-soldiers, you first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance; for the same purposes it now becomes necessary, that you should resume them; a proclamation has been issued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been issued by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council in Ireland for repressing all seditious associations; in consequence of both these proclamations, it is reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad and danger at home, from whence but from apprehended danger are these menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence if not to create that internal commotion which was not found, to shake that credit which was not affected, to blast that volunteer honor which was hitherto inviolate, are those terrible suggestions and rumors and whispers that meet us at every corner, and agitate at least our old men, our women, and children; whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you volunteers of Ireland are therefore summoned to arms at the instance of government as well as by the responsi-

bility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your constitution. We will not at this day condescend to quote authorities for the right of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your formation was owing the peace and protection of this island, to your relaxation has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance, to your renovation must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity; you are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police, or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war."

The address went on to recommend a civil and military convention, which was not against the law at that time, though in the next year the "Convention Act" was passed to prevent all such assemblies.

Upon this the Attorney-General filed an *ex-officio* information. The trial came on the 29th of January, 1794, though the information had been filed as far back as the 8th of the preceding June. Upon calling over the jury one of them was objected against, as holding a place under the crown, but the Attorney-General insisted upon the illegality of the objection, and observed, that it went against all that was honorable and respectable in the land. It was, therefore, overruled by the court. After a trial of about ten hours, the jury found Rowan guilty. This was very unexpected by Mr. Rowan's party. A motion was afterwards made in court to set aside the verdict, and grant a new trial grounded on several affidavits. The motion was argued for six days, and was at last discharged. The grounds upon which the defendant's counsel rested their case were, 1. Upon the declaration of a juror against Mr. Rowan, viz., that the country would never be quiet till he was hanged or banished. 2. Upon the partiality of Mr. Giffard, the sheriff, who had so arrayed the panel as to have him tried by an unfair jury. 3. Upon the incredibility of one Lister, the chief and only witness against him; and 4. The misdirection of the court. The sentence of the court upon Mr. Rowan was to pay to His Majesty a fine of £500 and be imprisoned two years, to be computed from the 29th of January, 1794, and until the fine were paid, and to find security for his good behavior for seven years, himself in £2,000, and two sureties in £1,000 each. The verdict and judgment of the court gave great dissatisfaction to the popular party. Their disapprobation of the verdict was expressed in court by groans and hisses.

Parliament met on the 21st of January; and in March, Mr. Wm. Brabazon Ponsonby presented his bill for amending the state of the representation of the people in Parliament. Mr. Grattan and Sir Lawrence Parsons supported the bill; the government party does not seem to have even taken the trouble to debate the question, being quite sure of the result. On motion of Sir Hercules Langrishe it was ordered to be read a second time that day six months; and so ended all efforts for reform in the Irish Parliament. The Houses were prorogued on the 25th of March.

In the meantime, Hamilton Rowan was lying in Newgate, according to his sentence. The United Irish Society of Dublin voted him an address in his prison, vehemently denouncing the packing of juries, and promising "inflexible determination to pursue the great object of our association—*an equal and impartial representation of the people in Parliament.*" But the government was now determined to treat these extra-parliamentary reformers without ceremony. On the 4th of May, their ordinary place of meeting, the Taylor's Hall in Back lane, was invaded by the police, the meeting dispersed and the papers seized. After this event many of the more timid, or prudent members, fell off altogether from the society; but the more resolute and indignant, especially the republican portion of the body, made up their minds from this moment to re-organize the society upon a distinctly revolutionary and military basis, which they effected in the course of the next year. Their reasons for taking this extreme resolution were—that as the people were not fairly represented in Parliament, and had no hope of being so represented—as the Convention Act had

deprived them of the right to consult on their common affairs publicly, by means of delegates appointed for that purpose—and as even trial by jury was now virtually abolished, so that no man's life or liberty had any longer the slightest protection from the laws, they were thrown back upon their original rights and remedies as human beings—that is to say, the right and remedy of revolution.

A few days before the attack of the police upon Taylor's Hall, a certain Rev. William Jackson, a clergyman of the Church of England, was arrested in Dublin on a charge of high treason. He had come from France, with instructions from the government of the republic to have an emissary appointed by the United Irish leaders who should go to Paris and negotiate for French aid in a revolutionary movement. He had come by way of London; and there Mr. Pitt, who was perfectly aware of his errand and his every movement, contrived that he should be provided with a companion upon his mission. This was one Cockayne, an attorney, who came to Dublin with Mr. Jackson, and affected great zeal in the cause of liberty and of Ireland. Jackson had letters of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who refused, however, to hold any communication with him. He was introduced, however, to Wolfe Tone, and had several interviews with Rowan in prison. Tone at first entered into his views, and undertook to be himself the agent who should go to France; but at the next interview, having conceived suspicions of Cockayne, if not of Jackson himself, he drew back, and declined further negotiation. Rowan, however, was less cautious, and had many interviews with Jackson and Cockayne, in which he endeavored first to secure Tone's services as the French agent, and on his refusal, Dr. Reynolds'. All this while Mr. Pitt and the government were kept fully apprised of all that was going forward; and at length, when it was supposed there was evidence enough to involve Jackson, Tone, Rowan and Reynolds in a charge of high treason, Jackson was arrested, brought to trial the next year, convicted on the testimony of Cockayne, and about to be sentenced to death, when he dropped dead in court, having swallowed arsenic for that purpose.

On the 1st of May, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, now certain of being tried, convicted and executed for high treason, escaped from Newgate prison, arrived in France, and thence proceeded to America. Reynolds avoided arrest by timely flight. Tone was not apprehended; but he was given to understand that the accusation was hanging over him; and was left the option of quitting the country, but without any promise being exacted on his part as to his course for the future. Before going away, he wrote a narrative of the two conversations he had with Jackson. Tone's son, in his memoir of his father, says: "When my father delivered this paper, the prevalent opinion, which he then shared, was, that Jackson was a secret emissary employed by the British Government. It required the unfortunate man's voluntary death to clear his character of such a foul imputation. What renders this transaction the more odious, is, that, before his arrival in Ireland, the life of Jackson was completely in the power of the British Government. His evil genius was already pinned upon him; his mission from France, his every thought and his views, were known. He was allowed to proceed, not in order to detect an existing conspiracy in Ireland, but to form one, and thus increase the number of victims. A more atrocious instance of perfidious and gratuitous cruelty is scarcely to be found in the history of any country but Ireland."

In May, 1765, Tone proceeded to Belfast with his family, met there some of his early associates in the formation of the first United Irish Club, and made some agreeable excursions with them. One of the scenes which he describes in his memoirs is impressive, seen in the light of subsequent events: "I remember, particularly, two days that we passed on the Cave hill. On the first, Russell, Neilson, Simms, M'Cracken and one or two more of us, on the summit of M'Art's fort, took a solemn obligation, which, I think I may say, I have on my part endeavored to fulfill—never to desist in our efforts, until we had subverted the authority of England over our country, and asserted her independence."

Tone had already solemnly promised his friends in Dublin, that if he now retired to the United States, it would only be to proceed thence to France, and labor to form the alliance which he regarded as the grand mission of his life between the French Republic and a republic in Ireland.

In the beginning of the year 1795, owing to certain arrangements between the English ministers and those lately "coalized" Whigs who had been admitted to a share in the administration, Lord Westmoreland was recalled from Ireland, and Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant. This gave great hope and satisfaction to the Irish Catholics and their friends in Parliament. Lord Fitzwilliam was a Whig of the Burke school, a close friend of the Duke of Portland; and it was universally understood that he had not undertaken the government of Ireland save on the express terms that complete Catholic Emancipation would be made a government measure. Indeed, this was well known; for before consenting to come to Ireland he had induced Mr. Grattan to go over and confer with him on the policy to be pursued. Mr. Grattan, of course, made the emancipation of the Catholics the main and indispensable point; and the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam fully concurred, with the distinct assent also of Mr. Pitt. For the due understanding of the cruel fraud which that minister was now meditating upon the Irish nation, it is needful that this previous arrangement of policy should be made clear; and, fortunately, we have the evidence, both of Mr. Grattan and Lord Fitzwilliam himself, in full contradiction to the reckless assertions of Fitzgibbon. Mr. Grattan, in his *Answer to Lord Clare*, says: "In summer, on a change being made in the British Cabinet, being informed by some of the learned persons therein, that the administration of the Irish Department was to belong to them, and that they sent for us to adopt our measures, I stated the Catholic Emancipation to be one of them." And Lord Fitzwilliam, in his letters to Lord Carlisle, makes this explicit statement: "From the very beginning, as well as through the whole progress of that fatal business, for fatal I fear I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and His Majesty's ministry, previous to my departure from London. From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1790, I was decidedly of opinion, that not only sound policy, but justice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this question came under discussion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the Cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government. I at first proposed that the additional indulgences should be offered from the throne; the very best effects would be secured by this act of unsolicited graciousness; and the embarrassing consequences which it was natural to foresee must result from the measures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be timely and happily avoided. But to this proposal objections were started, that appeared of sufficient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I consented not to bring the question forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavor to keep it back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when so many material objects might not press upon the government, but as the principle was agreed on, and the necessity of its being brought into full effect was universally allowed, it was at the same time resolved, that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and bring it before Parliament, I was to give it a handsome support on the part of the government.

"I was no sooner landed, and informed of the real state of things here, than I found that question would force itself upon my immediate consideration. Faithful to the system that had been agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my discretion, I lost not a moment in gaining every necessary information, or

in transmitting the result to the British Cabinet. As early as the 8th of January, I wrote to the Secretary of State on the subject; I told him that I trembled about the Roman Catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the session; that I found the question already in agitation; that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to Parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining disqualifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately using what efforts I could to stop the progress of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence in government. I stated the substance of some conversations I had on the subject with some of the principal persons of the country. It was the opinion of one of these, that if the postponing of the question could be negotiated on grounds of expediency, it ought not to be resisted by government. That it should be put off for some time, was allowed by another to be a desirable thing, but the principle of extension was at the same time strongly insisted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter of the most urgent necessity."

Lord Fitzwilliam took possession of his government on the 4th of January, 1795. Parliament stood prorogued until the 22d of January. He occupied the intervening time in making some dismissals from office, which created great dismay and resentment in the Castle circles, and proportional joy in the minds of the people. Mr. Grattan was invited to accept the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, but declined. Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Curran were to be made Attorney and Solicitor-General; and these appointments in themselves were significant of a marked change in the Irish policy. But nothing struck the country with such surprise and pleasure, mingled with apprehension, as the dismissal of Mr. Beresford from the Revenue Board. The Beresford family was at that time the most powerful of the aristocracy of Ireland; had the two peerages of Waterford and Tyrone, and had also been so successful in its constant efforts to create for itself a controlling influence by means of patronage and boroughmongering, that it was thought no viceroy could dare to displace a Beresford. In the letter cited before, addressed to Lord Carlisle, Fitzwilliam says: "And now for the grand question about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this subject, I reminded him of a conversation, in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put to him by me,) my apprehensions, that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favor of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me suppose that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified; when he was filling a situation greater than that of the Lord-Lieutenant; and I clearly saw, that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration."

This bold step, as it was then felt to be, still further confirmed the joyful expectation, that an ample Catholic Relief bill would soon be brought in and sustained by the government. All the Catholics and liberal Protestants were highly pleased at the prospect. The *Northern Star*, organ of the United Irishmen, published in Belfast, had triumphantly announced Catholic Emancipation as a matter settled. The Catholics generally agreed to put their case into the hands of Mr. Grattan, their old and warm advocate; and it seems highly probable that if the compact made with Lord Fitzwilliam had been observed, and all the remaining disabilities of Catholics frankly removed at once, the insurrection would never have taken place, and infinite misery and atrocity saved to the country. But Mr. Pitt knew well that if there were no insurrection there would also be no union. He had his plans already almost matured; and his chief adviser for Irish affairs was the *thorough* Lord Clare.

Mr. Beresford, the dismissed Commissioner of the Revenue, at once went to England, laid his complaints before Mr. Pitt, and even had an audience of the King. Lord

Fitzwilliam very soon found, from the tenor of the letters he received from Pitt, that the minister was dissatisfied with some of his measures; and disquieting rumors prevailed that he would not long remain in Ireland.

In the meantime, Catholic petitions poured into the House. Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in his Catholic Relief bill; and leave was given with only three dissentient voices. This was of itself a very remarkable feature in Irish politics; and what was even more notable was the fact that no counter-petitions of Protestants were sent in. The nation was in good humor; and the House voted larger supplies in men and money for carrying on the war than had ever been voted in Ireland before. Now the unpleasant rumors became more positive, and assumed more consistence. On the 28th of February, Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his place in Parliament, asked the members opposite if the rumors were true; but received no answer. Sir Lawrence added, "he was sorry to be obliged to construe the silence of the right honorable and honorable gentlemen into a confirmation of this rumor; and he deplored most deeply the event, which, at the present time, must tend to throw alarming doubts on the promises, which had been held out to the people, of measures to be adopted for the promotion of their happiness, the conciliation of their minds, and the common attachment of every class of his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland, in support of the same happy constitution. If those measures were now to be relinquished, which gentlemen had promised with so much confidence to the country, and on the faith of which, the House had been called on to vote the enormous sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, he must consider his country as brought to the most awful and alarming crisis she had ever known in any period of her history."

He then moved an address to His Excellency, entreating him to remain in his government; Mr. Duquery seconded the motion, and used very strong language with respect to the conduct of Mr. Pitt, "who, not satisfied," he said, "with having involved the country in a disastrous war, intended to complete the mischief by risking the internal peace of Ireland, making that country the dupe of his fraud and artifice, in order *to swindle the nation* out of £1,700,000 to support the war on the faith of measures which it now seemed were to be refused."

And now all proceedings on the Catholic Relief bill were suspended, by positive orders from England; and as Mr. Grattan had acted in bringing it forward as a ministerial supporter he could only acquiesce, though with the gloomiest forebodings.

Again, on the 2d of March, Sir Lawrence Parsons made a very violent speech, severely reprobating the bad faith of the British Cabinet with regard to Lord Fitzwilliam. "But the great object," he said, "of the motion he was about to make was to calm the public mind, to give the people an assurance that the measures which were proposed would not be abandoned; that the Parliament would keep the means in their hands until they were accomplished; and that they would not be prorogued until they were fairly and fully discussed. He did not pretend to say specifically what these measures were. The first he believed to be the Catholic bill; and if a resistance to any one measure more than another was likely to promote dreadful consequences it was this. He said nothing as to the original propriety of the measure; but this much he would say, that if the Irish administration had countenanced the Catholics in this expectation, without the concurrence of the British Cabinet, they had much to answer for. On the other hand, if the British Cabinet had held out an assent, and had afterwards retracted; if the dæmon of darkness should come from the infernal regions upon earth, and throw a fire-brand amongst the people, he could not do more to promote mischief. The hopes of the public were raised, and in one instant they were blasted. If the House did not resent that insult to the nation and to themselves, they would in his mind be most contemptible; for although a majority of the people might submit to be mocked in so barefaced a manner, the case was not as formerly, when all the Parliament of Ireland was against the Catholics; and to back them, the force

of England." Now, although the claim of the Catholics was well known and understood, not one petition controverting it had been presented from Protestants in any part of Ireland. No remonstrance appeared, no county meeting had been held. What was to be inferred from all this, but that the sentiments of the Protestants were for the emancipation of the Catholics? A meeting was held on Saturday last at the Royal Exchange of the merchants and traders of the metropolis, which was as numerously attended as the limits of that building would admit. The Governor of the Bank of Ireland was in the chair. An address was resolved on to His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam, full of affection, and resolutions strong as they could be in countenance of the Catholic claim. He would ask them, was the British minister to control all the interests, talents, and inclinations in that country? He protested to God, that in all the history he had read, he had never met with a parallel of such ominous infatuation as that by which he appeared to be led. "Let them persevere," said he, "and you must increase your army to myriads; every man must have five or six dragoons in his house." Sir Lawrence ended with a motion to limit the Money bill; but this motion was voted down by a large majority. Members could hardly yet believe that so great a villany was intended. Mr. Conolly, however, remarked "that he would vote for it if he did not hear something satisfactory"—namely about the retention of Lord Fitzwilliam. Within a few days after Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled from Ireland. No more was heard about Catholic Relief for nearly forty years. Lord Camden succeeded as viceroy, and the country was delivered over to its now inevitable ordeal of slaughter and desolation; an ordeal which, in Mr. Pitt's opinion, was needful to pave the way for the Legislative Union. Mr. Plowden has very truly described the effect of these transactions upon the nation:—

"The report of Earl Fitzwilliam's intended removal was no sooner credited, than an universal despondency, in some instances bordering on desperation, seized the whole nation. Meetings were formed throughout the kingdom, in order to convey to their beloved and respected Governor, their high sense of his virtue and patriotism, and their just indignation at his and their country' enemies. The deep and settled spirit of discontent which at this time pervaded all ranks of people, was not confined to the Catholics. The Dissenters and as many of the Protestants of the establishment, as had not an interest in that monopoly of power and influence, which Earl Fitzwilliam had so openly attacked and so fearfully alarmed, felt the irresistible effect: all good Irishmen beheld with sorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, interests, and religions defeated, the cup of national union dashed from their eager lips, and the spirit of discord let loose upon the kingdom with an enlarged commission to inflame, aggravate, and destroy. Such were the feelings, and such the language of those who deplored the removal of that nobleman, in the critical moment of giving peace, strength, and prosperity to their country. And how large a part of the Irish nation lamented the loss of their truly patriotic Governor, may be read in the numberless addresses and resolutions that poured in upon him both before and after his actual departure, expressive of their grief, despair, and indignation at that ominous event. They came from every description of persons, but from Right Boys, Defenders, and the old dependants upon the castle." The people of Ireland, of all sects and classes seemed seized with a sudden undefined horror at the prospects before them. They saw that a great opportunity was lost. And they had no mortal quarrel with one another, save the quarrel always made for them, always forced on them, by an English minister sitting safe in his Cabinet at Westminster. Many on both sides who were destined soon to meet in deadly struggle could have prayed that this cup might pass. On the 25th of March, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the public were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom: the shops were shut; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side by

some of the most respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance. The reception of Earl Camden, who arrived in Dublin five days after, wore a very different complexion; displeasure appeared generally: many strong traits of disapprobation were exhibited, and some of the populace were so outrageous, that it became necessary to call out a military force in order to quell the disturbances that ensued.

Still the rage for meetings and addresses continued. On the 9th of April a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics was had in their chapel in Francis street, to receive the report of their delegates, who had presented their petition at St. James': when Mr. Keogh reported, that in execution of their mission, they had on the 13th of March presented their petition to His Majesty, and had received what was generally termed a gracious reception. That they had afterwards felt it their duty to request an audience with the Duke of Portland, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to receive such information as he should think fit to impart relative to His Majesty's determination on the subject of their address. That his grace declined giving any information whatever, save that His Majesty had imparted his pleasure thereon to the Lord-Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through which that information should pass. Here their mission was determined. Mr. Keogh continued to deliver his sentiments upon the critical situation of affairs, and amongst many strong things, which fell from him, one observation gave particular offence to government. He was not, he said, sorry that the measure had been attempted, though it had been defeated: for it pointed out one fact at least, in which the feelings of every Irishman were interested, and by which the Irish Legislature would be roused to a sense of its own dignity. It showed that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irish Parliament was competent, were to be previously adjusted by a British Cabinet. Whilst this debate was going on, a very large party of the young men of the college came into the chapel, and were most honorably received. Some of them joined in the debate. They came that hour from presenting an address to Mr. Grattan, to thank and congratulate him upon his patriotic efforts in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and the reform of those abuses, which had inflamed public indignation, to which Mr. Grattan made an appropriate answer. Every patriotic Irishman must look back with unavailing regret to the lost opportunity, or rather to the cruel deception, of Lord Fitzwilliam's short administration. There was really at that moment a disposition to bury the hatchet of strife. At no subsequent period, down to this day, were the two nations which make up the Irish population, so well disposed to amalgamate and unite. But that did not suit the exigencies of British policy. There was to be an insurrection, in order that there might be a Legislative Union. In this same eventful year of 1795, British policy was materially aided by a new and portentous institution—the *Orange Society*. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the absolute and most inevitable despair of obtaining either Reform of Parliament or Catholic Emancipation under the existing order of things, had driven vast numbers of the people, of both religions, into the United Irish Society. A spirit of union and fraternity was spreading fast. "Then," says Mr. Plowden, "the gentlemen in place became frightfully alarmed for their situations; active agents were sent down to Armagh, to turn the ferocity and fanaticism of the *Peep of Day Boys* into a religious contest with the Catholics, under the specious appearance of zeal for Church and King. Personal animosity was artfully converted into religious rancor; and for the specious purpose of taking off the stigma of delinquency, the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys* was changed into that of *Orangemen*." It was in the northern part of Armagh County that this bloody association originated, and Mr. Thomas Verner enjoyed the bad eminence of being its first "Grand Master." Their test is said to have been: "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., do solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support the King and the present government; and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost exertions

to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." But this oath, being secret, has latterly been denied by the Orangemen of respectability and consequence. It has been generally credited, that it was taken by all the original lodges, and continued afterwards to be taken by the lower classes. The Orange oath is given in the above terms in a pamphlet published in 1797, called "A View of the Present State of Ireland," which is attributed to Arthur O'Connor. But whatever may have been the original form of engagement, or however it may have since been changed by more politic "Grand Masters," nothing is more certain than that the Orange Society did immediately and most seriously apply themselves to the task of exterminating the Catholics. There is quite as little doubt that this shocking society was encouraged by the government, and by most of the magistrates and country gentlemen to keep alive religious animosity, and prevent the spread of the United Irish organization. An union of Irishmen, upon the just, liberal, and fraternal basis of this organization, would have rendered impossible that other "Union" on which Mr. Pitt had set his heart—the Union of Ireland with England. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the arrival of Lord Camden gave the signal for the bloody anarchy, through which Ireland was doomed to pass for the next four years, and which, it was deliberately calculated, was to end in her extinction as a nation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1795—1797.

"To Hell or Connaught"—"Vigor beyond the Law"—Lord Carhampton's Vigor—Insurrection Act—Indemnity Act—The latter an invitation to Magistrates to break the law—Mr. Grattan on the Orangemen—His Resolution—The Acts Passed—Opposed by Grattan, Parsons, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Insurrection Act destroys Liberty of the Press—Suspension of Habeas Corpus—U. I. Society—New Members—Lord E. Fitzgerald—Mac Nevin—Emmet—Wolf Tone at Paris—His Journal—Clarke—Carnot—Hoche—Bantry Bay Expedition—Account of, in Tone's Journal—Fleet Anchors in Bantry Bay—Account of the affair by Secret Committee of the Lords—Government fully Informed of all the Projects.

THE chief object of the government and its agents was now to invent and disseminate fearful rumors of intended massacres of all the Protestant people by the Catholics. Dr. Madden says: "Efforts were made to infuse into the mind of the Protestant feelings of distrust to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Popish plots and conspiracies were fabricated with a practical facility, which some influential authorities conceived it no degradation to stoop to; and alarming reports of these dark confederations were circulated with a restless assiduity." The effects were soon apparent in the atrocities committed by the Orangemen in Armagh, and by the magistrates and military in other countries. The persecuted "Defenders" of Armagh made some feeble attempts to protect themselves, though almost without arms. This resistance led to the transaction called "Battle of the Diamond," near the village of that name, on the 21st of September, 1795. Several writers have alleged that the Catholics invited this conflict by a challenge sent to the Orangemen. Of course, the latter, having abundance of arms, and being sure of the protection of the magistrates, were not slow to accept such an invitation; but nothing can be more absurd than to term the affair a battle. Not one of the Orange party was killed or wounded. Four or five Defenders were killed, and a proportionate number wounded; and this is the glorious battle that has been toasted at Orange banquets from that day to the present. Mr. Emmet* thus describes the transaction: "The Defenders were speedily defeated with the loss of some few killed and left on the field of battle, besides the wounded, whom they carried away. * * The Catholics, after this, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest dye. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the country. They posted up on the cabins of these unfortunate victims this pithy notice, "To Hell or Connaught;" and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If, after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed the furniture, burned the habitations, and

* Pieces of Irish History.

forced the ruined families to fly elsewhere for shelter." Mr. Emmet adds, "While these outrages were going on, the resident magistrates were not found to resist them, and in some instances were even more than inactive spectators." Dr. Madden has preserved and printed a number of the "notices," ill-spelled, but sufficiently intelligible, which were posted on the cabin doors. But the Orangemen by no means confined themselves to mere forcible ejectment of their enemies. Many fearful murders were committed on the unresisting people; and what gives perhaps the clearest idea of the persecution is the fact that *seven thousand* persons were estimated in the next year to have been either killed or driven from their homes in that one small county alone.* But the unhappy outcasts, even when they escaped with their lives, had no shelter to fly to. In most cases they could only wander on the mountains until either death relieved them, or they were arrested and imprisoned; while the younger men were sent, without ceremony, to one of the "tenders," then lying in various seaports, and thence transferred on board British men-of-war. This was the device originally of Lord Carhampton, then commanding in Ireland. It was called a "vigor beyond the law;" a delicate phrase which has since come very much into use to describe outrages committed by magistrates *against* the law. During all the rest of this year the greater part of Leinster, with portions of Ulster and Munster, were in the utmost terror and agony; the Orange magistrates, aided by the troops, arresting and imprisoning, without any charge, multitudes of unoffending people, under one pretext or another. It is right to present a sample of the story as told by "loyal men." Thus, then, the matter is represented by Sir Richard Musgrave, p. 145: "Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, *who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations*, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity: 'In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of this banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, stationed at Sligo, to serve in His Majesty's navy.'" There is no doubt that great numbers of people were obliged to fly from their habitations; but then these were the very people whom Lord Carhampton and the magistrates called banditti, and sent to the tender as "nefarious." Such is, however, a specimen of the history of these times as told upon Orange authority.

In the midst of these painful scenes, Parliament assembled on the 21st of January, 1796. Lord Camden, in his speech from the throne, congratulated them on "the brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine;" and then, alluding to dangerous secret societies, he intimated that certain additional powers would be called for; in other words, martial law. The Attorney-General lost no time in bringing forward an Insurrection Act and an Indemnity Act—the latter being for the purpose of indemnifying magistrates and military officers against the consequences of any of their illegal outrages upon the people.

Mr. Curran wished to know the extent and nature of that delinquency, which it was intended to indemnify; when Mr. M. Beresford observed, the word *delinquency* was not applicable to the persons intended; a part of the country was alarmingly disturbed; the magistrates and others invested with power had, in order to prevent the necessity of proclaiming martial law universally, acted in that particular district, as if martial law were proclaimed: this conduct, so far from being delinquency, was justifiable and laudable, and of happy consequence in the event.

On the 28th of the month, the Attorney-General adverted to the notice he had given on the first night of the session, of his intention of bringing in two bills: the

* Mr. Plowden, who is as hostile to the Defenders as any Orangeman, says from five to seven thousand. O'Connor, Emmet and MacNeven, in their Memoirs of the Union, say "seven thousand driven from their homes."

object of one of them was, for preventing in future insurrections, and tumults, and riots in this kingdom; and the object of the other bill was, to indemnify certain magistrates and others, who, in their exertions for the preservation of the public tranquillity, might have acted *against the forms and rules of law;* he stated that the bill for the more effectually preventing of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons, was, however repugnant to his feelings.

He said, that the act then in force for administering unlawful oaths was not sufficiently strong, and the administering of unlawful oaths was the source of all the treasonable actions which had taken place in the country: the bill proposed, that the administering of unlawful oaths should be felony of death; but he would propose, that that bill should be but a temporary law; there was also a clause in the bill to enable the magistrates, at the quarter sessions, to take up all idle vagrants and persons who had no visible means of earning a livelihood, and send them to serve on board the fleet; he said he did not propose to hurry this bill through the House, but give time for the consideration, as it might be necessary to add much, and make several alterations. He then moved for leave "to bring in a bill for the more effectual prevention of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons;" and leave was given to bring in the bill. Then he moved for leave "to bring in a bill for indemnifying such magistrates and others, who might have, since the 1st of January, 1795, exceeded the ordinary forms and rules of law for the preservation of the public peace, and suppression of insurrection prevailing in some parts of this kingdom."

There was earnest opposition against these two bills, but without effect: they were both passed into laws; and they had the effect, which they were certainly intended to have, of exciting, or at least hastening, the insurrection of 1798. It is observable that the motive assigned by the government officials for passing these laws was always the outrages and alleged secret associations of *Defenders.* Not a word was said about the real outrages and exterminating oaths of Orangemen. Indeed, the measures in question were really directed not against either Defenders or Orangemen, but against the United Irishmen, the only association of which the government had the slightest fear. Besides the two bills, the Attorney-General proposed four supplemental resolutions asserting the necessity of giving enlarged powers to magistrates to search for arms and to make arrests. On the reading of these resolutions, Mr. Grattan observed, that he had heard the right honorable gentleman's statement, and did not suppose it to be inflamed; but he must observe at the same time it was partial; he did, indeed, expatiate very fully and justly on the offences of the Defenders; but with respect to another description of insurgents, whose barbarities had excited general abhorrence, he had observed a complete silence; that he had proceeded to enumerate the counties that were afflicted by disturbances, and he had omitted Armagh;—of that, neither had he comprehended the outrages in his general description, nor in his particular enumeration: of those outrages, he had received the most dreadful accounts; that their object was the extermination of all the Catholics of that county; it was a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried on with the most ferocious barbarity, by a banditti, who being of the religion of the state, had committed with the greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to extermination; that they had repealed, by their own authority, all the laws lately passed in favor of the Catholics, had established in the place of those laws, the inquisition of a mob, resembling Lord George Gordon's fanatics, equaling them in outrage, and surpassing them far in perseverance and success.

That their modes of outrage were as various as they were atrocious; they sometimes forced, by terror, the masters of families to dismiss their Catholic servants—they sometimes forced landlords, by terror, to dismiss their Catholic tenantry—they seized as deserters, numbers of Catholic weavers—

sent them to the county jail, transmitted them to Dublin, where they remained in close prison, until some lawyers, from compassion, pleaded their cause, and procured their enlargement, nothing appearing against them of any kind whatsoever. Those insurgents, who called themselves Orange Boys, or Protestant Boys, that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty—those insurgents had organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a committee, who sat and tried the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally as deserters. That rebellious committtee, they called the committee of elders, who, when the unfortunate Catholic was torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them, in judgment upon his case—if he gave them liquor or money, they sometimes discharged him—otherwise they sent him to a recruiting office as a deserter. They had very generally given the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice was plastered on the house, and conceived in these short but plain words: "Go to Hell, Connaught won't receive you—fire and faggot. Will Tresham and John Thrustout." That they followed these notices by a faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat—soon after visited the house, robbed the family, and destroyed what they did not take, and finally completed the atrocious persecutions by forcing the unfortunate inhabitants to leave their land, their dwellings, and their trade, and to travel with their miserable family, and with whatever their miserable family could save from the wreck of their houses and tenements, and take refuge in villages, as fortifications against invaders, where they described themselves, as he had seen in their affidavits, in the following manner: "We, (mentioning their names,) formerly of Armagh, weavers, now of no fixed place of abode or means of living, &c." In many instances this banditti of persecution threw down the houses of the tenantry, or what they called racked the house, so that the family must fly or be buried in the grave of their own cabin. The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti he had heard, but had not heard them so ascertained as to state them to that house; but from all the inquiries he could make he collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh had been actually put out of the protection of the law; that the magistrates had been supine or partial, and that the horrid banditti had met with complete success and, from the magistracy, with very little discouragement. This horrid persecution, this abominable barbarity, and this general extermination had been acknowledged by the magistrates, who found the evil had now proceeded to so shameful an excess, that it had at length obliged them to cry out against it. On the 28th of December, thirty of the magistrates had come to the following resolution, which was evidence of the designs of the insurgents, and of their success: "*Resolved*, That it appears to this meeting, that the County of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they abandon immediately their lands and habitations."

The "Insurrection act" was intended to give magistrates most unlimited powers to arrest and imprison, and search houses for arms; the other act, called of "Indemnity," was an actual invitation to break the law. Mr. Grattan, whose speeches, more than any records or documents, illustrate this period of the history of his country, commenting on this latter act, says: "A bill of indemnity went to secure the offending magistrates against the consequences of their outrages and illegalities; that is to say, in our humble conception, the poor were stricken out of the protection of the law, and the rich out of its penalties; and then another bill was passed to give such lawless proceedings against His Majesty's subjects continuation, namely, a bill to enable the magistrates to perpetrate by law, those offences which they had before committed against it; a bill to legalize outrage, to barbarize law, and to give the law itself the cast and color of outrage. By such a bill, the magistrates were enabled, without legal

process, to send on board a tender His Majesty's subjects, and the country was divided into two classes, or formed into two distinct nations, living under the same King, and inhabiting the same island; one consisting of the King's magistrates, and the other of the King's subjects; the former without restraint, and the latter without privilege."

Both the bills passed; but amongst those who opposed them to the last in the House of Commons, by the side of Mr. Grattan and Sir Lawrence Parsons, it is with pleasure that one finds the honored name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The debates on these bills and resolutions furnish perhaps the most authentic documents for the history of the time, and especially for the lawless outrages which were then devastating the north of Ireland. One of the Attorney-General's resolutions spoke of the necessity of punishing persons who "seized by force the arms of His Majesty's subjects." Mr. Grattan moved an amendment, to add "and also the persons of His Majesty's subjects, and to force them to abandon their lands and habitations;" and in the third resolution, after the words "murdering those who had spirit to give information," to add, "also attempting to seize the persons, and obliging His Majesty's subjects, by force, to abandon their lands and habitations."

But the amendment, as it evidently contemplated the protection of the unhappy Catholics of Armagh County, was opposed by the Attorney-General, and rejected as a matter of course.

One of the clauses of the "Insurrection act" was vehemently, but vainly, opposed by Sir Lawrence Parsons: it was to empower any two magistrates to seize upon persons who should publish or sell a newspaper or pamphlet which they, the two magistrates, should deem seditious, and without any form of trial to send them on board the fleet. This was a total annihilation of the Press, saving only the Castle Press.

When it is recollected that the magistracy and Protestant country gentlemen of Ireland were at that time inflamed with the most furious rage against their Catholic countrymen, and were besides purposely excited by rumors of intended Popish risings for the extirpation of Protestants, (which many of them, in their ignorance, believed,) it will be seen what a terrible power these acts conferred upon them. They naturally conceived, and very justly, that the law now made it a merit on their part to *break* the law, provided it were done to the oppression and ruin of the Catholic people; and felt that they were turned loose with a full commission to burn, slay, rob, and ravish. It will be seen that they largely availed themselves of these privileges. There was but one thing now wanted; and this was the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. This was supplied in the next session of Parliament, which took place on the 13th of October; and from that moment Ireland stood utterly stripped naked of all law and government.

In the meantime the United Irish Society had been steadily increasing and busily laboring and negotiating. Some valuable members had lately joined it, in despair of any peaceable or constitutional remedy. The chief of these was the generous and gallant Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then Duke of Leinster, formerly a Major in the British army, and who had served under Cornwallis against the Americans. Since his return to Europe he had several times visited the Continent, and mingled much with revolutionary society in France. Having seen so much of the world, he was not so ignorant and stupid as were most of the Irish gentry at that period; and his natural nobility of soul was revolted by the brutal usage to which he saw his countrymen subjected at the hands of the "Ascendancy." It is probable, too, that he, the descendant of an ancient Gallo-Hibernian house, settled in Ireland more than six centuries, which had given chiefs to the ancient Clan-Geralt, and had been called "more Irish than the Irish," had far more sympathy with the Irish race than the mob of Cromwellian and Williamite grandees who then ruled the country. Arthur O'Connor was another valuable accession to the ranks of the United Irishmen. He was also highly connected, though by no means equally so with Lord Edward; but he was nephew of Lord Longueville, had sat in

Parliament for Philipstown, and had labored zealously for a time on the forlorn hope of the opposition, by the side of Grattan and Curran. Another was Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister, a warm friend of Wolf Tone, who had been long intimately associated in principle with the leaders of the United Irish Association, and had been privy to the design of Tone, to negotiate a French alliance; a fourth was Dr. William James Mac Neven, a physician in Dublin, originally of Galway County, but who had been educated on the Continent, as most of the young professional men among the Catholics then were. These four became members of the "Executive Directory" of the United Irish Society; and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when its military organization was formed, was made Commander-in-Chief. It was after the passage of the Insurrection and Indemnity acts, and in the recess between the two sessions of Parliament of 1796, that the United Irishmen began to make definitive preparations for armed resistance.*

Theobald Wolfe Tone was now in Paris, having arrived at Havre the 1st of February, 1796, bearing a letter of introduction to Charles De la Croix, Minister for Foreign Affairs, from the French Envoy at Philadelphia. He had another letter to James Monroe, then the representative of the United States in Paris, who very kindly guided him in his proceedings to gain the ear of the French authorities. He had several interviews with De la Croix, with Clarke (who was afterwards Duc de Feltre,) and, what was of more importance, with the illustrious Carnot, Chief of the Executive Directory, who really himself controlled at that moment the movements of all the French armies. The journal kept by Tone during the remainder of that year, is at times very entertaining, and again extremely affecting—especially where he records the few pieces of intelligence which reached him from Ireland in those days of interrupted communications. For example, one day at Rennes, he writes: "*October 29th.*—This morning before we set out, General Harty sent for me, and showed me an English paper that he had just borrowed, the *Morning Post*, of September 24th, in which was an article copied from the *Northern Star* of the 16th precedent. By this unfortunate article, I see that what I have long expected, with the greatest anxiety, is come to pass. My dear friends, Russell and Sam. Neilson, were arrested for high treason on that day, together with Rowley Osborne, Haslett, and a person, whom I do not know, of the name of Shanaghan. The persons who arrested them were the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Westmeath, and Lord Londonderry, together with that most infamous of all scoundrels, John Pollock. It is impossible to conceive the effect this heavy misfortune has upon my mind. If we are not in Ireland time enough to extricate them, they are gone; for the Government will move heaven, earth, and hell to insure their condemnation. Good God! If they fall—"

His progress in negotiating for substantial aid from France had at first been slow, and sometimes looked discouraging. He was required to draw up two "memorials" upon the state and resources of Ireland, for the Government; and in these memorials, and in the conversations which he records with Clarke and Carnot, it is chiefly important to remark, that he always pressed urgently for a large force, such as would enable the chiefs of the United Irishmen at once to establish a provisional government, and prevent anarchy; that he strenuously opposed a recommendation of Clarke, for exciting both in England and Ireland a species of *chouannerie*, or mere peasant insurrection, with no other object than to create confusion, and operate as a diversion. Tone admitted that it might be natural and justifiable for the French to retaliate in this way, what the English had done to them in La Vendée; but his own object was the independence of his country, which, he rightly thought, would not be served by mere riot and confusion. We find also in these notes that Clarke and Carnot several times questioned him about the dispositions of the Catholic clergy, and how they might be expected to act in case of a landing,

* See examination of Arthur O'Connor before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords: Com.—When did the military organization begin? O'Connor—Shortly after the Executive had resolved on resistance to the Irish Government, and on an alliance with France in May, 1796.

He always replied that no reliance could be placed upon the clergy at first, especially if the expedition were not in sufficient force to put down quickly all resistance; that they were opposed to republicanism and revolution, but if the French went in sufficient force the clergy neither would nor could give serious opposition to the liberation of his country.

While Tone was laboring through these summer months to get those ministers impressed with his own ideas, and wondering at their hesitation, when it was in their power to deal a mortal blow upon English power, another negotiation was going on, which at the time was unknown to him. It is stated in the Report of the Lords' Secret Committee, hereafter to be cited, that the agent of the United Irishmen in this second negotiation was Edward John Lewins, an attorney in Dublin; but this is probably an error. At all events, it is certain that the French Directory was at that moment in correspondence with the Irish chiefs through other channels than Wolfe Tone; and that Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor had come to Switzerland by way of Hamburg to meet agents of the Directory; and General Hoche had repaired to Basle, just over the French frontier, to confer with those gentlemen. In deciding upon so vast an armament, the Ministers of the French Republic were certainly justified in procuring all possible authentic information about Ireland; and in checking the memorials of Tone by the reports of other well-known leaders of the United Irishmen. They had incautiously opened their negotiations with the Directory through the medium of M. Barthelemi, of whose integrity they had no suspicion; and Dr. Madden informs us that by this error "they at once placed the secret of their mission in the sympathizing bosom of Mr. William Pitt."* The Secret Committee of the Lords, indeed, in 1798, details the negotiation with perfect correctness, and hints at the means by which the expedition was frustrated. Howsoever that may be, it is evident that the reports of Lord E. Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor respecting their friend Wolfe Tone were in all respects satisfactory. The next time he was in the Cabinet of General Clarke, on his expressing a wish to be enabled to write to his friends, to tell them he was alive and well at Paris, Clarke, says the journal, answered, "'As to that, your friends know it already.' I replied, 'Not that I knew of.' He answered, 'Aye, but I know it, but cannot tell you at present how.' He then went on to tell me he did not know how to explain himself further, 'for,' added he, 'if I tell you ever so little, you will guess the rest.' So it seems I am a cunning fox without knowing it. He gave me, however, to understand that he had a communication open with Ireland, and showed me a paper, asking me did I know the handwriting. I did not. He then read a good deal. It stated very briefly, that fourteen of the counties, including the entire North, were completely organized for the purpose of throwing off the English yoke and establishing our independence; that, in the remaining eighteen, the organization was advancing rapidly, and that it was so arranged that the inferiors obeyed their leaders, without examining their orders, or even knowing who they were, as every one knew only the person immediately above him. That the militia were about 20,000 men, 17,000 of whom might be relied on, that there were about 12,000 regular troops, wretched bad ones, who would soon be settled in case the business were attempted. Clarke was going on, but stopped here suddenly, and said, laughing, 'There is something there which I cannot read to you, or you will guess.' I begged him to use his discretion without ceremony. He then asked me, did I know of this organization? I replied that I could not, with truth, say positively I knew it, but that I had no manner of doubt of it; that it was now twelve months exactly since I left Ireland, in which time, I was satisfied, much must have been done in that country, and that he would find in my memorials that such an organization was then begun, was rapidly spreading, and, I had no doubt, would soon embrace the whole people. It is curious, the coincidence between the paper he read me and those I have given here, though, upon second thought, as truth is uniform, it would be still more extraordi-

* Madden's United Irishmen, 2d series, p. 390.

nary if they should vary. I am delighted beyond measure with the progress which has been made in Ireland since my banishment. I see they are advancing rapidly and safely, and, personally, nothing can be more agreeable to me than this coincidence between what I have said and written, and the accounts which I see they receive here. The paper also stated, as I had done, that we wanted arms, ammunition, and artillery; in short, it was as exact, in all particulars, as if the same person had written all. This ascertains my credit in France beyond a doubt. Clarke then said, as to my business, he was only waiting for letters from General Hoche, in order to settle it finally; that I should have a regiment of cavalry, and, it was probable, it might be fixed that day; that the arrangement of the forces intended for the expedition was intrusted to Hoche, by which I see we shall go from Brittany instead of Holland. All's one for that, provided we go at all."

A few days after this, and just when poor Tone was almost in his last straits for money, he was sent for to the Luxembourg Palace, and there, in the Cabinet of M. Fleury, a very handsome young man came up to him very warmly, seemed to have known him all his life, and introduced himself as General Hoche—the most rising man at that moment among the young military chiefs of the republic. It was he who had had the honor of defending Dunkirk successfully against the English, and afterwards of defeating utterly the Vendean force, equipped and armed by the same English, and landed at Quiberon under the guns of Admiral Warren's fleet. In short, it was against the English he had done most of his service, and he coveted the privilege of commanding the formidable expedition which was now fully resolved on for the liberation of Ireland. He informed Tone that the latter was to be attached to his personal staff, with the grade of *Chef de-Brigade*. At last, then, the grand object of Wolfe Tone's life and labors seemed on the point of being attained. He was delighted with Hoche, who quite agreed with him in his views of the scale on which the expedition should be made, and of the necessity of proceeding by the laws of regular warfare, not of *chouannerie*. For the due comprehension of the true intent and aims of this celebrated expedition we may here give a passage from Tone's record of his conference with its chief :—

"He asked me in case of a landing being effectuated, might he rely on finding provisions, and particularly bread? I said it would be impossible to make any arrangements in Ireland, previous to the landing, because of the *surveillance* of the Government, but if that were once accomplished, there would be no want of provisions; that Ireland abounded in cattle, and, as for bread, I saw by the *Gazette* that there was not only no deficiency of corn, but that she was able to supply England, in a great degree, during the late alarming scarcity in that country, and I assured him, that if the French were once in Ireland, he might rely that, whoever wanted bread, they should not want it. He seemed satisfied with this, and proceeded to ask me, might we count upon being able to form a provisory government, either of the Catholic Committee, mentioned in my memorials, or of the chiefs of the Defenders? I thought I saw an open here, to come at the number of troops intended for us, and replied, that that would depend on the force which might be landed; if that force were but trifling, I could not pretend to say how they might act, but if it was considerable, I had no doubt of their co-operation. 'Undoubtedly,' replied he, 'men will not sacrifice themselves, when they do not see a reasonable prospect of support; but, if I go, you may be sure I will go in sufficient force.' He then asked, did I think ten thousand men would decide them? I answered, undoubtedly, but that early in the business the Minister had spoken to me of two thousand, and that I had replied that such a number could effect nothing. No, replied he, they would be overwhelmed before any one could join them. I replied, I was glad to hear him give that opinion, as it was precisely what I had stated to the Minister, and I repeated that, with the force he mentioned, I could have no doubt of support and co-operation sufficient to form a provisory government. He then asked me what I thought of the priests, or was it likely they would

give us any trouble? I replied I certainly did not calculate on their assistance, but neither did I think they would be able to give us any effectual opposition; that their influence over the minds of the common people was exceedingly diminished of late, and I instanced the case of the Defenders, so often mentioned in my memorials, and in these memorandums. I explained all this, at some length, to him, and concluded by saying, that, in prudence, we should avoid as much as possible shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, and that, with common discretion, I thought we might secure their neutrality at least, if not their support. I mentioned this merely as my opinion, but added that, in the contrary event, I was satisfied it would be absolutely impossible for them to take the people out of our hands. We then came to the army. He asked me how I thought they would act? I replied, for the regulars I could not pretend to say, but that they were wretched bad troops; for the militia, I hoped and believed that when we were once organized, they would not only not oppose us, but come over to the cause of their country *en masse*; nevertheless, I desired him to calculate on their opposition, and make his arrangements accordingly; that it was the safe policy, and if it become necessary, it was so much gained He said he would, undoubtedly, make his arrangements so as to leave nothing to chance that could be guarded against; that he would come in force, and bring great quantities of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery, and, for his own reputation, see that all the arrangements were made on a proper scale. I was very glad to hear him speak thus; it sets my mind at ease on diverse points. He then said there was one important point remaining, on which he desired to be satisfied, and that was what form of government we would adopt on the event of our success? I was going to answer him with great earnestness, when General Clarke entered, to request we would come to dinner with citizen Carnot. We, accordingly, adjourned the conversation to the apartment of the President, where we found Carnot, and one or two more. Hoche, after some time, took me aside and repeated his question. I replied, 'Most undoubtedly, a republic.' He asked again, 'Was I sure?' I said, as sure as I could be of any thing; that I knew nobody in Ireland who thought of any other system, nor did I believe there was anybody who dreamt of monarchy. He asked me was there no danger of the Catholics setting up one of their chiefs for King? I replied, 'Not the smallest,' and that there were no chiefs amongst them of that kind of eminence. This is the old business again, but I believe I satisfied Hoche; it looks well to see him so anxious on that topic, on which he pressed me more than on all the others."

From this time preparations were pushed forward with more or less activity; but by no means fast enough to satisfy the ardent spirit of Tone. The rendezvous for the troops was appointed at Rennes, the old capital of Bretagne; while the fleet, consisting of ships of war and transports, was getting ready at Brest. During the several months which intervened, as news occasionally came in from Ireland, telling of the systematic outrages on the country people and new arrests and measures of "vigor beyond the law," his anxiety and impatience redoubled. On the 28th of July he writes: "I see the Orange Boys are playing the devil in Ireland. *I have no doubt it is the work of the Government.* Please God, if I get safe into that country, I will settle those gentlemen, and their instigators also more especially." Again, late in August, he writes:—

"The news, at least the report of to day, is, that Richery and the Spaniards are before Lisbon, and that a French army is in full march across Spain, in order to enter Portugal; that would be a blow to Master John Bull fifty times worse than the affair of Leghorn. Why the unhappy Portuguese did not make their peace at the same time with Spain, I cannot conceive, except, as was most probably the case, they durst not consult their own safety for fear of offending the English. What an execrable nation that is, and how cordially I hate them. If this affair of Portugal is true, there will not remain one port friendly to England from Hamburg to Trieste, and probably much further both ways. It is impossible she can stand this long. Well, if the visitation of

Providence be sometimes slow, it is always sure. If our expedition succeeds, I think we will give her the *coup de grace*, and make her pay dear for the rivers of blood she has made to flow in our poor country, her massacres, her pillages, and her frauds; *'Alors, ce sera notre tour.'* We shall see! We shall see! Oh that I were, this fine morning, at the head of my regiment on the Cave Hill! Well, all in good time."

And still the time flew, while innumerable causes of delay interfered with the dispatch of the fleet. And in the meantime Camden and Carhampton's reign of terror was in full sway, goading the people to desperation; and the fiery *Chef-de-Brigade* gnawing his own heart in Paris, or in Rennes.

At last, but not until the 15th of December, all was on board. The troops were to have amounted to 15,000 men, but they were actually 13,975 men, with abundance of artillery and ammunition, and arms for 45,000 men. Tone was on board the line-of-battle ship *Indomptable*, of 80 guns. There were on the whole 17 sail of the line, 13 frigates, 5 corvettes, making, with transports, 43 sail. General Hoche and the Admiral in command of the fleet were on board a frigate; and the second General in command, of the land forces was, unfortunately—*Grouchy*—of unlucky memory. A wretched fatality was upon this fine expedition from the very start. The first night it was at sea it lost both its chiefs; as the *Fraternité* frigate was separated from the others, and they never saw more of it until after they had returned to France. An extract, somewhat condensed, from Wolfe Tone's diary, may form the most interesting account of the fortunes and fates of the Bantry Bay Expedition:—

"Admiral Morand de Galles, General Hoche, General Debelle, and Colonel Shee, are aboard the Fraternité, and God knows what has become of them. The wind, too, continues against us, and, altogether, I am in terrible low spirits. How if these damned English should catch us at last, after having gone on successfully thus far. Our force leaving Brest water was as follows: Indomptable, 80 guns; Nestor, Cassard, Droits de l'Homme, Tourville, Eole, Fougueux, Mucius, Redoutable, Patriote, Pluton, Constitution, Trajan, Watigny, Pegase, Revolution, and the unfortunate Séduisant of 74 guns (17 sail of the line); La Cocarde Bravoure, Immortalité, Bellone, Coquille Romaine, Sirene, Impatiente, Surveillante, Charente, Resolue, Tartare, and Fraternité, frigates of 36 guns (13 frigates); Scevola and Fidele armés en flutes, Mutine, Renard, Atalante, Voltigeur, and Affronteur, corvettes, and Nicodeme, Justine, Ville d'Orient, Suffren, Experiment, and Alegre, transports, making in all 43 sail. Of these there are missing this day, at three o'clock, the Nestor and Séduisant, of 74; the Fraternité, Cocarde, and Romaine, frigates; the Mutine and Voltigeur, corvettes; and three other transports.

"*December 20th.*—Last night, in moderate weather, we contrived to separate again, and this morning, at eight o'clock, we are but fifteen sail in company, with a foul wind, and hazy. We shall lie beating about here, within thirty leagues of Cape Clear, until the English come and catch us, which will be truly agreeable. At ten, several sail in sight to windward; I suppose they are our stray sheep. It is scandalous to part company twice in four days in such moderate weather as we have had, but sea affairs I see are not our *forte*. Captain Bedout is a seaman, which I fancy is more than can be said for nine-tenths of his confreres.

"*December 21st.*—Last night, just at sunset, signal for seven sail in the offing; all in high spirits, in hopes that it is our comrades; stark calm all the fore part of the night; at length a breeze sprung up, and this morning, at daybreak, we are under Cape Clear, distant about four leagues, so I have, at all events, once more seen my country; but the pleasure I should otherwise feel at this, is totally destroyed by the absence of the General who has not joined us, and of whom we know nothing. The sails we saw last night have disappeared, and we are all in uncertainty. It is most delicious weather, with a favorable wind, and everything, in short, that we can desire, except our absent comrades. At the moment I write this we are under easy sail, within three leagues, at most, of the coast, so that I can discover, here and there, patches of snow on the mountains. What if the General should

not join us. If we cruise here five days, according to our instructions, the English will be upon us, and then all is over. We are thirty-five sail in company, and seven or eight absent. Is that such a separation of our force, as, under all the circumstances, will warrant our following the letter of our orders, to the certain failure of the expedition? If Grouchy and Bouvet be men of spirit and decision, they will land immediately, and trust to their success for justification. If they be not, and if this day passes without our seeing the General, I much fear the game is up. I am in undescribable anxiety, and Cherin, who commands aboard, is a poor creature, to whom it is vain to speak; not but I believe he is brave enough, but he has a little mind. There cannot be imagined a situation more provokingly tantalizing than mine at this moment, within view, almost within reach of my native land, and uncertain whether I shall ever set my foot on it. We are now, nine o'clock, at the rendezvous appointed; stood in for the coast till twelve, when we were near enough to toss a biscuit ashore; at twelve, tacked and stood out again, so now we have begun our cruise of five days in all its forms, and shall, in obedience to the letter of our instructions, ruin the expedition, and destroy the remnant of the French navy, with a precision and punctuality which will be truly edifying. We opened Bantry Bay, and, in all my life, rage never entered so deeply into my heart as when we turned our backs on the coast. At half after one, the Atalante, one of our missing corvettes, hove in sight, so now again we are in hopes to see the General. Oh! if he were in Grouchy's place, he would not hesitate one moment. Continue making short boards; the wind foul.

"*December* 22*d*.—This morning, at eight, we have neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered; no news of the Fraternité; I believe it is the first instance of an Admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather, and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our First Lieutenant, told me his opinion is that she is either taken or lost, and, in either event, it is a terrible blow to us. All rests now upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well; he has a glorious game in his hands, if he has spirit and talent to play it. If he succeeds, it will immortalize him. I do not at all like the countenance of the Etat Major in this crisis. When they speak of the expedition, it is in a style of despondency, and, when they are not speaking of it, they are playing cards and laughing; they are every one of them brave of their persons, but I see nothing of that spirit of enterprise, combined with a steady resolution, which our present situation demands. They stared at me this morning, when I said that Grouchy was the man in the whole army who had least reason to regret the absence of the General, and began to talk of responsibility and difficulties, as if any great enterprise was without responsibility and difficulties. I was burning with rage, however I said nothing, and will say nothing until I get ashore, if ever I am so happy as to arrive there. We are gaining the Bay by slow degrees, with a head wind at east, where it has hung these five weeks. To night we hope, if nothing extraordinary happens, to cast anchor in the mouth of the Bay, and work up to-morrow morning; these delays are dreadful to my impatience. I am now so near the shore that I can see, distinctly, two old castles, yet I am utterly uncertain whether I shall ever set foot on it. According to appearances, Bouvet and Grouchy are resolved to proceed; that is a great point gained, however. Two o'clock; we have been tacking ever since eight this morning, and I am sure we have not gained one hundred yards; the wind is right ahead, and the fleet dispersed, several being far to leeward. I have been looking over the schedule of our arms, artillery, and ammunition; we are well provided: we have 41,160 stand of arms, twenty pieces of field artillery, and nine of siege, including mortars and howitzers; 61,200 barrels of powder, 7,000,000 musket cartridges, and 700,000 flints, besides an infinite variety of articles belonging to the train, but we have neither sabres nor pistols for the cavalry; however, we have nearly three regiments of hussars embarked, so that we can dispense with them. I continue very discreetly to say little or nothing, as my situation just now is

rather a delicate one; if we were once ashore, and things turn out to my mind, I shall soon be out of my trammels, and, perhaps, in that respect, I may be better off with Grouchy than with Hoche. If the people act with spirit, as I hope they will, it is no matter who is General, and, if they do not, all the talents of Hoche would not save us; so it comes to the same thing at last. At half-past six, cast anchor off Beer Island, being still four leagues from our landing place; at work with General Cherin, writing and translating proclamations, &c., all our printed papers, including my two pamphlets, being on board the Fraternité, which is pleasant.

"*December* 23*d.*—Last night it blew a heavy gale from the eastward, with snow, so that the mountains are covered this morning, which will render our bivouacs extremely amusing. It is to be observed, that of the thirty-two points of the compass, the E. is precisely the most unfavorable to us. In consequence, we are this morning separated for the fourth time; sixteen sail, including nine or ten of the line, with Bouvet and Grouchy, are at anchor with us, and about twenty are blown to sea; luckily the gale set from the shore, so I am in hopes no mischief will ensue. The wind is still high, and, as usual, right ahead; and I dread a visit from the English, and altogether I am in great uneasiness. Oh! that we were once ashore, let what might ensue after; I am sick to the very soul of this suspense. It is curious to see how things are managed in this best of all possible worlds. We are here, sixteen sail, great and small, scattered up and down in a noble bay, and so dispersed that there are not two together in any spot, save one, and there they are now so close, that if it blows to-night as it did last night, they will inevitably run foul of each other, unless one of them prefers driving on shore. We lie in this disorder, expecting a visit from the English every hour, without taking a single step for our defense, even to the common one of having a frigate in the harbor's mouth, to give us notice of their approach; to judge by appearances, we have less to dread here than in Brest water, for when we were there, we had four corvettes stationed off the *goulet*, besides the signal posts. I confess this degree of security passes my comprehension. The day has passed without the appearance of one vessel, friend or enemy, the wind rather more moderate, but still ahead. To-night, on examining the returns with Waudré, Chef d'Etat Major of the Artillery, I find our means so reduced by the absence of the missing, that I think it hardly possible to make an attempt here, with any prospect of success; in consequence, I took Cherin into the Captain's room, and told him frankly my opinion of our actual state, and that I thought it our duty, since we must look upon the main object as now unattainable, unless the whole of our friends returned to-morrow, and the English gave us our own time, which was hardly to be expected, to see what could be best done for the honor and interest of the republic, with the force which remained in our hands, and I proposed to him to give me the Legion des Francs, a company of the *Artillerie legére*, and as many officers as desired to come volunteers in the expedition, with what arms and stores remained, which are now reduced, by our separation, to four field pieces, 20,000 firelocks at most, 1,000 lbs. of powder, and 3,000,000 cartridges, and to land us in Sligo Bay, and let us make the best of our way; if we succeeded, the republic would gain infinitely in reputation and interest, and, if we failed, the loss would be trifling, as the expense was already incurred, and as for the legion, he knew what kind of desperadoes it was composed of, and for what purpose; consequently, in the worst event, the republic would be well rid of them; finally, I added, that though I asked the command, it was on the supposition that none of the Generals would risk their reputation on such a desperate enterprise, and that if another was found, I would be content to go as a simple volunteer. This was the outline of my proposal, which I pressed on him with such arguments as occurred to me, concluding by observing that, as a foreigner in the French service, my situation was a delicate one, and if I were simply an officer, I would obey in silence the orders of superiors, but, from my connections in Ireland, having obtained the confidence of the Directory, so

far as to induce them to appoint me to the rank of *Chef-de-Brigade*, and of General Hoche, who had nominated me Adjutant-General, I thought it my duty, both to France and Ireland, to speak on this occasion, and that I only offered my plan as a *pis aller*, in case nothing better suggested itself. Cherin answered that I did very right to give my opinion, and that as he expected a council of war would be called to-morrow, he would bring me with him, and I should have an opportunity to press it. The discourse rested there, and to-morrow we shall see more, if we are not agreeably surprised, early in the morning, by a visit from the English, which is highly probable. I am now so near the shore, that I can in a manner touch the sides of Bantry Bay with my right and left hand, yet God knows whether I shall ever tread again on Irish ground. Another thing, we are now three days in Bantry Bay; if we do not land immediately, the enemy will collect a superior force, and, perhaps, repay us our victory of Quiberon. In an enterprise like ours, everything depends upon the promptitude and audacity of our first movements, and we are here, I am sorry to say it, most pitifully languid. It is mortifying, but that is too poor a word; I could tear my flesh with rage and vexation, but that advances nothing, and so I hold my tongue in general, and devour my melancholy as I can. To come so near, and then to fail, if we are to fail! And every one aboard seems now to have given up all hopes.

"*December 24th.*—This morning the whole Etat Major has been miraculously converted, and it was agreed, in full council, that General Cherin, Colonel Waudré, Chef d'Etat Major of the Artillery, and myself, should go aboard the Immortalité, and press General Grouchy in the strongest manner to proceed on the expedition, with the ruins of our scattered army. Accordingly, we made a signal to speak with the Admiral, and in about an hour we were aboard. I must do Grouchy the justice to say, that the moment we gave our opinion in favor of proceeding, he took his part decidedly, and like a man of spirit; he instantly set about preparing the *ordre de bataille*, and we finished it without delay. We are not more than 6,500 strong, but they are tried soldiers, who have seen fire, and I have the strongest hopes that, after all, we shall bring our enterprise to a glorious termination. It is a bold attempt, and truly original. All the time we were preparing the *ordre de bataille*, we were laughing most immoderately at the poverty of our means, and I believe, under the circumstances, it was the merriest council of war that was ever held; but '*Des Chevaliers francais tel est le caractére.*' Grouchy, the Commander-in-Chief, never had so few men under his orders since he was Adjutant-General; Waudré, who is Lieutenant-Colonel, finds himself now at the head of the artillery, which is a furious park, consisting of one piece of eight, one of four, and two six-inch howitzers; when he was a Captain, he never commanded fewer than ten pieces, but now that he is in fact General of the Artillery, he prefers taking the field with four. He is a gallant fellow, and offered, on my proposal last night, to remain with me and command his company, in case General Grouchy had agreed to the proposal I made to Cherin. It is altogether an enterprise truly *unique;* we have not one guinea; we have not a tent; we have not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; the General-in-Chief marches on foot; we leave all our baggage behind us; we have nothing but the arms in our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage, but that is sufficient. With all these original circumstances, such as I believe never were found united in an expedition of such magnitude as that we are about to attempt, we are all as gay as larks. I never saw the French character better exemplified, than in this morning's business. Well, at last I believe we are about to disembark; God knows how I long for it. But this infernal easterly wind continues without remorse, and though we have been under way three or four hours, and made I believe three hundred tacks, we do not seem to my eyes to have gained one hundred yards in a straight line. One hour and a half of good wind would carry us up, and, perhaps, we may be yet two days. My enemy, the wind, seems just now, at eight o'clock, to relent a little, so we may reach Bantry by to-morrow. The enemy has now

had four days to recover from his panic, and prepare to receive us; so much the worse, but I do not mind it. We purpose to make a race for Cork, as if the devil were in our bodies, and when we are fairly there, we will stop for a day or two to take breath, and look about us. From Bantry to Cork is about forty-five miles, which, with all our efforts, will take us three days, and I suppose we may have a brush by the way, but I think we are able to deal with any force that can, at a week's notice, be brought against us.

"*December 25th.*—These memorandums are a strange mixture. Sometimes I am in preposterously high spirits, and at other times I am as dejected, according to the posture of our affairs. Last night I had the strongest expectations that to-day we should debark, but at two this morning I was awakened by the wind. I rose immediately, and, wrapping myself in my great coat, walked for an hour in the gallery, devoured by the most gloomy reflections. The wind continues right ahead, so that it is absolutely impossible to work up to the landing place, and God knows when it will change. The same wind is exactly favorable to bring the English upon us, and these cruel delays give the enemy time to assemble his entire force in this neighborhood, and perhaps (it is, unfortunately, more than perhaps,) by his superiority in numbers, in cavalry, in artillery, in money, in provisions, in short in everything we want, to crush us, supposing we are even able to effectuate a landing at last, at the same time that the fleet will be caught as in a trap. Had we been able to land the first day and march directly to Cork, we should have infallibly carried it by a *coup de main;* and then we should have a footing in the country, but as it is—if we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as an *emigré rentré*, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for most assuredly if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor, and emboweled, &c. As to the emboweling, *'je m'en fiche'* if ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me if they please. These are pleasant prospects! Nothing on earth could sustain me now, but the consciousness that I am engaged in a just and righteous cause. For my family, I have, by a desperate effort, surmounted my natural feelings so far, that I do not think of them at this moment. This day, at twelve, the wind blows a gale, still from the east, and our situation is now as critical as possible, for it is morally certain that this day or to-morrow on the morning, the English fleet will be in the harbor's mouth, and then adieu to everything. In this desperate state of affairs, I proposed to Cherin to sally out with all our forces, to mount to the Shannon, and, disembarking the troops, make a forced march to Limerick, which is probably unguarded, the garrison being, I am pretty certain, on its march to oppose us here; to pass the river at Limerick, and, by forced marches, push to the North. I detailed all this on a paper which I will keep, and showed it to Captain Bedout, and all the Generals on board, Cherin, Simon, and Chasseloup. They all agreed as to the advantages of the plan, but after settling it, we find it impossible to communicate with the General and Admiral, who are in the Immortalité, nearly two leagues ahead, and the wind is now so high and foul, and the sea so rough, that no boat can live, so all communication is impracticable, and to-morrow morning it will, most probably, be too late; and on this circumstance, perhaps, the fate of the expedition and the liberty of Ireland depends. I cannot conceive for what reason the two Commanders-in-Chief are shut up together in a frigate. Surely they should be on board the flag-ship. But that is not the first misfortune resulting from this arrangement. Had General Hoche remained, as he ought, on board the Indomptable, with his Etat Major, he would not have been separated and taken by the English, as he most probably is; nor should we be in the difficulties we now find ourselves in, and which most probably to-morrow will render insurmountable. Well, it does not signify complaining. Our first capital error was in setting sail too late from the Bay of Camaret, by which means we were obliged to pass the Raz in the night, which caused the loss of the Seduisant, the separation of

the fleet, the capture of the General, and above all, the loss of time resulting from all this, and which is never to be recovered. Our second error was in losing an entire day in cruising off the Bay, when we might have entered and effected a landing with thirty-five sail, which would have secured everything, and now our third error is having our Commander-in-Chief separated from the Etat Major, which renders all communication utterly impossible. My prospects at this hour are as gloomy as possible. I see nothing before me, unless a miracle be wrought in our favor, but the ruin of the expedition, the slavery of my country, and my own destruction. Well, if I am to fall, at least I will sell my life as dear as individual resistance can make it. So now I have made up my mind. I have a merry Christmas of it to-day.

December 26th.—Last night, at half after six o'clock, in a heavy gale of wind still from the east, we were surprised by the Admiral's frigate running under our quarter, and hailing the Indomptable, with orders to cut our cable and put to sea instantly; the frigate then pursued her course, leaving us all in the utmost astonishment. Our first idea was that it might be an English frigate, lurking in the bottom of the Bay, which took advantage of the storm and darkness of the night to make her escape, and wished to separate our squadron by this stratagem; for it seems utterly incredible, that an Admiral should cut and run in this manner, without any previous signal of any kind to warn the fleet, and that the first notice we should have of his intention, should be his hailing us in this extraordinary manner, with such unexpected and peremptory orders. After a short consultation with his officers, (considering the storm, the darkness of the night, that we have two anchors out, and only one spare one in the hold,) Captain Bedout resolved to wait, at all events, till to-morrow morning, in order to ascertain whether it was really the Admiral who hailed us. The morning is now come, the gale continues, and the fog is so thick that we cannot see a ship's length ahead; so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability we are now left without Admiral or General; if so, Cherin will command the troops, and Bedout the fleet, but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly we have been persecuted by a strange fatality, from the very night of our departure to this hour. We have lost two Commanders-in-Chief; of four Admirals not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line, that we know of, and probably many others of which we know nothing; we have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effectuate a landing; we have have been dispersed four times in four days, and, at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction; and, to judge of the future by the past, there is every probability that that will not be wanting. All our hopes are now reduced to get back in safety to Brest, and I believe we will set sail for that port the instant the weather will permit. I confess, myself, I now look on the expedition as impracticable. The enemy has had seven days to prepare for us, and three, or perhaps four, days more before we could arrive at Cork; and we are now too much reduced, in all respects, to make the attempt with any prospect of success—so, all is over! It is hard, after having forced my way thus far, to be obliged to turn back; but it is my fate, and I must submit. Notwithstanding all our blunders, it is the dreadful stormy weather and easterly winds, which have been blowing furiously, and without intermission, since we made Bantry Bay, that have ruined us. Well, England has not had such an escape since the Spanish Armada, and that expedition, like ours, was defeated by the weather; the elements fight against us, and courage is here of no avail. Well, let me think no more about it; it is lost, and let it go!

"*December 27th.*—Yesterday several vessels, including the Indomptable, dragged their anchors several times, and it was with great difficulty they rode out the gale. At two o'clock, the Revolution, a 74, made signal that she could hold no longer, and, in consequence of the Commodore's permission, who now commands our little

squadron, cut her only cable and put to sea. In the night, the Patriote and Pluton, of 74 each, were forced to go to sea, with the Nicomede flute, so that this morning we are reduced to seven sail of the line and one frigate. Any attempt here is now desperate, but I still think, if we were debarked at the mouth of the Shannon, we might yet recover all. At ten o'clock, the Commodore made signal to get under way, which was delayed by one of the ships, which required an hour to get ready. This hour we availed ourselves of to hold a council of war, at which were present, Generals Cherin, Harty, and Humbert, who came from their ships for that purpose; Adjutant-Generals Simon, Chasseloup, and myself; Lieutenant-Colonel Wandré, commanding the artillery, and Favory, Captain of Engineers, together with Commodore Bedout, who was invited to assist; General Harty, as senior officer, being President. It was agreed that, our force being now reduced to 4,168 men, our artillery to two four-pounders, our ammunition to 1,500,000 cartridges and 500 rounds for the artillery, with 500 pounds of powder—this part of the country being utterly wild and savage, furnishing neither provisions nor horses, and especially as the enemy, having seven days' notice, together with three more which it would require to reach Cork, supposing we even met with no obstacle, had time more than sufficient to assemble his forces in numbers sufficient to crush our little army; considering, moreover, that this province is the only one of the four which has testified no disposition to revolt; that it is the most remote from the party which is ready for insurrection; and, finally, Captain Bedout having communicated his instructions, which are, to mount as high as the Shannon, and cruise there five days; it was unanimously agreed to quit Bantry Bay directly, and proceed for the mouth of the Shannon, in hopes to rejoin some of our scattered companions; and when we are there we will determine, according to the means in our hands, what part we shall take. I am the more content with this determination, as it is substantially the same with the paper which I read to General Cherin and the rest, the day before yesterday. The wind, at last, has come round to the southward, and the signal is now flying to get under way. At half after four, there being every appearance of a stormy night, three vessels cut their cables and put to sea. The Indomptable, having with great difficulty weighed one anchor, we were forced, at length, to cut the cable of the other, and make the best of our way out of the Bay, being followed by the whole of our little squadron, now reduced to ten sail, of which seven are of the line, one frigate, and two corvettes or luggers.

"*December* 28*th.*—Last night it blew a perfect hurricane. At one this morning, a dreadful sea took the ship in the quarter, stove in the quarter gallery, and one of the dead-lights in the great cabin, which was instantly filled with water to the depth of three feet. Immediately after this blow, the wind abated, and, at daylight, having run nine knots an hour, under one jib only, during the hurricane, we found ourselves at the rendezvous, having parted company with three ships of the line and the frigate, which makes our *sixth* separation. The frigate Coquille joined us in the course of the day, which we spent standing off and on the shore, without being joined by any of our missing companions.

"*December* 29*th.*—At four this morning, the Commodore made the signal to steer for France: so, there is an end of our expedition for the present; perhaps, forever. I spent all yesterday in my hammock, partly through sea-sickness, and much more through vexation. At ten, we made prize of an unfortunate brig, bound from Lisbon to Cork, laden with salt, which we sunk.

"*December* 30*th and* 31*st.*—On our way to Brest. It will be well supposed I am in no great humor to make memorandums. This is the last day of the year 1796, which has been a very remarkable one in my history.

"*January* 1*st*, 1797.—At eight this morning made the island of Ushant, and at twelve opened the *Goulet*. We arrive seven sail: the Indomptable, of 80; the Watigny, Cassard, and Eole, 74; the Coquille, 36; the Atalante, 20, and the Vautour lugger, of 14. We left Brest forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line. I am utterly astonished that we did not see a single

English ship-of-war going nor coming back. They must have taken their measures very ill, not to intercept us, but, perhaps, they have picked up some of our missing ships. Well, this evening will explain all, and we shall see now what is become of our four Admirals, and of our two Generals-in-Chief."

So ended the great "Bantry Bay Expedition." Fifteen days after the arrival of Tone at Brest, the missing frigate La Fraternité, with General Hoche and the Admiral on board, made her way after many dangers into the port of La Rochelle.

In addition to the hostility of the elements, this attempt at an invasion of Ireland had certain other disadvantages to contend with: it was directed to that portion of the island which was the least ripe for insurrection, and in which the United Irish Society was least extended and organized. It arrived at a part of the coast surrounded by desolate mountains, where there were but small resources for a commissariat, where no good horses could be found for the artillery and wagons, and where the wretched population had scarcely ever heard either of a French Republic or of an United Irish Society, or of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. This was against the wishes and counsels of Wolfe Tone, who was in favor of the landing somewhere near Dublin or Belfast. So ignorant and so ill-prepared were the natives of Bear and Bantry, that they regarded the liberating force as a hostile invasion; and Plowden informs us that when a boat was sent ashore from the squadron to reconnoitre the country, "it was immediately captured, and multitudes appeared on the beach in readiness to oppose a landing." In addition to this, the English Government had always full and accurate information as to the whole plan of invasion, and had thus been enabled to deceive the leaders of the United Irishmen by false information. The whole affair is thus accurately explained in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords in 1798, (viii Lord's Journal, p. 142):—

"It appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of this House, made in the last session of Parliament, that a messenger had been dispatched by the Society of United Irishmen to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been, for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish Rebellious Union to the French Republic, was the person thus dispatched in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. It appears to your committee, that the proposition so made by the French Directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the Executive Directory of the Irish Union immediately after it was communicated to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the Directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears to your committee, that in the month of October or November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish Directory by a special messenger dispatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood, which armament was then stated to the Irish Directory to consist of fifteen thousand troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, intended for the use of the Irish Republican Union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger, who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee, *that a letter from France was received by the Irish Directory, which was considered by them as authentic,*

stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months, and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish Directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the Province of Munster, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed, *that these contradictory communications threw the Irish Directory off their guard*, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed, that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves."

CHAPTER XXX.

1797.

Reign of Terror in Armagh County—No Orangemen ever Punished—"Defenders" called Banditti—"Faulkner's Journal," Organ of the Castle—Cheers on the Orangemen—Mr. Curran's Statement of the Havoc in Armagh—Increased Rancor against Catholics and U. I. after the Bantry Bay Affair—Efforts of Patriots to Establish a Permanent Armed Force—Opposed by Government—And Why—Proclamation of Counties—Bank Ordered to Suspend Specie Payments—Alarm—Dr. Duigenan—Secession from Parliament of Grattan, Curran, &c.—General Lake in the North—"Northern Star" Office Wrecked by Troops—Proclamation—Outrages in the Year 1797—Salutary Effect of the United Irish System on the Peace of the Country—Armagh Assizes—Slanderous Report of a Secret Committee—Good Effects of United Irishism in the South—Miles Byrne—Wexford County.

During the whole of the year that saw Tone negotiating in France for the great Bantry Bay expedition, the Government in Ireland, well seconded by magistrates, sheriffs, military officers and Orangemen, was steadily proceeding, with a ferocious deliberation, in driving the people to utter despair. Many districts of Armagh County were already covered with the blackened ruins of poor cabins, lately the homes of innocent people, thousands of whom, with their old people, their women and little children, were wandering homeless and starving, or were already dead of hunger and cold, when the Grand Jury of Armagh, at the Lent Assizes, bethinking them that it would be well to soften or do away with the impressions produced by these horrible events, and the comments of which they were the subject, agreed to an address and resolutions expressive of their full determination to put the coercion laws in force, and to enforce strict justice. Mr. Plowden says, artlessly: "Their annunciation of impartia justice, and a resolution to punish offender of every denomination, was rather unseasonable, when there remained no longer any of one denomination to commit outrages upon, or to retaliate injuries." He might have added that, many of the gentlemen composing that Grand Jury had themselves encouraged and participated in the extermination of the Catholics. But they knew very well that no coercion law of that Parliament was at all intended to be enforced against Orangemen; that the "unlawful oaths forbidden under pain of death," did not mean to include the *purple oath* of Orangemen to extirpate Catholics, but only the United Irish oath, to encourage brotherly union, and seek "an impartial representation for all the people of Ireland." In fact, no Orangeman was ever prosecuted; nor was any punishment ever inflicted on the exterminators of Armagh Catholics.

This statement might seem almost incredible in any civilized nation; but the proofs of the gross partiality of the Legislature and Government, or rather of their strict alliance with the Orange faction, are too numerous and clear to be doubted. For example, a report of a secret committee of the Commons, shortly after this time, informs us, "that in the summer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themselves Defenders, in the Counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, and Kildare, together with a *religious feud* prevailing in the County of Armagh, induced the Legislature to pass a temporary act of Parliament, generally called the Insurrection act, by which the Lord-Lieutenant and Council were enabled, upon the requisition of seven magistrates of any county, assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance; within which limits this law, giving increased power to the magistracy, was to have operation." What is here mildly called a "religious feud" was the extirpation of one sect of people by another, on account of their religion alone.

The British Government in Ireland has

never been able to dispense with an organ at the Press, in the pay of the Castle. The chief Government paper of that day was *Faulkner's Journal*, which was then savage in its denunciations of Catholics, Defenders, and United Irishmen, but had only praise for the Armagh Orangemen.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of the 24th of September, 1796, contained the following observations: "The most severe stroke made against the character and conduct of the Viceroy, as a moral man and first magistrate of a free people, who 'ought not to hold the sword *in vain*,' nor to exercise it *partially*, has been in *Faulkner's Journal* of this day. That hireling print is undeniably in the pay of his lordship's administration; and what administration permits, it is supposed to prompt or patronize. In that print, the blind fury of the banditti, which usurps and disgraces the name of *Orange* in the North is applauded, and all their bloody excesses justified. Murder in all its horrid forms, assassinations in cold blood, the mutilation of members without respect to age or sex, the firing of whole hamlets, so that when the inhabitants have been looked after nothing but their ashes were to be found; the atrocious excursions of furious hordes, armed with sword, fire, and faggot, to exterminate a people, for presuming to obey the divine command, written by the finger of God himself, 'Honor thy father and thy mother,' and walking in the religion which seemed good in their eyes. These are the flagitious enormities which attract the mercenary applause of *Faulkner's Journal*, the literary prop of the Camden administration."

And in this very same month of September, while *Faulkner's Journal* was doing this kind of service for Castle pay, the *Northern Star* of Belfast, an able and moderate organ of the United Irishmen, had its office attacked and ransacked by soldiers; Samuel Neilson, its editor, and several others, were arrested, carried to Dublin, thrown into prison, and kept there for more than a year without having been brought to any trial.

On the 13th of October, 1796, Parliament met. In his speech from the throne, His Excellency now for the first time took tender and oblique notice of the disturbances of Armagh. "I have, however, to lament, that in one part of the country good order has not yet been entirely restored; and that in other districts a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths still continues, although no means within the reach of Government have been left untried to counteract it."

Mr. Grattan, in the debate upon the address, objected to this speech, as betraying gross partiality, and moved the following amendment:—

"To represent to His Majesty, that the most effectual method for strengthening the country and promoting unanimity, was to take such measures, and to enact such laws, as to ensure to all His Majesty's subjects the blessings and privileges of the constitution, without any distinction of religion." The amendment was seconded by Mr. W. B. Ponsonby.

The debate was carried on till two o'clock in the morning with extreme heat and virulence. Mr. Grattan's amendment was opposed, as unseasonable and *violent*, by several of those who had been in the habit of voting with him on all occasions; insomuch that the minority on the division consisted only of 12 against 149. In the course of this debate Lord Castlereagh replied with great warmth to Mr. Grattan; and Mr. Pelham spoke more at length than he usually did. He particularly adverted to the two topics, which had formed the principal ground of the debate; namely, the question of Catholic Emancipation, and the disturbances of Armagh. "As to the first, he thought it very improperly brought forward at that juncture. It was then no time to make distinctions between Catholics and Protestants; *no such distinction was made by Government.*"

As for the disturbances in Armagh, of course Mr. Secretary Pelham defended the Government and the magistrates; and said, if the Insurrection act had not been applied there, as in some other counties, it was because the magistrates had not thought the nature of the troubles "would justify the application of that very severe law."

It was in this session that the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended. This suspension,

together with the Insurrection and Indemnity acts, completed the arrangements for putting out of the pale of the law about nine-tenths of the population.

When Mr. Secretary Pelham moved, on the 26th of October, 1796, that the House should adjourn for about a fortnight; Mr. Curran strongly opposed it; particularly upon the grounds of the necessity of putting an immediate check upon the still continuing outrageous disturbances of Armagh, which surpassed in horror everything he had ever heard or read. He had on the first day of the session stated the number of *families* that had become the victims of that infernal barbarity at 700; it was with great pain he mentioned, that upon more minute inquiry, he found as many more must be added to the miserable catalogue; he was in possession of evidence, ready to be examined at their bar, and whom he hoped they would hear, that would satisfy them upon oath, that not less than 1,400 families had been thus barbarously expelled from their houses, and then were wandering about the neighboring counties, save such of them as might have been murdered, or burned in their cottages, or perished in the fields, or highways, by fatigue and famine, and despair; and that horrid scene had been transacted, and was still continuing in the open day, in the heart of the kingdom, without any effectual interference whatsoever.

This public testimony of Mr Curran, which he would not have dared to give in open Parliament if it could have been contradicted, may finish the picture of the north of Ireland in this year. There were now several successive adjournments until the 6th of January, 1797. In the meantime, the French fleet had appeared in Bantry Bay, and disappeared again, giving rise to numberless rumors throughout the island, and rousing sentiments of rage and horror in one party, of hope and joy in another, but on the whole, intensifying the bitterness and vindictive passion of the "Ascendancy" against Catholics and United Irishmen, who had so nearly succeeded in bringing upon them such terrible visitors. On the re-assembling of Parliament, many members brought forward resolutions of inquiry or complaint as to the remiss conduct of the Government on occasion of the threatened invasion; of which it was well known Government had possessed timely intelligence. The reformers and emancipators of the House showed what the Castle thought a very suspicious anxiety for the defense of the country, when they proposed very large additions to the armed yeomanry of the country. The administration did not forget that in 1782 it had been this same alleged lack of sufficient defense against foreign enemies which gave occasion to the volunteering, and that when the volunteers were enrolled and armed, they very naturally acted as if they considered England the only foreign enemy they had. The Government, therefore, would not suffer any measure of general armament to pass, but assented to a proposal of Sir John Blaquiere, for raising an additional force of 10,000 men; this, however, to be in the nature of militia, officered by Government, and the Government was to have entire control of its organization and its *personnel*.

On a subsequent night, Sir Lawrenc. Parsons made another attempt, by a resolution that it was necessary to have a permanent force for protection of the country. The motion was opposed with bitter violence by Mr. Secretary Pelham. Mr. Grattan followed; and the real nature of the question at issue will be manifest in this extract from his speech: "The Secretary asked, who could be more interested for the safety of Ireland than the British Minister? He would answer, Ireland herself. To refer to the British Minister the safety of that country was the most sottish folly; it was false and unparliamentary to say, that the House had no right to recommend a measure, such as the honorable baronet proposed. Had it been a proposition to increase the regular standing army, it might, perhaps, have been a little irregular; but when an increase of 10,000 to the standing army was proposed by a right honorable baronet the other night, it was not considered as an affront. Now another honorable baronet comes forward to give an army five fold as many, and five fold as cheap, and administration are affronted. Why? Because that army was of the people. If the doctrine the right honor-

able member advanced were true, and that the duty of Parliament now were become nothing more than merely to vote taxes, and echo three millions, when the Minister said three millions are wanted, then, indeed, *actum est de parliamento;* a reform of the representation was become then more than ever necessary."

It was easy for the Ministers to perceive what was in the minds of Mr. Grattan and his friends: to have another popular army strong enough at once to preserve the public peace and to protect the Constitution of the country; and Ministers were fully resolved that neither of these things should be done: the public peace was to be destroyed by insurrection, in order that the Constitution should be destroyed by legislative "union." On this motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons there was a division at four o'clock in the morning—25 voted for it, 125 against it.

In December, January, and February, of this winter, many districts in the Counties of Ulster were "proclaimed" under the Insurrection act; and more than the horrors of martial law were now raging there. The anxiety and excitement of the country had re-acted disastrously upon trade and general business interests; and in the midst of this came a sudden order from the Privy Council to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland to suspend specie payments. The manifest object of this measure was still further to aggravate that "alarm of the better classes," which is a needful and unfailing agency of British domination in Ireland; and it had the desired effect. But it also excited some attention in England; and Mr. Whitbread, in the English Commons, and Lord Moira, in the Lords, made ineffectual efforts to procure an inquiry into the conduct of Ministers with regard to Ireland. It is needless to say, these attempts were vehemently resisted by the administration, and were defeated by vast majorities. British Ministers wanted no inquiry; *they* already knew all; and all was proceeding precisely as they had ordered and intended. A singular feature of this incident is, that the debates on the state of Ireland in the English Parliament roused the patriotic indignation of the notorious Doctor Duigenan, then a member of the Irish Parliament for Armagh, a doctor of the civil law and a renegade Papist, therefore more desperately vindictive against Papists, and more abusive of their tenets than any Orangeman in the land. The Doctor was seized with a sudden fit of Irish patriotism; and gave notice in the House, on the 30th of March, that after the recess he would move a resolution condemnatory of such unconstitutional interferences, and refuting the false statements made in the other Parliament respecting Ireland by Lord Moira, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Fox. Mr. Grattan desired him to give due notice of that motion; as it was his intention to demonstrate that the statements were both true, and also constitutional. But Mr. Grattan had now, at length, come to perceive that labors in that Parliament were utterly thrown away. Accordingly, he determined to *secede* from the body. In a speech of his upon the state of the North, where General Lake was now dragooning the people with unexampled ferocity, he protested solemnly, but most hopelessly, that the true remedy for all the troubles lay in a just government and reform of Parliament; and speaking of the United Irish Society: "Notwithstanding your Gunpowder act, it has armed and increased its military stores under that act; notwithstanding your Insurrection act, another bill to disarm, it has greatly added to its magazines; and notwithstanding the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* bill and General Lake's proclamation, it has multiplied its proselytes. I should have asked, had I been on the Secret Committee, whether the number of United Irishmen had not increased very much since General Lake's proclamation, and by General Lake's proclamation. It appears, I say, from that report, that just as your system of coercion advanced, the United Irishmen advanced; that the measures you took to coerce, strengthened; to disperse, collected; to disarm, armed; to render them weak and odious, made them popular and powerful; whereas, on the other hand, you have loaded Parliament and Government with the odium of an oppressive system, and with the further odium of rejecting these two popular topics, which you allow are the most likely to gain the heart

RIGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

of the nation, and be the beloved objects of the people."

Mr. Grattan closed his speech and the debate with these words: "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it; we deprecate yours; you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, *we shall trouble you no more, and after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons.*" 17 Par. Deb., p. 570.

Accordingly, at the next general election, Mr. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald declined to be returned for Dublin. Mr. Curran, Arthur O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald followed the example. There has been much discussion upon this "secession." It has been urged on the one hand, that Grattan and Curran and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, who still appealed to the Constitution, and acknowledged the existence and authority of a British Government in Ireland, were wrong to abandon the legal and constitutional field. On the other, it has been argued, that having abandoned that, the only manly and rational course left them was to join the United Irishmen, as O'Connor and Lord Edward had already done. It is hard to blame those excellent men and true Irishmen, Grattan and Curran. If they had joined the United Irish Society, they would have probably found themselves immediately in Newgate, as O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald soon after did, besides, they were not republicans, and abhorred "French principles" as earnestly as Lord Clare himself.

When Wolfe Tone, in his French exile, heard of the secession, his observation in his journal is: "I see those illustrious patriots are at last forced to bolt out of the House of Commons, and come amongst the people, as John Keogh advised Grattan to do long since." They did bolt from the House of Commons, but did not come amongst the people.

In short, he saw now that the unhappy country was delivered over to its bloody agony, and that he could do no more than look on in silence. General Lake had entered upon his mission with zeal; many seizures of concealed arms and ammunition were made. In the execution of these orders, some barbarous outrages were committed by the military, which tended to inflame and exasperate the minds of the people, which were already too highly inflamed. Not only some women and children had been murdered, but the houses of some respectable persons were pillaged and demolished, upon the bare suspicion of their being United Irishmen.

The newspaper called the *Morning Star*, in Belfast, after it had been sacked a few months earlier, had been refitted, and was again carried on with spirit, exposing the evil designs of the Ministers, and publishing boldly essays and letters in favor of civil liberty. It was, of course, necessary now that the paper should be suppressed altogether. Neilson, its first editor, and the two Simms, its proprietors, were all now in Newgate prison, though not accused of any offence whatever. The newspaper was required by military authority to insert an article reflecting on the loyalty of the people of Belfast; the article did not appear as ordered; the next morning, a detachment of soldiers marched out of the barracks, attacked the printing office, and utterly demolished every part of it, breaking the presses, scattering the types, and seizing the books. Thus disappeared the *Morning Star*, and it never rose again. There was after that nobody daring enough to even record, or allude to, far less to denounce, the hideous atrocities which the policy of the Castle required to be perpetrated.

It was now the avowed opinion of Government, that the treason was in the course of the winter of 1796, and the spring of 1797, too deeply rooted to yield to the remedy of the law, even where it was put in force by the magistrates with activity. Such an assumption was prominently calculated to open the door to the strongest measures, and the general command given to the civil and military officers, by proclamation, to use the exertions of their utmost force, and to oppose with their full power all such as should resist them in the execution of their duty, which was to search for and seize concealed arms, admitted of a latitude of power, not very likely to be temperately regulated by raw troops let in upon a country denounced rebellious, and devoted to military rigor, as

a necessary substitute for the inefficacy of the municipal law. A regiment of Welsh cavalry, called the *Ancient Britons*, commanded by Sir Watkin William Wynne, were at all times prominently conspicuous for the rigorous execution of any orders for devastation, destruction, or extermination. They were marked for it by the rebels, and in the course of the rebellion they were cut to pieces almost to a man.

That proclamation, above mentioned, which was published on the 17th of May, was sent to Lord Carhampton, with a letter from Mr. Pelham, on the 18th of May, in consequence of which his lordship immediately published the following order: "In obedience to the order of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander-in-Chief's commands, that the military do act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assemblies of persons threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of His Majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected."

This proclamation, together with the laws then in existence, and the known wishes of the authorities, left everything at the discretion of the soldiery; *they* were to determine what was an unlawful assembly; and we shall find that they often treated as such, families asleep in their own beds at night, provided there were any pretext for *suspecting* the existence of weapons in the house, or any information of an United Irish oath having been administered there.

Of the outrages done in the course of this year, 1797, it is now impossible to procure anything like a complete account. Yet a few examples well authenticated must be given, to show how martial law worked in those days. Doctor Madden, the indefatigable Collector of Documents relating to the period, has re-published the pamphlet, before cited, called, "View of the Present State of Ireland." It was published the same year in London, because no printer in Ireland could have dared to print it. The statements of this pamphlet have never been contradicted; and old James Hope, one of the last survivors of the United Irishmen, and a person of intelligence and integrity, thus indorsed it to Dr. Madden: "This pamphlet contains more truth than all the volumes I have seen written on the events of 1797 and 1798." We select a few extracts :—

"In the month of May last, a party of the Essex Fencibles, accompanied by the Enniskillen Yeomen Infantry, commanded by their First-Lieutenant, marched to the house of a Mr. Potter, a very respectable farmer, who lived within five miles of Enniskillen, in the County of Fermanagh. On their arrival, they demanded Mr. Potter, saying they were ordered to arrest him, as he was charged with being an United Irishman. His wife, with much firmness, replied, 'that to be an United Irishman was an honor, not a disgrace; that her husband had gone from home the preceding day on business, and had not yet returned.' They assured her that if he did not surrender himself in *three hours* they would burn his house. Mrs. Potter answered, 'that she did not know exactly where he then was, but, if she did know, she believed it would be impossible to have him home in so *short a time.*' In less than three hours they set fire to the house, which was a very neat one, only about five years built; the servants brought out some beds and other valuable articles, in the hope of preserving them, but the military dashed all back into the flames. The house and property, to the amount of six or seven hundred pounds, were consumed, and Mrs. Potter, with seven children, one of them not a month old, were turned out, at the hour of midnight, into the fields.

"In June, 1797, a party of the Ancient Britons (a fencible regiment, commanded by Sir Watkin William Wynne,) were ordered to examine the house of Mr. Riee, an inn-keeper in the town of Coolavil, County of Armagh, for arms; but on making very diligent search, none could be found. There were some country people drinking in the house, and discoursing in their *native language;* the soldiers damned their *eternal Irish souls*, said they were speaking *treason*, and instantly fell on them with their swords, and maimed several desperately. Miss Rice was so badly wounded that her life was despaired of, and her father escaped with much difficulty, after having received many cuts from the sabres of these assassins.

"In June, some persons had been refreshing themselves at an inn in Newtownards, County of Down, kept by a Mr. M'Cormick, and it was alleged that they were overheard uttering words termed seditious. M'Cormick was afterwards called on to give information who they were; he denied having any knowledge of them, observing that many people might come into his house whom he did not know, and for whom he could not be accountable. He was taken into custody, and next day his house and extensive property were reduced to ashes. The house of Dr. Jackson was torn down on *suspicion* of his being *an United Irishman;* and many other houses in that town and barony were destroyed, or otherwise demolished, by English Fencibles, on similar pretexts.

"On the 22d of June, Mr. Joseph Clotney, of Ballinahinch, was committed to the Military Barracks, Belfast, and his house, furniture, and books, worth three thousand pounds, destroyed; also the valuable house of Mr. Armstrong, of that place, was totally demolished.

A party of fencibles, then quartered in Enniskillen, were ordered, under the command of a captain and adjutant, accompanied by the First Fermanagh Yeomanry, into an adjoining county to search for arms. About two o'clock in the morning they arrived at the house of one Durnian, a farmer, which, without any previous intimation whatever, they broke open, and, on entering it, one of the fencibles fired his musket through the roof of the house; an officer instantly discharged his pistol into a bed where two young men were lying, and wounded them both. One of them, *the only child* of Durnian, rose with great difficulty, and on making this effort, faint with the loss of blood, a fencible stabbed him through the bowels. His distracted mother ran to support him, but in a few moments she sank upon the floor, covered with the blood which issued from the side of her unfortunate son; by this time the other young man had got on his knees to implore mercy, declaring most solemnly that they had not been guilty of any crime, when another fencible *deliberately knelt down*, leveled his musket at him, and was just going to fire, when a sergeant of yeomanry rushed in, seized, and prevented his committing the horrid deed. There were persons *who smiled* at the humanity of the sergeant.

"Information had been lodged that a house near Newry contained concealed arms. A party of the Ancient Britons repaired to the house, but not finding the object of their search, they set it on fire. The peasantry of the neighborhood came running from all sides to extinguish the flames, believing the fire to have been accidental—it was the first military one in that part of the country. As they came up they were attacked in all directions, and cut down by the fencibles; thirty were killed, among whom were a woman and two children. An old man (above seventy years,) seeing the dreadful slaughter of his neighbors and friends, fled for safety to some adjacent rocks; he was pursued, and, though on his knees imploring mercy, a brutal Welshman cut off his head at a blow.

"I have stated incontrovertible truths. Months would be insufficient to enumerate all the acts of wanton cruelty which were inflicted on the inhabitants of Ireland from the 1st day of April to the 24th day of July, 1797."

The same authority narrates this fact also, but without date: "The house of Mr. Bernard Crosson, of the parish of Mullanabrack, was attacked by Orangemen, in consequence of being a *reputed* Catholic. His son prevented them from entering by the front door, upon which they broke in at the back part of the house, and, firing on the inhabitants, killed Mr. Crosson, his son, and daughter. Mr. Hugh M'Fay, of the parish of Seagoe, had his house likewise attacked on the same pretence, himself wounded, his furniture destroyed, and his wife barbarously used."

The same writer mentions that, "information having been lodged against a few individuals living in the village of Kilrea, in the County of Derry, for being United Irishmen, a party of the military were ordered to apprehend them; the men avoided the capture, and about three o'clock in the morning, a *reverend* magistrate, accompanied by a clergyman and a body of soldiers, came to the village, and not finding

the men, who had avoided capture, they burned all their houses, except four, which could not be burned without endangering the whole village. These they *gutted*, and consumed their contents."

It must be remembered that these scenes, which are but a few samples, all took place in the year 1797, and before there was any insurrection in Ireland; and all in two or three counties of one province. But if there was no insurrection, it was fully resolved at the Castle to provoke one. A remarkable saying used a short time before by a remarkable man, and a very fit partizan of the Irish Government, leaves but little doubt upon the real aims and wishes of the "Ascendancy." The man was John Claudius Beresford, of the noble house of Tyrone and Waterford, and one of the most ferocious tyrants in the world—we shall hear of him again at the "Riding School." On the 30th of March, in this year, in his place in Parliament, he thus *corrects*, or rather confirms, the saying attributed to him :—

"Mr. J. C. Beresford begged to correct a misstatement which had gone abroad, of what he had said in a former debate, on the Insurrection bill. It had been stated in a country paper, and from thence copied into those of Dublin, that he had expressed a wish 'that the whole of the North of Ireland were in open rebellion, that the Government might cut them off.' This had been very assiduously circulated, to the detriment of his character; and was, he could confidently say, a falsehood. What he had said was, 'that there *were* certain parts of the the North of Ireland in a state of concealed rebellion; and that he wished those places were *rather* in a state of open rebellion, that the Government might see the rebellion, and crush it.'"

It was observed that after the late extensive spread of the United Irish Society in the North, "Defenderism" had in a great measure ceased there. Many thousands of those who had been Defenders joined their Presbyterian neighbors in the "Union." This, in fact, was the great object of the Union, and the warmest hope of its promoters. The United Irish Societies of Ulster alone, according to a return seized by Government in Belfast, counted, at least on paper, one hundred thousand men in the month of April. They became more confident in their strength; and having resolved to defer any general rising until the following year, they would not be goaded into a premature outbreak. During the Summer Assizes, although there were very numerous convictions for the usual class of offenses attributed to United Irishmen and Defenders, (for it was never thought of to prosecute Orangemen—the only criminals,) yet there were also several acquittals, greatly to the satisfaction of the United Irish, and to the dismay of the Government. This certainly arose from the greater difficulty which the sheriffs now had in packing sure juries, not being able to tell now who might, or might not, be United Irishmen. Mr. Curran defended many cases on the Northeast Circuit; amongst which may be mentioned those which occurred in Armagh. There were in the jail of that town twenty-eight persons accused of this species of alleged offense; of whom, however, two trials only were brought to trial. In the former, a subornec soldier, who was brought forward to prose cute one Dogherty, was, upon Dogherty's acquittal, put into the dock in his place, to abide his trial for perjury. The Grand Jury found bills against him, and he remained in custody to abide his trial.

The only other trial was that of the King against Hanlon and Nogher, charged with contemptuously, maliciously, and feloniously tendering to the prosecutor an unlawful oath or engagement, to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society called United Irishmen.

One witness only was produced in support of this indictment, a soldier of the Twenty-fourth Light Dragoons, of the name of Fisher, who swore to the administration of an oath, "to be united in brotherhood to pull down the head clergy and half-pay officers." He, upon his cross-examination, said that the obligation had been shown and read to him, in a small book of four leaves, which he had read and would know again. The Constitution of the United Irishmen was then put into his hands by the defendant's counsel, and he admitted the test contained in it to be the same that he had taken.

On the part of the prisoners, A. T. Stewart, Esq., of Acton, was examined and cross-examined by the Crown. The sum of his testimony was, that this Society had made a rapid progress through the people of all religions, ranks, and classes; that before its introduction into that country, the most horrible religious persecutions existed, attended with murder and extirpation; that since its introduction these atrocities had subsided, as far as he could learn. He admitted he had heard of murders laid to their charge, but could hardly believe such charges, as he conceived them incompatible with anything he ever could learn of the principles or consequences of their institution.

The jailor was also examined, who said, that fewer persons had been sent to him upon charges of wrecking or robbing houses, or of murder, than before, and that he understood the religious parties began to agree better together, and to fight less.

There was no other material evidence. Mr. Curran spoke an hour and three-quarters in defense of the United Irishmen. That he was delighted to find, after so many of them had been immured in dungeons, without trial, that at length the subject had come fairly before the world—and that instead of being a system of organized treason and murder, it proved to be a great bond of national union, founded upon the most acknowledged principle of law, and every sacred obligation due to our country and Creator.

Mr. Baron George gave his opinion decidedly, that the obligation was, under the act of Parliament, *illegal*. The Jury withdrew, and acquitted he prisoner, and thus ended the Assizes of Armagh.

The "Union" continued to recruit its numbers in the North; but with still greater secrecy, and the country remaining perfectly tranquil, notwithstanding the cruel outrages of magistrates and military, trade somewhat revived, and most people seemed to be returning peacefully to their ordinary pursuits. In short, the United Irish of Ulster were resolved not to rise until they should be at least assured of the co-operation of the other three provinces, if not of aid from France. A report of the "Secret Committee" of the Commons, made this summer, congratulated the country upon this apparent decline in the treasonable spirit. Such, the Committee stated, had been the beneficial consequences of the "measures adopted in the year 1797"—that is, of the rigors of martial law, searches for arms, burnings of houses, and slaughters of women and children. We have already seen, however, that the greater tranquillity and good order of the North arose precisely from the spread of this very "treason," which the Committee pretended to regard as being itself the only disturbance. This Committee goes on to report, that the leaders of the *treason*, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emissaries were sent into the South and West in great numbers, of whose success in forming new societies and administering the oaths of the Union, there were, in the course of some few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visited.

In May, 1797, althongh numbers had been sworn both in Munster and Leinster, the strength of the organization, exclusive of Ulster, lay chiefly in the metropolis, and in the neighboring Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and the King's County. It was very observable, that the counties in which Defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of *this species of treason*, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

"In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the Counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cause, the United Irishmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on

the *supposed oppressiveness of tithes*, which had been the pretext for the old *White Boy's* insurrections. And it is observable, that in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and houghing the cattle of those *against whom their resentment was directed*, was revived, and very generally practised in those counties.

"With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, fabricated and false tests were represented as having been taken *to exterminate Catholics*, and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and absurd, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more rapidly and deeply in the treason." *

So far the Committee; and this document is but one of many examples of legislative slander at the time, and of histories written by "loyal men" since. The report classes under the same head of "enormities" the fabrication of pikes and the murder of those who did not join their party. It is true the United Irishmen did everywhere get pikes forged; but utterly untrue that they did in any instance murder any one for not joining them. As for "burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their resentment was directed"—it is true that the "supposed oppressiveness of tithes," and of church rates, had for many years been the occasion of such acts of outrage against tithe proctors, &c., but quite untrue that outrages of this kind, or any other kind, increased when the United Irish Societies spread into the midland and southern counties. On the contrary, they diminished. We have already seen the strong testimony to this effect in the North; and it may be laid down as universally true, that the Irish people on the eve of an insurrection, or in any violent political excitement, are always free from crime to a most exemplary extent; which is always considered an alarming symptom by the authorities.

"The good effects of the United Irish system in the commencement," says Miles Byrne,* "were soon felt and seen throughout the Counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Wicklow, which were the parts of the country I knew best. *It gave the first alarm to the Government;* they suspected something extraordinary was going on, finding that disputes, fighting at fairs and other places of public meeting, had completely ceased. The magistrates soon perceived this change, as they were now seldom called on to grant summons or warrants to settle disputes. Drunkenness ceased also; for an United Irishmen to be found *drunk* was unknown for many months. . . . Such was the sanctity of our cause." † Even Mr. Plowden, though an enemy of the United Irishmen, and ready enough to call them *miscreants* for their "treason," is obliged to vindicate them from the charge of encouraging or favoring other kinds of crime. But it is true, that if it be an "enormity" to "fabricate pikes," they were guilty of that atrocity.†

So much, it is right to say, in vindication of as pure, gallant, and self-sacrificing a political party as ever appeared in any country under the sun.

As for the last-cited statement in the

* Plowden.

* The excellent, chivalrous Miles Byrne, who died only in 1852, a *Chef-de-Bataillon* in the French service, was one of the first United Irishmen in Wexford County. His *Memoirs*, edited by his widow, and published in New York and in Paris in 1863, form one of the most valuable documents for the history of his time, and the insurrection in Wexford.

† The question at one time much agitated—whether the United Irishmen, or any of them, did or did not theoretically hold *tyrannicide*, that is, political assassination, to be lawful, is nothing to the purpose; it is enough to know they never practised it, and their leaders professed their abhorrence of it. Singular to say, the only United Irishman who ever, by any writing of his, gave even a pretext for such an imputation, was the gentle poet, who sings "The Loves of the Angels," and "The Last Rose of Summer." A letter of his, when a student in Trinity College, signed *Sophister*, contains some rhetoric of that sort; and resolutions written by him and offered in one of the U. I Clubs in College, were the chief occasion of Lord Clare's celebrated *Visitation* to the University; but Lord Clare himself admitted that the resolution advising *tyrannicide* had been rejected.

Committee's report, it was most accurately true that large bodies of men were at that moment "coming to put them (the Catholics) to death." Twelve English and Scottish militia regiments, besides an immense force of the regular army, were coming, or already come, for that express purpose; which purpose was also carried into effect upon a very great scale. And it was most natural, therefore, that those Catholics should be urged to *unite* for their own defense with those of their countrymen who were objects of the same conspiracy; namely, the Society of United Irishmen.

When this monstrous report was presented in the House of Commons, there was naturally some debate. Mr. Fletcher said, that if cöercive measures were to be pursued, the whole country must be cöerced, for the spirit of insurrection had pervaded every part of it.

Mr. M. Beresford ordered the clerk to take down these words, and the gallery was instantly cleared. When strangers were again admitted, the debate on the address still continued, and in the course of it M. J. C. Beresford thought himself called on to defend the Secret Committee against an assertion which had fallen from Mr. Fletcher in the course of his speech. The assertion was, in substance, that he feared the people would be led to look on the report of the Committee, as fabricated rather to justify the past measures of Government, than to state facts.

One statement, however, in the report was true—that during this summer the United Irish system did strike vigorous roots in all the Counties of Leinster, except, perhaps, Kilkenny. It has been affirmed that Wexford, which soon made the most formidable figure in the insurrection, had so few United Irishmen within its bounds up to the end of the year 1797, as not to be counted at all in the official returns of the organized counties in February; and it is probable that as the peasantry of Wexford were comparatively comfortable and thrifty, and lived on good terms with their landlords, there was less disposition to rush into insurrectionary organizations at first. Yet Miles Byrne, who was himself sworn in an United Irishman in the summer of 1797, tells us: "Before a month had elapsed, almost every one had taken the test." He adds: "We soon organized parochial and baronial meetings, and named delegates to correspond with the county members. Robert Graham, of Corcannon, a cousin of my mother's, was named to represent the county at the meeting to be held in Dublin at Oliver Bond's." Whatever may have been the case in Wexford, it is certain that Kildare, Carlow, Meath, and Dublin, were in the course of the summer completely organized. Miles Byrne says: "Nothing could exceed the readiness and good will of the United Irishmen to comply with the instructions they received to procure arms, ammunition, &c., notwithstanding the difficulties and perils they underwent in purchasing those articles. Pikes were easily had at this time, for almost every blacksmith was an United Irishman. The pike-blades were soon had, but it was more difficult to procure poles for them; and the cutting down of young ash trees for that purpose awoke great attention and caused great sucpicion of the object in view." It is certain, however, that th County of Wexford neither suffered so much, nor was so ripe for insurrection, as many other counties, until after the 1st of April, 1798, when Lord Castlereagh's "well-timed measures" were taken. In the meantime Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the other leaders were eagerly and impatiently awaiting news of approaching succors from France; keeping the people as quiet as possible, and letting them prepare their arms and steel their hearts, in full view of the corpses blackening upon many a gibbet, and heads impaled on spikes over many a gaol door-way, for the crime of swearing to promote the union of Irishmen, in order to obtain a full and fair representation of the people,* and deliverance from their savage oppressors.

* It is right to bear in mind throughout, that the original test of the United Irish Society, which bound them to unite to procure fair representation of all the Irish people in *Parliament*, was changed in 1795 into an engagement to unite for the purpose of obtaining a fair representation of all the people—dropping the words "*in Parliament.*" From that time, separation and a republican government became the fixed objects of the principal leaders, but not the avowed ones till a little later, when, at the conclusion of every meeting, the chairman was

CHAPTER XXXI.

1797—1798.

Wolfe Tone's Negotiations in France and Holland—Lewins—Expedition of Dutch Government Destined for Ireland—Tone at the Texel—His Journal—Tone's Uneasiness about Admitting Foreign Dominion over Ireland—MacNeven's Memoir—Discussion as to Proper Point for a Landing—Tone on Board the Vryheid—Adverse Winds—Rage and Impatience of Tone—Disastrous Fate of the Batavian Expedition—Camperdown.

The great French armament, destined for the liberation of Ireland, which had looked in at Bantry Bay, had returned to Brest, without so much loss by the bad weather as might have been expected, and without having met a single British ship-of-war. The frigate Fraternité, carrying General Hoche and the Admiral Morand de Galles, arrived safely at La Rochelle a fortnight after. Hoche was appointed to the command of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse; and Theobald Wolfe Tone went with him, attached to his personal staff. A great mutual regard seems to have sprung up between the young General and his gallant *Aide;* and the latter, who had by no means given up the project of a French liberating invasion of Ireland, always cherished the hope of seeing Hoche appointed to the chief command. On the 10th of March, he writes to his wife: "This very day the Executive Directory has ratified the nomination of General Hoche, and I am, to all intents and purposes, Adjutant-General, destined for the Army of Sambre and Meuse."

In the end of May, after a short stay with his family, who had arrived in France, we find him at Cologne, at the headquarters of that army. In the meantime, Mr. John Edward Lewins, already mentioned as an agent of the United Irishmen, had arrived in France, empowered to treat for another expedition, and to negotiate a loan. When Lewins arrived in Holland, then called the "Batavian Republic," one of the republics dependent upon France, and at war with England, he found the Government very well disposed to essay this bold enterprise of a descent upon Ireland, and to risk their whole navy and army in the effort. An extract from Tone's journal will now afford the best insight into the state of this negotiation. While with General Hoche, at his *Quartier General*, at Friedberg, he writes, under date of June 12th, 1797:—

"This evening the General called me into the garden and told me he had some good news for me. He then asked, 'Did I know one Lewins?' I answered I did, perfectly well, and had a high opinion of his talents and patriotism. 'Well,' said he, 'he is at Neuwied, waiting to see you; you must set off to-morrow morning; when you join him, you must go together to Treves, and wait for further orders.' The next morning I set off, and, on the 14th, in the evening, reached—

June 14th, Neuwied; where I found Lewins waiting for me. I cannot express the unspeakable satisfaction I felt at seeing him. I gave him a full account of all my labors, and of everything that had happened since I have been in France, and he informed me, in return, of everything of consequence relating to Ireland, and especially to my friends now in jeopardy there.

June 17th, Treves; where we arrived on the 17th. What is most material is, that he is sent here by the Executive Committee of the United People of Ireland, to solicit, on their part, the assistance in troops, arms, and money, necessary to enable them to take the field, and assert their liberty; the organization of the people is complete, and nothing is wanting but the point d'appui. His instructions are to apply to France, Holland, and Spain. At Hamburgh, where he passed almost two months, he met a Senor Nava, an officer of rank in the Spanish navy, sent thither by the Prince of Peace, on some mission of consequence; he opened himself to Nava, who wrote off, in consequence, to his court, and received an answer, general, it is true, but in the highest degree favorable; a circumstance which augurs well, is,

obliged to inform the members of each society, "they had undertaken no light matter," and he was directed to ask every delegate present what were his views and his understanding of those of his society, and each individual was expected to reply, 'a republican government and a separation from England." *Pieces of Irish History Madden.*

All this was, of course, as well known to the Government as to the members; so that it cannot in candor be said, that the U. I. were treated as criminals for the mere fact of *uniting*—it was for uniting to destroy British dominion in Ireland, and erect a republic in its place.

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that, in forty days from the date of Nava's letter, he received the answer, which is less time than he ever knew a courier to arrive in, and shows the earnestness of the Spanish Minister. Lewins' instructions are to demand of Spain £500,000 sterling, and 30,000 stand of arms. At Treves, on the 19th, Dalton, the General's Aid-de-Camp, came express with orders for us to return to—

June 21*st*, Coblentz; where we arrived on the 21st, and met General Hoche. He told us that, in consequence of the arrival of Lewins, he had sent off Simon, one of his Adjutant-Generals, who was of our late expedition, in order to press the Executive Directory and Minister of the Marine; that he had also sent copies of all the necessary papers, including especially those lately prepared by Lewins, with his own observations, enforcing them in the strongest manner; that he had just received the answers of all parties, which were as favorable as we could desire; but that the Minister of the Marine was absolutely for making the expedition on a grand scale, for which two months, at the very least, would still be necessary; to which I, knowing Brest of old, and that two months, in the language of the Marine, meant four at least, if not five or six, remarked the necessity of an immediate exertions in order to profit of the state of mutiny and absolute disorganization in which the English navy is at this moment, in which Lewins heartily concurred; and we both observed that *it was not a strong military force* that we wanted at this moment, but arms and ammunition, with troops sufficient to serve as a *noyau de armee*, and protect the people in their first assembling; adding, that 5,000 men sent now, when the thing was feasible, would be far better than 25,000 in three months, when, perhaps, we might find ourselves again blocked up in Brest Harbor; and I besought the General to remember that the mutiny aboard the English fleet would most certainly be soon quelled, so that there was not a moment to lose; that if we were lucky enough to arrive in Ireland before that took place, I looked upon it as morally certain, that, by proper means, we might gain over the seamen, who have already spoken of steering the fleet into the Irish harbor, and so settle the business, perhaps, without striking a blow. We both pressed these, and such other arguments as occurred, in the best manner we were able; to which General Hoche replied, he saw everything precisely in the same light we did, and that he would act accordingly, and press the Directory and Minister of the Marine in the strongest manner. He showed Lewins Simons' letter, which contained the assurance of the Directory, 'that they would make no peace with England wherein the interests of Ireland should not be fully discussed agreeably to the wishes of the people of that country.' This is a very strong declaration, and has most probably been produced by a demand made by Lewins in his memorial, 'that the French Government should make it an indispensable condition of peace, that all the British troops be withdrawn from Ireland, and the people left at full liberty to declare whether they wished to continue the connection with England or not.' General Hoche then told us not to be discouraged by the arrival of a British negotiator, for that the Directory were determined to make no peace but on conditions which would put it out of the power of England longer to arrogate to herself the commerce of the world, and dictate her laws to all the maritime powers. He added that preparations were making also in Holland for an expedition, the particulars of which he would communicate to us in two or three days, and, in the meantime, desired us to attend him to—

June 24*th*, Cologne; for which place we set off, and arrived the 24th.

June 25*th*.—At nine o'clock at night the General sent us a letter from General Daendels, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Batavian Republic, acquainting him that everything was in the greatest forwardness, and would be ready in a very few days; that the army and the navy were in the best possible spirit; that the Committee for Foreign Affairs (the Directory per interim of the Batavian Republic) desired most earnestly to see him without loss of time, in order to make the definitive arrangements; and especially they prayed him to bring with him the deputy of the people of Ireland, which Daendels repeated two or three times in his

letter. In consequence of this, I waited on the General, whom I found in his bed in the Court Imperiale, and received his orders to set off with Lewins without loss of time, and attend him at—

June 27th, the Hague; where we arrived accordingly, having traveled day and night. In the evening we went to the Comedie, where we met the General in a sort of public incognito; that is to say, he had combed the powder out of his hair, and was in a plain regimental frock. After the play, we followed him to his lodgings at the Lion d'or, where he gave us a full detail of what was preparing in Holland. He began by telling us that the Dutch Governor-General Daendels, and Admiral Dewinter, were sincerely actuated by a desire to effectuate something striking to rescue their country from that state of oblivion and *decadence* into which it had fallen; that by the most indefatigable exertions on their part, they had got together, at the Texel, sixteen sail of the line, and eight or ten frigates, all ready for sea, and in the highest condition; that they intended to embark 15,000 men, the whole of their national troops, 3,000 stand of arms, 80 pieces of artillery, and money for their pay and subsistence for three months; that he had the best opinion of the sincerity of all parties, and of the courage and conduct of the General and Admiral, but that here was the difficulty: The French Government had demanded that at least 5,000 French troops, the *elite* of the army, should be embarked, instead of a like number of Dutch, in which case, if the demand was acceded to, he would himself take the command of the united army, and set off for the Texel directly; but that the Dutch Government made great difficulties, alleging a variety of reasons, of which some were good; that they said the French troops would never submit to the discipline of the Dutch navy, and that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it on their own, without making unjust distinctions, and giving a reasonable ground for jealousy and discontent to their army; 'but the fact is,' said Hoche, 'that the Committee, Daendels, and Dewinter, are anxious that the Batavian Republic should have the whole glory of the expedition, if it succeeds; they feel that their country has been forgotten in Europe, and they are risking everything, even to their last stake: for, if this fails, they are ruined—in order to restore the nationa character. The demand of the French Government is now before the Committee; if it is acceded to, I will go myself, and, at all events, I will present you both to the Committee; and we will probably then settle the matter definitively.' Both Lewins and I now found ourselves in a considerable difficulty. On the one side, it was an object of the greatest importance to have Hoche and his 5,000 grenadiers; on the other, it was most unreasonable to propose anything which could hurt the feelings of the Dutch people, at a moment when they were making unexampled exertions in our favor, and risking, as Hoche himself said, their last ship and last shilling to emancipate us. I cursed and swore like a dragon; it went to my very heart's blood and midriff to give up the General and our brave lads, 5,000 of whom I would prefer to any 10,000 in Europe; on the other hand, I could not but see that the Dutch were perfectly reasonable in the desire to have the whole reputation of an affair prepared and arranged entirely at their expense, and at such an expense. I did not know what to say. Lewins, however, extricated himself and me with considerable address. After stating very well our difficulty, he asked Hoche whether he thought that Daendels would serve under his orders, and, if he refused, what effect that might have on the Batavian troops? I will never forget the magnanimity of Hoche on this occasion. He said he believed Daendels would not, and, therefore, that the next morning he would withdraw the demand with regard to the French troops, and leave the Dutch Government at perfect liberty to act as they thought proper. When it is considered that Hoche has a devouring passion for fame; that his great object, on which he has endeavored to establish his reputation, is the destruction of the power of England; that he has, for two years, in a great degree, devoted himself to our business, and made the greatest exertions, including our memorable expedition, to emancipate us; t at he sees, at last, the business likely to be accomplished by an·

other, and, of course, all the glory he had promised to himself ravished from him; when, in addition to all this, it is considered that he could, by a word's speaking, prevent the possibility of that rival's moving one step, and find, at the same time, plausible reasons sufficient to justify his own conduct, —I confess his renouncing the situation which he might command is an effort of very great virtue. It is true he is doing exactly what an honest man and a good citizen ought to do; he is preferring the interests of his country to his own private views; that, however, does not prevent my regarding his conduct, in this instance, with great admiration, and I shall never forget it. This important difficulty being removed, after a good deal of general discourse on our business, we parted late, perfectly satisfied with each other, and having fixed to wait on the Committee to-morrow in the forenoon. All reflections made, the present arrangement, if it has its dark, has its bright sides also, of which more hereafter.

June 28th.—This morning, at ten, Lewins and I went with General Hoche to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which we found sitting. There were eight or nine members, of whom I do not know all the names, together with General Daendels. Those whose names I learned, were citizens Hahn, (who seemed to have great influence among them,) Bekker, Van Leyden, and Grasveldt. General Hoche began by stating extremely well the history of our affairs, since he had interested himself in them; he pressed, in the strongest manner that we could wish, the advantages to be reaped from the emancipation of Ireland, the almost certainty of success, if the attempt were once made, and the necessity of attempting it, if at all immediately. It was citizen Hahn who replied to him. He said he was heartily glad to find the measure sanctioned by so high an opinion as that of General Hoche; that originally the object of the Dutch Government was to have invaded England, in order to have operated a diversion in favor of the French army, which it was hoped would have been in Ireland; that circumstances being totally changed in that regard, they had yielded to the wishes of the French Government, and resolved to go into Ireland; that, for this purpose, they had made the greatest exertions, and had now at the Texel an armament of 16 sail of the line, 10 frigates, 15,000 troops in the best condition, 80 pieces of artillery, and pay for the whole three months; but that a difficulty had been raised within a few days, in consequence of a requisition of the Minister of Marine, Truget, who wished to have 5,000 French troops, instead of so many Dutch, to be disembarked in consequence. That this was a measure of extreme risk, inasmuch as the discipline of the Dutch navy was very severe, and such as the French troops would probably not submit to; that, in that case, they could not pretend to enforce it with regard to their own troops, the consequence of which would be a relaxation of all discipline. This was precisely what General Hoche told us last night. He immediately replied, that, such being the case, he would take on himself to withdraw the Minister of Marine, and satisfy the Directory as to the justice of their observations; and that he hoped, all difficulty on that head being removed, they would press the embarkation without a moment's delay. It was easy to see the most lively satisfaction on all their faces, at this declaration of General Hoche, which certainly does him the greatest honor. General Daendels, especially, was beyond measure delighted. They told us then that they hoped all would be ready in a fortnight, and Hahn observed, at the same time, that, as there was an English squadron which appeared almost every day at the mouth of the Texel, it was very much to be desired that the Brest fleet should, if possible, put to sea, in order to draw off at least a part of the British fleet, because, from the position of the Texel, the Dutch fleet was liable to be attacked in detail, in sailing out of the port; and even if they beat the enemy, it would not be possible to proceed, as they must return to refit. To this, General Hoche replied, that the French fleet could not, he understood, be ready before two months, which put it out of the question; and as to the necessity of returning to refit, he observed that, during the last war, the British and French fleets had often fought, both in the East and West Indies, and kept the seas after; all that was necessary being

to have on board the necessary articles of *rechange;* besides, it was certainly the business of the Dutch fleet to avoid an action by all possible means. General Daendels observed that Admiral Dewinter desired nothing better than to measure himself with the enemy, but we all, that is to say, General Hoche, Lewins, and myself, cried out against it, his only business being to bring his convoy safe to its destination. A member of the committee, I believe it was Van Leyden, then asked us, supposing everything succeeded to our wish, what was the definite object of the Irish people. To which we replied categorically, that it was to throw off the yoke of England, break forever the connection now existing with that country, and constitute ourselves a free and independent people. They all expressed their satisfaction at this reply, and Van Leyden observed that he had traveled through Ireland, and to judge from the luxury of the rich, and extreme misery of the poor, no country in Europe had so crying a necessity for a revolution. To which Lewins and I replied, as is most religiously the truth, that one great motive of our conduct in this business, was the conviction of the wretched state of our peasantry, and the determination, if possible, to amend it. The political object of our visit being now nearly ascertained, Hahn, in the name of the Committee, observed that he hoped either Lewins or I would be of the expedition. To which Hoche replied, 'that I was ready to go,' and he made the offer, on my part, in a manner peculiarly agreeable to my feelings. It was then fixed that I should set off for the army of Sambre et Meuse for my trunk, and especially for my papers, and that Lewins should remain at the Hague, at the orders of the Committee, until my return, which might be seven or eight days. The meeting then broke up. We could not possibly desire to find greater attention to us, personally, or, which was far more important, greater zeal and anxiety to forward this expedition, in which the Dutch Government has thrown itself '*a corps perdu.*' They venture no less than the whole of their army and navy. As Hoche expressed it, 'they are like a man stripped to his breeches, who has one shilling left, which he throws in the lottery, in the hope of being enabled to buy a coat."

The mutations of history are sometimes strange. Here, in 1797, we find the Dutch nation preparing for a grand national effort to liberate and redeem the very same people whom a century before it had so powerfully contributed, with the Prince of Orange and its "Dutch Blues," to hurl, prostrate under the feet of this very England which the Dutch Republic was now so eager to overthrow.

It deserves to be noticed, in justice to the Irish agents, both in Holland and in France, that they never contemplated bringing an overwhelming force to Ireland, such as might subdue the country to hold it in a state of subjection to France, like the Ligurian, or Cisalpine Republic. The "Secret Committee," already so often cited, which had under examination Messrs. Emmet, MacNeven, and O'Connor, admit this fact. "It appeared to the Committee, that the Executive of the Union, though desirous of obtaining assistance in men, arms, and money, yet were averse to a greater force being sent than might enable them to subvert the Government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French showed a decided disinclination at all times to send any force to Ireland, except such as from its magnitude might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conquest, and of subjecting it to all the plunder and oppressions which other nations subdued or deceived by that nation had experienced. In Tone's journal, under date of 1st of July, occurs a passage showing how earnestly that true Irishman deprecated a French *conquest* of his country: "I then took occasion to speak on a subject which had weighed very much upon my mind, I mean the degree of influence which the French might be disposed to arrogate to themselves in Ireland, and which I had great reason to fear would be greater than we might choose to allow them. In the *Gazette*, of that day, there was a proclamation of Buonaparte's, addressed to the Government of Genoa, which I thought most grossly improper and indecent, as touching on the indispensable rights of the people. I read the most obnoxious passages to Hoche, and observed, that if Buonaparte commanded in Ireland,

and were to publish there so indiscreet a proclamation, it would have a most ruinous effect; that in Italy such dictation might pass, but never in Ireland, where we understood our rights too well to submit to it. Hoche answered me, 'I understand you, but you may be at ease in that respect; Buonaparte has been my scholar, but he shall never be my master.'"

Before proceeding to narrate the fortunes of this second grand expedition bound for Ireland, it will be well to consider the views of those Irishmen who had studied the subject, with regard to a point then extremely interesting, and which may again become interesting in the course of human events—namely, the most advisable or convenient harbors of Ireland for purposes of a landing hostile to England. This question is treated at length in a memoir, which was, during this same summer, intrusted to Dr. MacNeven, and was by him carried over to France, in order that no such blunder might again be made as the approach to the desolate mountainous coasts of Bear and Bantry. This memoir, singular to relate, fell into the hands of the British Government; but certainly not through any treachery on the part of Dr MacNeven, who was a most excellent man; but O'Connor, Emmet and MacNeven tell us, in their memoirs, that on their examination before the Secret Committee of the Lords the next year, they were astonished beyond measure to see the very original of that memoir lying on the table—so perfect was the spy system of England, both at home and abroad, maintained by an enormous expenditure of "Secret Service money."

The account which the Secret Committee has given us of that memoir is as follows: The next communication of consequence was in June, 1797, when an accredited person went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their desire; he went by Hamburg, where he saw the French Minister, who made some difficulty about granting a passport, and demanded a memorial, which was written by the accredited person, and given to the French Minister under the impression that the passport was not to be granted.

The memoir was written in English, and contained the objects of his mission according to the instructions which he had received from the Executive. It began by stating, that the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay, had encouraged the least confident of the Irish in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the assistance of France; that the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland; that in the event of a second expedition, if the object were to take Cork, Oyster Haven would be the best place of debarkation; that the person who had been before accredited was instructed to point out Oyster Haven as the best place of debarkation; and it stated the precautions which had been taken, by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mallow. It further stated, that the system of the United Irishmen had made a rapid progress in the County of Cork, and that Bandon was become a second Belfast; that the system had made great progress in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to assist the French; that 150,000 United Irishmen were organized and enroled in Ulster, a great part of them regimented, and one-third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the King's forces in Ulster, and their stations; recommended Loughswilly as a place of debarkation in the North, and stated, that the people in the peninsula of Donegal would join the French. It stated, also, the strength of the garrison in Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was supposed to be disaffected. It mentioned Killybegs also as a good place of debarkation, and stated that the Counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, were amongst the best affected to the cause. In case of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diversion in Sligo, and stated, that a force of 10,000 United Irishmen might be collected to fall upon Enniskillen, which commanded the pass of Lough Erne; that it was easy to enter the Bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it; that the Counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, King's County, and City of Dublin, were the best organized; that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well

affected to the cause; that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal the system of the Union. It declared that the people of Ireland had a lively sense of gratitude to France for the part which she took, and also to Spain for the interest she took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged on the part of the National Directory, to reimburse the expenses of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000, and not less than 5,000 men. It stated that a brigade of English artillery had been already sent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be sent if Ireland were attacked. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large staff, and a body of engineers, and as many Irish officers as possible, whose fidelity they were assured of were demanded as necessary to accompany the expedition. A recommendation was given to separate the Irish seamen who were prisoners of war from the British, supposing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be published by the French General, on his arrival there, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it; it also recommended to the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace then pending; and stated, that a proceeding so authentic could not be disguised or misrepresented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland. It contained also an assurance, that the Irish Militia would join the French if they landed in considerable force.*

The difficulty in the way of the Batavian expedition being removed, by the generous self-abnegation of General Hoche, (though his heart was set upon this service,) great activity was exerted to make everything ready. Tone was to accompany the Dutch force, with the same rank which he held in the French. What greatly increased the hopes and spirits of Tone and his allies, was the famous "Mutiny of the Nore," on board the English fleet, off the mouth of the Thames, which threatened for a few weeks to disable completely the naval power of England. The mutiny, however, was with some difficulty quelled by some sanguinary punishments, and also by increasing the pay of the seamen; so that the British Channel Fleet was ready for service again, as the Dutch soon found out to their cost. On the 4th of July, we find Wolfe Tone at the Hague, ready to undertake his duties. We copy the following extracts from Tone's Journal:—

"*July 4th.*—Instantly on my arrival I waited on General Daendels, whom I found on the point of setting out for the Texel. He read the letter, and told me everything should be settled with regard to my rank, and that I should receive two months' pay in advance, to equip me for the campaign. His reception of me was extremely friendly. I staid with Lewins, at the Hague, three or four days, whilst my regimentals, &c., were making up, and at length, all being ready, we parted, he setting off for Paris, to join General Hoche, and I for the Texel, to join General Daendels.

"*July 8th.*—Arrived early in the morning at the Texel, and went immediately on board the Admiral's ship, the Vryheid, of 74 guns, a superb vessel. Found General Daendels aboard, who presented me to Admiral Dewinter, who commands the expedition. I am exceedingly pleased with both one and the other; there is a frankness and candor in their manners which is highly interesting.

"*July 10th.*—I have been boating about the fleet, and aboard several of the vessels; they are in very fine condition, incomparably better than the fleet at Brest, and I learn from all hands that the best possible spirit reigns in both soldiers and sailors. Admiral Duncan, who commands the English fleet off the Texel, sent in yesterday an officer with a flag of truce, apparently with a letter, but in fact to reconnoitre our force. Dewinter was even with him: for he de-

* The topographical researches into the capabilities of harbors for invasion, must be much facilitated by the many excellent maps of Ireland published within these last few years; some of which also afford a very perfect idea of the nature of the country inland. At the period spoken of in the text, the best map of Ireland was, perhaps, that of Beaumont, a very useless one for strategical purposes.

tained his messenger, and sent back the answer by an officer of his own, with instructions to bring back an exact account of the force of the enemy.

"*July* 11*th*.—This day our flag of truce is returned, and the English officer released. Duncan's fleet is of eleven sail of the line, of which three are three-deckers."

When both fleet and army were quite ready, by some fatality similar to that which delayed the Brest fleet before, the wind set in steadily in an adverse direction, and so continued day after day, week after week.* During the whole of the two months of July and August the departure was postponed; the supplies put on board the fleet were nearly exhausted; and it was known that Admiral Duncan, who cruised outside, had been reinforced considerably. Changes of plan were proposed, and England or Scotland was to be the object of the attempt, not Ireland. When General Daendels mentioned these new projects to Wolfe Tone, the latter became seriously alarmed. He says in his journal: "These are, most certainly, very strong reasons, and, unfortunately, the wind gives them every hour fresh weight. I answered, that I did not see at present any solid objection to propose to his system; and that all I had to say, was, that, if the Batavian Republic sent but a corporal's guard to Ireland, I was ready to make one. So here is our expedition in a hopeful way. It is most terrible. Twice, within nine months, has England been saved by the wind. It seems as if the very elements had conspired to perpetuate our slavery, and protect the insolence and oppression of our tyrants What can I do at this moment? Nothing. The people of Ireland will now lose all spirit and confidence in themselves and their chiefs, and God only knows whether, if we were even able to effectuate a landing with 3,000 men they might act with courage and decision."

In the interval of waiting at the Texel, two additional agents of the Irish Union made their appearance in Holland. These were Tennant and Lowry; with instructions to make sure, if possible, of some effectual aid, either from France or Holland. They put themselves at once into communication with Tone and Lewins. Nothing seemed immediately possible in that direction, at least until after this Dutch armament should be definitely given up; and the Batavian authorities were very reluctant to give it up. General Daendels charged Tone with a mission to the headquarters of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, in order to confer with General Hoche; and when he arrived, he found Hoche dying. He writes:—

"*September* 18*th and* 19*th*.—My fears, with regard to General Hoche, were but too well founded. He died this morning at four o'clock. His lungs seemed to me quite gone. This most unfortunate event has so confounded and distressed me that I know not what to think, nor what will be the consequences. Wrote to my wife, and to General Daendels instantly."

Tone evidently believed that Dewinter's Dutch fleet would never sail at all; therefore, after the death of Hoche, he obtained leave to go to Paris, where he was to meet his wife and children.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the loss which the Irish cause in France sustained in the death of General Hoche. He had thoroughly made that cause his own, through his warm admiration for his Irish *aide*, as well as from his settled conviction, formed on military principles, that to strike England in Ireland is the surest and easiest way to destroy her power. It is now known that Napoleon Buonaparte, then the rival of Hoche, came afterwards to entertain strongly this opinion concerning Ireland, although, unfortunately, he was not then duly impressed with its importance. At St. Helena, he said of Hoche, that "he was one of the first of French generals;" and that if he had landed in Ireland he would have succeeded in the great enter-

* It is painful to see how Tone's fiery spirit, already irritated by disappointment, chafed at this cruel delay. July 17th, he says in his diary: "I hope the wind will not play us a trick. It is terribly foul this evening. Hang it, and damn it for me! I am in a rage, which is truly astonishing, and can do nothing to help myself. Well! well!

"*July* 18*th*.—The wind is as foul as possible this morning; it cannot be worse. Hell! Hell! Hell! Allah! Allah! Allah! I am in a most devouring rage! * * * * * *

"*July* 19*th*.—Wind foul still. Horrible! Horrible! Admiral Dewinter and I endeavor to pass away the time, playing the flute, which he does very well; we have some good duets, and that is some relief."

prise. And if he had but lived another year, his influence might have availed to direct upon the coast of Ireland that fine fleet and army which made the unavailing and disastrous invasion of Egypt.

While Tone seems to have abandoned every hope of decisive action on the part of the Batavian Republic, a sudden resolution was taken at the Hague. In the beginning of October, the British Commander quitted his station, and went to Yarmouth Roads to refit. A peremptory order was dispatched by the Dutch Government to Admiral Dewinter to put to sea. On the morning of the 11th of October, Duncan, having made great haste, came in view of the Dutch fleet near the coast of Holland, off a place called Camperdown. The two fleets were nearly equal in number of ships, but the English were much superior in weight of metal. Dewinter, seeing a battle inevitable, engaged with the utmost gallantry. After a bloody fight, which the Dutch sustained with an intrepidity approaching desperation, Dewinter's ship struck, a sinking wreck. Ten Dutch ships of the line and two frigates were captured; Duncan became Lord Camperdown; and there was an end of Holland as a great naval power.

Thus there was, and continued to be, a strange fatality dooming the hopes of Ireland in foreign aid to a series of painful disappointments. There were, after this, two more expeditions on a small scale, both French, and both intended to aid the Irish insurrection. As for the "Army of England," which began to be formed in this very month of October, it is needless to enter into the detail of that operation, as it was really never intended for England at all, still less for Ireland. Napoleon Buonaparte was made Commander-in-Chief. While there was apparently busy preparation in the Channel ports of France, Wolfe Tone was in the highest spirits; and had several interviews with the conqueror of Italy, who seemed bent at last upon the grand enterprise of going straight to London, promised Tone that he should be employed in the expedition, and requested him to make out a list of the leading Irish refugees then in Paris, who "would all," he said "be undoubtedly employed." So passed the winter and the spring. Two passages from Tone's journal will tell all that is needful to be told of the *Armée d'Angleterre*:—

"*May 19th.*—I do not know what to think of our expedition. It is certain that the whole left wing of the Army of England is, at this moment, in full march back to the Rhine; Buonaparte is, God knows where, and the clouds seem thickening more and more in Germany, where I have no doubt Pitt is moving heaven and hell to embroil matters, and divert the storm which was almost ready to fall on his head.

"*May 24th and 25th.*—It is certain that Buonaparte is at Toulon, and embarked since the 14th; his speech, as I suspected, is not as it was given in the last journals. The genuine one I read to-day, and there are two sentences in it which puzzle me completely. In the first, at the beginning of the address, he tells the troops that they form a wing of the Army of England; in the second, towards the end, he reminds them that they have the glory of the French name to sustain in countries and seas the most distant. What does that mean? Is he going, after all, to India? Will he make a short cut to London by way of Calcutta? I begin foully to suspect it."

In fact, the expedition to Egypt was already at sea; Tone remained attached to that portion of the "Army of England" which was still quartered in the North of France, and passed his time between Rouen and Havre; Lewins continued to represent the United Irishmen at Paris with great tact and honesty. But in the meantime, Lord Castlereagh had already, by his "judicious measures," caused the premature explosion of the insurrection in Ireland; and the island was now ringing with the combat of Oulart Hill and the storm of Enniscorthy

CHAPTER XXXII.

1798.

Spies—Secret Service Money—Press Prosecution—"Remember Orr!"—Account of Orr—Curran's Speech—His Description of Informers—Arts of Government—Sowing Dissensions—Forged Assassination List—"Union" Declines—Addresses of "Loyalty"—Maynooth Grant Enlarged—Catholic Bishops "Loyal"—Forcing a "Premature Explosion"—Camden and Carhampton—Outrages on the People, to Force Insurrection—Testimony of Lord Moira—Inquiry Demanded in Parliament—Repulsed and Defeated by Clare and Castlereagh—Insolence and Unlimited Power of Ministers—General Abercrombie Resigns—Remarkable General Order—Pelham Quits Ireland—Castlereagh's Secretary—The Hessians' Free Quarters—The Ancient Britons—Proclamation of Martial Law—Grattan's Picture of the Times—Horrible Atrocities in Wexford—Massacres—The Orangemen—Their Address of Loyalty—All these Outrages before any Insurrection.

During all the time of these negotiations in France, the British Government was most intimately acquainted with everything the United Irishmen were doing or contemplating, by means of great multitudes of spies; many, or most of these spies being themselves sworn members of the United Irish Society; whose business was not only to watch and report, but also to urge on and promote the preparations for insurrection, and who were duly paid at the Castle out of the "Secret Service Money."* The system of not merely paying informers for information, but hiring them beforehand to join illegal societies, and there recommend and urge forward the boldest and most illegal counsels, in order to betray their trusting confederates, is a system peculiar to the British Government in Ireland; and not paralleled in atrocity and baseness by anything known to us in the functions of a French or Austrian police. During the whole year 1797 this "battalion of testimony" was in a state of high organization and efficiency; and greatly aided in causing the insurrection to burst out at the very day and hour when the Castle wished for it. It would be an endless task to recount all the oppressions which in the latter part of this year goaded the people at last to seek a remedy in desperate resistance; but the case of Orr is too remarkable and notorious to be passed over.

A prosecution was instituted against the *Press* newspaper in 1798, for seditious libel on Lord Camden's government, contained in certain letters which appeared in that paper in the latter part of 1797. The subject matter of the libel in the *Press*, signed Marcus, (for the publication of which the printer was prosecuted by the Government,) was the refusal of Lord Camden to extend mercy to a person of the name of William Orr, of respectability, and remarkable for his popularity, who had been capitally convicted at Carrickfergus of administering the oath of the United Irishmen's Society, and was the first person who had been so convicted. Poems were written, sermons were preached; after-dinner speeches, and after supper still stronger speeches, were made, of no ordinary vehemence, about the fate of Orr and the conduct of Lord Camden, which certainly, in the peculiar circumstances of this case, was bad, or rather stupidly base and odiously unjust.

The scribes of the United Irishmen wrote up the memory of the man whom Camden had allowed to be executed with a full knowledge of the foul means taken to obtain a conviction, officially conveyed to him by persons every way worthy of credit and of undoubted loyalty.

The evident object of the efforts to make this cry, "*Remember Orr*," stir up the people to rebellion, cannot be mistaken—that object was to single out an individual case of suffering in the cause of the Union, for the sympathy of the nation, and to turn that sympathy to the account of the cause. Orr's case presented to the people of Ireland, at that period, a few *extraordinary* features of iniquity and of injustice. He was a noted, active, and popular country member of the

* Dr. Madden has procured and published the accounts of this important branch of the public service for 1797-8. These spies were of all grades of society, and their functiens were very various. Some, like Reynolds and Armstrong, men of education and position, were to associate with the leaders, and carry all their secrets to the Castle; others, like James O'Brien, were to foment treasons in public houses, and swear away, at assizes, the lives of those who trusted them. The record is a very curious one; and it may be some satisfaction to us, that if our country has been always bought and sold for money, we can at least examine and check the accounts, and estimate with considerable accuracy the money value of a traitor, (or "loyal man") according to his talents and opportunities. For seventy years past, it has cost the treasury heavily to purchase "loyal men" in Ireland, from Reynolds down to Nagle.

society of United Irishmen. He was executed on account of the notoriety of that circumstance, not on account of the sufficiency of the evidence or the justice of the conviction that was obtained against him; for the crown witness, Wheatly, immediately after the trial, acknowledged that he had perjured himself; and some of the jury came forward likewise, and admitted that they were drunk when they gave their verdict; and these facts, duly deposed to and attested, were laid before the viceroy, Lord Camden, by Sir John Macartney, the magistrate who had caused Orr to be arrested, and who, to his honor be it told, when he found the practices that had been resorted to, used every effort, though fruitlessly, to move Lord Camden to save the prisoner.

William Orr, of Ferranshane, in the County of Antrim, was charged with administering the United Irishman's oath, in his own house, to a soldier of the name of Wheatly. He was the first person indicted under the act which made that offense a capital felony (36 Geo. III.). His father was a small farmer in comfortable circumstances, and the proprietor of a bleach green. James Hope, who was intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, informed Dr. Madden, "that William Orr was not actually the person who administered the oath to the soldier. The person who administered the oath was William M'Keever, a delegate from the City of Derry to the Provincial Committee, who afterwards made his escape to America."

In a letter of Miss M'Cracken, dated 27th of September, 1797, addressed to her brother, then in Kilmainham Jail, is found the following reference to the recent trial of Orr: "Orr's trial has clearly proved, that there is neither justice nor mercy to be expected. Even the greatest aristocrats here join in lamenting his fate; but his greatness of mind renders him an object of envy and of admiration rather than of compassion. I am told that his wife is gone with a letter from Lady Londonderry to her brother on his behalf. . . . You will be surprised when I tell you that old Archibald Thompson, of Cushendall, was foreman of the jury, and it is thought will lose his senses if Mr. Orr's sentence is carried into execution, as he appears already quite distracted at the idea of a person being condemned to die through his ignorance, as it seems he did not at all understand the business of a juryman. *However, he held out from the forenoon till six o'clock in the morning* of the day following, though, it is said, he was beaten, and threatened with being *wrecked*, and not left a sixpence in the world, on his refusing to bring in a verdict of guilty. Neither would they let him taste of the supper *and the drink which was sent to the rest, and of which they partook to such a beastly degree* It was not, therefore, much to be wondered at, that an infirm old man should not have sufficient resolution to hold out against such treatment.

(Signed,) MARY M'CRACKEN."

Orr was defended by Curran and Sampson. The judges before whom he was tried were Lord Yelverton and Judge Chamberlaine. The jury retired at six in the evening *to consider their verdict*. They sat up, *deliberating*, all night, and returned into court at six the following morning. The jury inquired if they might find a qualified verdict as to the prisoner's guilt. The Judge directed them to give a special verdict on the general issue. They retired again, and returned shortly with a verdict of guilty, and a strong recommendation of the prisoner to mercy. Next day, Orr was brought up for judgment, when, after an unsuccessful motion in arrest of judgment, chiefly on the the grounds of the drunkenness of the jury, which Judge Chamberlaine would not admit of being made "the foundation of any motion to the Court," Yelverton pronounced sentence of death, "in a voice scarcely articulate, and at the conclusion of his address burst into tears." Orr said, pointing to the jury, "*That jury* has convicted me of being a felon. My own heart tells me that their conviction is a falsehood, and that I am not a felon. If they have found me guilty improperly, it is worse for them than for me. *I* can forgive them. I wish to say only one word more, and that is, to declare on this awful occasion, and in the presence of God, that the evidence against me was grossly perjured—grossly and wickedly perjured!"

The witness, Wheatly, made an affidavit

before a magistrate acknowledging his having sworn falsely against Orr. Two of the jury made depositions, setting forth that they had been induced to give a verdict contrary to their opinion, when under the influence of liquor. Two others made statements that they had been menaced by the other jurors with denunciations and the wrecking of their properties, if they did not comply with their wishes.

James Orr, in the *Press* newspaper of the 28th of October, 1797, published a statement respecting his interference, with a view of saving his brother's life, to the following effect: "He, James Orr, had been applied to by many gentlemen to get his brother William to make a confession of his guilt, as a condition on which they would use their interest to have his life spared. The high sheriff, Mr. Skeffington, and the sovereign of Belfast, the Rev. Mr. Bristowe, were among the number—the former undertaking to get the Grand Jury to sign a memorial in his favor. James Orr immediately went to his brother, and the latter indignantly refused to make any such confession, for 'he had not been guilty of the crime he was charged with.' James Orr not being able to induce him to sign it, returned to Belfast and wrote out a confession, similar in terms to that required by Skeffington and Bristowe, and *forged* his brother's name. The forged document was then turned to the account it was required for. A respite had been granted; but the weakness of the brother was made instrumental to the death of the prisoner. The shaken verdict of the drunken jury, of the perjured witness, was not suffered to preserve the prisoner. The forged testimony of his guilt was brought against him. The promises under which that document was obtained were forgotten, and thus 'a surreptitious declaration,' swindled from the fears of an afflicted family, was made the instrument to intercept the stream of mercy, and counteract the report of the Judge (one of the Judges, namely, Yelverton,) who tried him." Orr was executed outside of Carrickfergus, on the 14th of October, 1797, in his thirty-first year, solemnly protesting his innocence of the crime laid to his charge.

The act of James Orr might have led the executive into error; but William Orr wrote a letter to Lord Camden, dated the 10th of October, plainly informing his lordship of the forgery committed by his brother, and that the confession imputed to him "was base and false;" but stating, if mercy was extended to him, "he should not fail to entertain the most dutiful sense of gratitude for such an act of justice as well as mercy." On the day of the execution, the great body of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus quitted the town, to avoid witnessing the fate of Orr.

A person who visited Orr previously to his trial, speaks of his personal appearance and address as highly prepossessing. His apparel was new and fashionable—there was a remarkable neatness in his attire. The only thing approaching the foppery of patriotism was a narrow piece of green ribbon round his neck. He was six feet two inches in height, particularly well made—in fact, his person was a model of symmetry, strength, and gracefulness. He wore his hair short and well powdered. The expression of his countenance was frank and manly. He possessed a sound understanding, strong affections, and a kindly disposition. In speaking of the state of the country to his visitor, who remarked that the Government was disposed to act in a conciliatory spirit towards the country, he said: "No, no; you may depend upon it that there is some system laid down, *which has for its object murder and devastation.*" He added, respecting the treatment of the Dissenters as well as the Catholics, "Irishmen of every denomination must now stand or fall together."

Thus a variety of depositions establishing the drunkenness of the jury and the perjury of Wheatly were laid before the Lord-Lieutenant. One deposition was of the Rev. George Macartney, a magistrate of the County of Antrim, respecting Wheatly's being brought forward by Mr. Kemmis, and on his (Wheatly's) coming into court, relating to Mr. Macartney his having seen a Dissenting clergyman, of the name of Eder, whom he had known elsewhere, and was sure he was brought there to invalidate his testimony. Another deposition was that of the clergyman referred to, stating that he had

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accompanied a brother clergyman, the Rev. A. Montgomery, to visit a sick soldier, apparently deranged, named Wheatly, a Scotchman, who had attempted to commit suicide; that he confessed to Mrs. Hueys, in whose house he then was, that he was in Colonel Durham's regiment, and had committed a murder, which weighed heavily upon his mind, and that he had been instigated to give false evidence against William Orr, of which crime he sincerely repented. A similar deposition, before Lord O'Neil, was made by the Rev. Mr. Montgomery. Two of the jury made depositions respecting their drunkenness. Two others made statements of the menaces that had been used by the other jurors. But all were of no avail. Lord Camden was deaf to all the representations made to him. All the waters of the ocean will not wash away the stain his obduracy on this occasion has left on his character. Better fifty thousand times for his fame it were, if he had never seen Ireland. The fate of Orr lies heavy on the memory of Lord Camden.

The friends of Earl Camden in vain seek to cast the responsibility of this act on his subordinates in the Irish Government. They say he was a passive instrument in the hands of others. The prerogative of mercy, however, was given to him, and not to them. On the 26th of October, 1797, a letter addressed to Earl Camden appeared in the *Press*, signed Marcus, ably and eloquently written, but unquestionably libellous, commenting on the conduct of his lordship in this case. Marcus used these words in reference to it: "The death of Mr. Orr, the nation has pronounced one of the most sanguinary and savage acts that has disgraced the laws. Let not the nation be told that you are a passive instrument in the hands of others. If passive you be, then is your office a shadow indeed. If an active instrument, as you ought to be, you did not perform the duty which the laws required of you. You did not exercise the prerogative of mercy — that mercy which the law entrusted to you for the safety of the subject. Innocent, it appears, he was. His blood has been shed, and the precedent is awful. . . . Feasting in your castle, in the midst of your myrmidons and bishops, you have little concerned yourself about the expelled and miserable cottager, whose dwelling at the moment of your mirth was in flames, his wife or his daughter suffering violence at the hands of some commissioned ravager, his son agonizing on the bayonet, and his helpless infants crying in vain for mercy. These are lamentations that disturb not the hour of carousal or intoxicated counsels. The constitution has reeled to its centre—Justice herself is not only blind, but drunk, and deaf, like Festus, to the words of soberness and truth.

"Let the awful execution of Mr. Orr be a lesson to all unthinking jurors, and let them cease to flatter themselves, that any interest, recommendation of theirs and of the presiding judge, can stop the course of carnage which sanguinary, and I do not fear to say, unconstitutional, laws have ordered to be loosed. Let them remember that, like Macbeth, the servants of the Crown have waded so far in blood, that they find it easier to go on than to go back."

Finnerty was found guilty, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, to pay a fine of £20, and to give security for future good behavior for seven years. Mr. Curran's speech in defence of this printer, Finnerty, is a model of bold, impassioned, and indignant pleading, which has, perhaps, never been matched since in a court of justice. One passage of this great speech rises above the immediate case of the orator's client, and gives a bold and true picture of the policy of the Government: "The learned counsel has asserted that the paper which he prosecutes (the *Press*) is only part of a system formed to misrepresent the state of Ireland and the conduct of its Government. Do you not therefore discover that his object is to procure a verdict to sanction the Parliaments of both countries in refusing all inquiry into your grievances? Let me ask you, then, are you prepared to say, upon your oaths, that those measures of cöercion which are daily practised are absolutely necessary, and ought to be continued? It is not upon Finnerty you are sitting in judgment; but you are sitting in judgment upon the lives and liberties of the inhabitants of more than half of Ireland. You are to say that it is a foul proceeding to condemn the

Government of Ireland; that it is a foul act, founded in foul motives, and originating in falsehood and sedition; that it is an attack upon a government under which the people are prosperous and happy; that justice is here administered with mercy; that the statements made in Great Britain are false—are the effusions of party and of discontent; that all is mildness and tranquillity; that there are no burnings, no transportations; that you never travel by the light of conflagrations; that the jails are not crowded month after month, from which prisoners are taken out, not for trial, but *for embarkation!* These are the questions upon which, I say, you must virtually decide. . . I tell you, therefore, gentlemen of the jury, it is not with respect to Mr. Orr or Mr. Finnerty that your verdict is now sought; you are called upon, on your oaths, to say that the Government is wise and merciful; the people prosperous and happy; that military law ought to be continued; that the Constitution could not with safety be restored to Ireland; and that the statements of a contrary import by your advocates in either country are libellous and false. I tell you these are the questions; and I ask you if you can have the front to give the expected answer in the face of a community who know the country as well as you do. Let me ask you how you could reconcile with such a verdict the jails, the tenders, the gibbets, the conflagrations, the murders, the proclamations that we hear of every day in the streets, and see every day in the country? What are the processions of the learned counsel himself, circuit after circuit? Merciful God! what is the state of Ireland, and where shall you find the wretched inhabitant of this land? You may find him, perhaps, in jail, the only place of security, I had almost said of ordinary habitation! If you do not find him there, you may see him flying with his family from the flames of his own dwelling—lighted to his dungeon by the conflagration of his hovel; or you may find his bones bleaching on the green fields of his country; or you may find him tossing on the surface of the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests, less savage than his persecutors, that drift him to a returnless distance from his family and his home, *without charge, or trial, or sentence.*"

When Mr. Curran came to speak of that part of the publication under trial, which stated that informers were brought forward by hopes of remuneration—"Is that," he said, "a foul assertion? Or will you, upon your oaths, say to the sister country that there are no such abominable instruments of destruction as informers used in the state prosecutions of Ireland? Let me honestly ask you, what do you feel, when in my hearing—when in the face of this audience—you are asked to give a verdict that every man of us, and every man of you, know, by the testimony of your own eyes, to be utterly and absolutely false? I speak not now of the *public proclamation for informers, with a promise of secresy and extravagant reward.* I speak not of those unfortunate wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory. I speak of what your own eyes have seen, day after day, during the progress of this commission, while you attended this court—the number of horrid miscreants who acknowledged, upon their oaths, that they had come from the seat of Government—from the very chambers of the Castle, (where they had been worked upon by the fear of death and hope of compensation to give evidence against their fellows,) that the mild, the wholesome, and the merciful councils of this Government are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch, that is buried a *man*, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and is then dug up a *witness*. Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it a fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the image of life and death, and supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked, when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not seen how the human heart, bowed to the awful supremacy of his power in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? How his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death—a death

which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent! There *was* an antidote—a juror's oath; but even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the throne of eternal justice, is solved and molten in the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer. Conscience swings from her moorings; the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim—

> —— Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
> Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the Devil has been worshipped by pagans and savages—even so in this wicked country is the informer an object of judicial idolatry—even so is he soothed by the music of human groans—even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and by the blood of human sacrifices."

This extraordinary speech of Mr. Curran is not given here as an example of rhetoric. In fact, there is no rhetoric in it; his description is but a faint and pale image of the horrible truth; and the informer, O'Brien, was only one of that immense "battalion of testimony," which was now regularly drilled and instructed at the Castle of Dublin. Through these foul means the administration was kept fully informed of the designs, the force and the *personnel* of the United Irishmen; it was also enabled, by the same means, to make considerable progress in the grand English policy of sowing dissensions and bad feeling between Catholics and Dissenters. On one side were the honest, tolerant and self-sacrificing leaders of the United Irish Society endeavoring to heal the animosities of ages, to make the people know and trust one another in order to unite for the common good of their unhappy country. On the other was Mr. Pitt, ably seconded by Lord Clare and by Castlereagh, and their dreadful army of spies and secret emissaries, carrying all over the country and scattering broadcast mysterious rumors of intended massacres and assassinations—industriously renewing all the old stories of the "horrors of the Inquisition," (which, indeed, were never so horrible as the horrors of the penal laws.) A paper was even carefully circulated purporting to contain a *printed* list of persons marked out for assassination. Lord Moira, in his place in the English House of Lords, produced this document in debate, describing thus: "He held now in his hand a paper printed, the contents of which were too shocking to read; its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name, to the poniard of assassins. It loaded His Majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and reviled the English nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hands of English ruffians the property which these English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors."

That this pretended list was the production of some of the Castle emissaries, there can be no doubt. The Lord Chancellor of England declared that he believed the list to be a genuine programme of the "horrid conspiracy" then hatching in Ireland. Lord Moira said, in reply: "As to the paper to which the noble and learned lord, and the noble Secretary had alluded, concerning the names of persons who were marked out for future assassination, he confessed, *he suspected it to be an invention to justify or to support the measures* which had been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He suspected this the more, because no printer of a newspaper could have had it from any authentic source, for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination would communicate the intention of himself and colleagues. He wished to speak of assassins as he felt, with the greatest indignation and abhorrence; but he must also add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do so from any party that happened to be predominant, while the present dreadful system continued. It was not by a general system of terror that it was to be prevented."

It is easy to conceive, however, what fearful use could be made of all these bold forgeries and wild rumors in the hands of the Castle agents, to exasperate the Protestants, create "alarm," and stop the good work of *Union*. From one cause or another, it is evident, that towards the close of the year 1797, the Union rather abated than

increased. One unequivocal symptom of its decline was the renovation of dissension between the Dissenters and the Catholics in the North. Sir Richard Musgrave, from an anonymous acquaintance, reports, that most of the Presbyterians separated from the Papists in the year 1797; some from "principle, some because they doubted the sincerity of persons in that order; and others, foreseeing that the plot must fail and end in their destruction, took advantage of the proclamation of the 17th of May, and renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew because they doubted of success without foreign assistance. The Presbyterians of the Counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they are warmly attached to the Union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the Papists."

Mr. Plowden bears nearly the same testimony: "Certain it is," says he "that the Northern Unionists generally held back from this time; the Protestants of Ulster were originally Scotch, and still retain much of that guarded policy, which so peculiarly characterizes the inhabitants of North Britain. Some barbarous murders in different parts of the kingdom were committed; but they do not appear to have been perpetrated by members of the Union, or persons in any manner connected with them. By the report of the Secret Committee, it appears, that from the summer of 1797 the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign assistance, until the middle of March. Their policy was to risk nothing so long as their party was gaining strength. Whatever were the immediate cause of the Union's falling off, we find that from the autumn of 1797 the Roman Catholics, first in the North, and afterwards successively throughout the kingdom, published addresses and resolutions expressive of their horror of the principles of the United Irishmen, and pledging themselves to be loyal and zealous in the defence and support of the King and Constitution. The northern addresses admitted the fact, and lamented that many of the Catholic body had been seduced into the Union, and they deprecated the attempts which were made to create dissension amongst persons of different religions. This example was followed by the generality of the Dissenters. If addresses were tests of loyalty, His Majesty had not more loya subjects throughout the whole extent of the British Empire, than the Irish in the beginning of 1798. Scarcely a parish throughout the kingdom, scarcely a dissenting meeting-house, from which an address of loyalty was not issued, signed by the priest or minister of the flock."

The Catholic addresses, of which Mr. Plowden speaks, were chiefly procured by the influence of the bishops and higher clergy, who were much relied upon at this time, as well as frequently since, to keep the higher classes of Catholics "loyal" to the English Government. The Catholic College of Maynooth had been incorporated by law in June, 1795, and had been opened in the following October for students. Thus for the first time Catholic young men could be educated for the priesthood in their own country without incurring the penalty of death or transportation. The Parliamentary grant, which had amounted to £8,000, wa increased to £10,000 in February, 1798, on motion of Mr. Secretary Pelham, who undertook, in this debate, to reply to the furious and foaming declamation of Dr Duigenan. This was a great step in the way of conciliation; and it is further certain that members of the Government deceived the Catholic bishops by implied promises to complete the emancipation at an early day. Indeed, Dr. Hussey, Bishop of Waterford, in a pastoral of his this year, assures his flock very positively: "The Popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished forever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it." Thus the bishops and most of the clergy were secured to the English party in the approaching struggle—and by the same treacherous artifice by which they were made generally favorable to the Legislative "Union" two years later; namely, by holding out the hope of speedy emancipation. These hopes were disappointed; the promises were broken, and the Catholics suffered under all their disabilities for thirty years longer.

The strength of the United Irish Society then, as we have seen, was in the North in a great measure broken up. In the other provinces it was, however, growing and strengthening; but without occasioning either disorder or crime; rather, indeed, preventing all evil of that description. . This state of things began to surprise and alarm Mr. Pitt, who found the "conspiracy" becoming rather too extensive and dangerous for his purposes; for a moment he felt he might possibly get beyond his depth, and he conceived the necessity of forcing a premature explosion, by which he might excite sufficient horror throughout the country to serve his purpose, and be able to suppress the conspiracy in the bud, which might be beyond his power should it arrive at its maturity.

Individually, Lord Camden was an excellent man, and, in ordinary times, would have been an acquisition to the country, but he was made a cruel instrument in the hands of Mr. Pitt, and seemed to have no will of his own; so that, although we are assured by Sir Jonah Barrington that he was personally and privately a most amiable person, his name will always be pronounced with horror and execration by Irishmen, as the official head of the Irish Government in these dreadful years of the reign of terror.

On a review of the state of Ireland at that period, it must be obvious that the design of Mr. Pitt to effect some mysterious measure in Ireland was now, through the unaccountable conduct of the Irish Government, beginning to develope itself. The seeds of insurrection, which had manifested themselves in Scotland and in England, were, by the vigor and promptitude of the British Government, rapidly crushed; and, by the reports of Parliament, Lord Melville had obtained and published prints of the different pikes manufactured in Scotland, long before that weapon had been manufactured by the Irish peasantry. But in Ireland, though it appeared, from public documents, that Government had full and accurate information of the Irish United Societies, and that their leaders and chiefs were well known to the British Ministry, at the same period, and by the same means that England and Scotland were kept tranquil, so might have been Ireland.

Mr. Pitt, however, found he had temporized to the extremity of prudence; the disaffected had not yet appeared as a collected army, but, in his opinion nevertheless, prompt and decisive measures became absolutely indispensable. The Earl of Carhampton, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, first expressed his dissatisfaction at Mr. Pitt's inexplicable proceedings. His Lordship had but little military experience, but he was a man of courage and decision, ardent and obstinate; he determined, right or wrong, to annihilate the conspiracy. Without the consent of the Irish Government he had commanded the troops that, on all symptoms of insurrectionary movements, they should act without waiting for the presence of any civil power. Martial law had not then been proclaimed. He went, therefore, a length which could not possibly be supported; his orders were countermanded by the Lord Lieutenant; but he refused to obey the Viceroy, under color that he had no rank in the army.

Lord Carhampton found that the troops in the garrison of Dublin were indoctrinated by the United Irishmen; he, therefore, withdrew them, and formed two distinct camps on the south and north, some miles from the capital, and thereby, as he conceived, prevented all intercourse of the army with the disaffected of the metropolis. Both measures were disapproved of by the Lord-Lieutenant, whom Lord Carhampton again refused to obey.

The King's sign manual was at length procured, ordering him to break up his camps and bring back the garrison; this he obeyed, and marched the troops into Dublin barracks. "He then resigned his command, and publicly declared that some deep and insidious scheme of the Minister was in agitation; for, instead of suppressing, the Irish Government was obviously disposed to excite an insurrection.

"Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish Government to effect a premature explosion. Free quarters were now ordered, to irritate the Irish population; *slow tortures* were inflicted under the pretence of forcing confessions; the people were goaded and driven to madness." *

General Abercrombie, who succeeded as

* Sir Jonah Barrington. Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation.

Commander-in-Chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust; but not before deliberately stating, in general orders, that the army placed under his command, from their state of disorganization, would soon be much more formidable to their friends than to their enemies; and that he would not countenance or admit free quarters.

About this time occurred an episode in the history of the United Irishmen—the arrest and trial of Arthur O'Connor, Coigley, and others, in England.

From the time O'Connor became a member of the Leinster Directory of the society of the United Irishmen, he was the foremost leader in their affairs. When the United Irishmen solicited the intervention of France in 1796, O'Connor negotiated the treaty with the agent of the French Directory. He and Lord Edward had an interview subsequently with Hoche, and arranged the place of landing, and consequent military operations.

In the early part of 1797 O'Connor had been arrested and committed to the Tower, "vehemently suspected of sundry treasons," rather than charged with any specific crime against the state. After an imprisonment of six months he was liberated. In February, 1798, he came to England, with an intention, as it afterwards appeared, of proceeding to France, in conjunction with John Binns, member of the London Corresponding Society, James Coigley, an Irish priest, and a person of the name of Allen. In the latter end of February they went to Margate, intending to hire a small vessel to convey them to France. Some circumstances in their conduct, however, exciting suspicion, they were all apprehended, and first committed prisoners to the Tower, and afterwards to Maidstone jail. At Maidstone they were tried by a special commission on the 21st and 22d of May, and all of them acquitted, except Coigley, on whom had been found a paper, purporting to be an address from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France." Coigley was condemned and executed; and Mr. O'Connor and Binns, after their acquittal, were detained on another charge of treason preferred against them. In the meantime, and in consequence of the motion of Mr. O'Donnel, an act had passed the Irish Parliament, authorizing grand juries to present any newspaper containing seditious or libellous matter as a nuisance; and also authorizing the magistrates, on such presentation, to suppress the paper, and seize and destroy the printing materials, &c. The paper called *The Press* was, therefore, suppressed, and some of its principal supporters taken into custody; but no discovery of importance resulted from this transaction.

During the first three months of 1798 the outrages committed by the magistrates, with the aid of the troops and yeomanry, upon the simple and defenceless people of Leinster, became fearful and notorious. But, painful as must be the details of a slow and uniform agony of a whole people, there can be no history of Ireland in which such details do not hold a conspicuous place. As a perfectly authentic historical document, the speech of the Earl of Moira, in the British House of Peers, (not one statement of which has ever been contradicted,) may be taken as a sufficient picture of the state of the country, even as early as the November of 1797. Here follows an extract: "My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny, that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practiced and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such, as I have stated to your lordships. I have said that, if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British Government. I have seen the most wanton insults practiced upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression was in hostility to the Government; and yet that has been done in a part of the

country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many of the circumstances I know of my own knowledge; others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them.

"His lordship then observed that, from education and early habits, the *curfew* was ever considered by Britons as a badge of slavery and oppression. It then was practiced in Ireland with brutal rigor. He had known an instance where a master of a house had in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a candle to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the inquisition in detestation. One of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, and in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice of the inquisiton, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security were taken away. In alluding to the inquisition he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features. If the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting was in practice, which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbors, picqueted till he actually fainted—picqueted a second time till he fainted again, and, as soon as he came to himself, picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture. Men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty, which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms. It never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising that some reluctance had been shown to comply with it by men who conceived the Constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order the greatest cruelties had been committed. If any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence his house, his furniture, and all his property was burnt; but this was not all. If it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the Privy Council, or at their lordships' bar. These facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channel of the newspapers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which had been practiced towards the *Northern Star*, when a party of troops in open day, and in a town where the General's headquarters were, went and destroyed all the offices and

property belonging to that paper. It was thus authenticated accounts were suppressed."

The same system of horrors had proceeded, with aggravations of brutality, from November, 1797; and it was in vain that any patriotic Irishman, who still attended Parliament, attempted, from time to time, to procure some kind of inquiry into the necessity for all this. Both Houses of Parliament were entirely in the hands of the Castle; and Clare and Castlereagh bore down all such efforts by the most insolent audacity of assertion.

On the 5th of March, Sir Lawrence Parsons, after a long and interesting speech, made a motion that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the country, and to suggest such measures as were likely to conciliate the popular mind. Lord Caulfield, in a maiden speech of much ability, seconded the motion. Lord Castlereagh, with whom the majority of the House went, vehemently opposed it. He entered into a history of the country for some years back, and concluded from the events that the United Irishmen were not men who would be contented or conciliated by any measures of concession short of a separation from England, and fraternity with the French Republic; that they were in open rebellion, and, therefore, only to be met by force. He reasoned also to prove that the cöercive measures of the Government had been *the consequences, not the causes, of the discontents;* that the excesses charged on the soldiery were naturally to be expected from the state of things, though he did not cease to lament them; and he also contended that where excesses had taken place the laws were open, and able to punish them.

This last assertion of his lordship, about the law, was well known by every man who heard him to be simply false; but not more false than his assertion that military outrages were the consequences, not the cause, of the existing troubles. But being sure of an immense majority at his back, he could say what he pleased. The resolution offered by Sir Lawrence Parsons was negatived by an immense majority.

It was the same case in the House of Lords. Lord Moira, after vainly trying to make an impression on the peers of England, came over to make a last effort with those of Ireland. He made a speech very similar to that which he had made at Westminster, and reciting the same facts; ending with a motion for an address to the Viceroy. Lord Clare, the Chancellor, replied in the same tone of cool and dashing insolence which had now become the settled and preconcerted style of debate with the partisans of the Castle.

The Lord-Chancellor, after paying a just compliment to the character of the noble earl, attributed to his residence out of his own country his ignorance of it. "He asserted, that the system of Government *had been a system of conciliation;* that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland; in none had it so completely failed."

Lord Moira's motion was also negatived, of course; and it was evident that, so far as Parliament was concerned, the people were to be delivered over without reprieve to the picketings of the soldiery and the knotted scourges of the yeoman.

Some degree of color began at last to be given to the constant statements of Lord Castlereagh—that the country was in open rebellion; for in the months of February and March, there were several tumultuous assemblages at night; their object was to search for arms; and assuredly no people ever stood in more deadly need of arms than the Irish people then did. On one day in March, a party of mounted men even entered the little town of Cahir, County of Tipperary, in the open day, and took away all the arms they could find there. They appear to have gone as they came, without committing any violence or outrage.* Still there was not that general insurrectionary movement for which Mr. Pitt was waiting; and it was now, therefore, resolved to give another turn to the screw

* Plowden *Hist. Review.* This writer, indeed, alleges that the peasants in those two months "committed many murders;" but though a Catholic writer, his well-known political principles make him always too ready to charge crimes, on very doubtful evidence, upon all Catholics who were not "loyal" to the King of England. He does not particularize any of these "many murders;" and it may, therefore, be fairly doubted that there were any murders, except, perhaps, of an occasional tithe-proctor.

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of cöercion. It was in the month of April that Sir Ralph Abercrombie, after two or three months' experience of his command, when he found that the army was expected to be used to goad the people to despair, while habits of marauding and "free quarters" were fast destroying the discipline of the troops themselves, resigned his post as Commander-in-Chief. His resignation was undoubtedly caused, as Lord Carhampton's had been, by his discovery that he was expected to act, not for the repression of rebellion, but in order to excite it. Of course, his military habits and principles would not permit him to say as much, nor to hint at any fault on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant; yet the first paragraph of his famous "General Order" was at once seen to be so wholly at variance with the plans and policy of the Government, that there was nothing left for Sir Ralph but to resign, and seek some more honorable employment for his sword. The General Order is as follows:—

"Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin, February 26th, 1798.

["*General Orders.*]

"The very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy; the Commander-in-Chief thinks it necessary to demand from all generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves, and compel, from all officers under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of their men; such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur, and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time that they direct military assistance to be given at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (but in case of attack) without his presence and authority; and the most clear and precise orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for this purpose.

"The utmost prudence and precaution are also to be used in granting parties to revenue officers, with respect to the person requiring such assistance and those employed on the duty; whenever a guard is mounted, patrols must be frequently out to take up any soldier who may be found out of his quarters after his hours.

"A very culpable remissness having also appeared on the part of officers respecting the necessary inspection of barracks, quarters, messes, &c., as well as attendance at roll-calls, and other hours; commanding officers must enforce the attention of those under their command to those points, and the general regulations; for all which the strictest responsibility will be expected from them.

"It is of the utmost importance that the discipline of the dragoon regiments should be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which the Commander-in-Chief has dispensed with the attendance of orderly dragoons on himself, and desires that they may not be employed by any general or commanding officers but on military and indispensable business.

"G. HEWIT,
"Adjutant-General.

"Lieut.-Gen. Craig,
"*Eastern District Barracks, Dublin.*"

The resignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was immediately followed by the departure of Mr. Secretary Pelham; who, as Mr. Plowden alleges, also disapproved of the new plan of "prematurely exploding the rebellion" by the simple machinery of goading the people to despair. It is notorious that in Ireland the active Minister, upon whom the odium or merit of the Government measures personally fell, was the first Secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant. Through his mouth did His Excellency speak to the House of Commons; from him did the nation expect the reason, and upon him chiefly rested the responsibility of the Government measures in the belief of the public. His sentiments were, of course, concluded to be in perfect unison with the Lord-Lieutenant, as his voice was the organ of His Excellency. It appears that Mr. Pelham, however earn

est and firm he had been in opposing Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, which two questions Earl Camden had avowedly been sent to oppose, was very far from approving the harsh and sanguinary means of dragooning the people which had been for some time practiced, and were intended to be persevered in.* He resolved, therefore, to retire from a situation in which he was under the necessity of giving official countenance and support to a system, which in principle he abhorred, and which he knew to have been extorted from the Chief Governor, whose immediate and responsible agent he was before the public. The last time he spoke in public was on Sir Lawrence Parsons' motion, which he opposed in a manner that evidently betrayed the uneasiness of his own situation. Mr. Pelham, however, did not resign. Indeed, Sir Jonah Barrington, and other authorities, affirm that he only went to England on account of ill-health. At any rate, his successor in active duty (but only at first as *locum tenens*) was Lord Castlereagh—afterwards Lord Londonderry—perhaps the ablest, and certainly the worst, man who ever "did the King's business" in Ireland. He was not gazetted as Secretary till the next year.

General Lake was placed provisionally in command of the forces; and the way was now open for the full development of the bloody conspiracy of the Government against the people. There was now concentrated in Ireland a force of at least 130,000 men, including regular troops, English and Scottish fencible regiments and Irish militia. But even this was not enough. On the 23d of April, the new Secretary announced to the House of Commons that two regiments of "foreign troops" had been ordered to Ireland. These were the Hessians, German mercenaries from Hesse Darmstadt and Hesse Cassel, who had been for some time favorite instruments of the British Government for dragooning any refractory population.

On the 30th of March, the whole country was placed under martial law by proclamation. It was the first time that the County of Wexford had been proclaimed under the "Insurrection act;" and "from that moment," says Miles Byrne, "every one considered himself walking on a mine, ready to be blown up; and all sighed for orders to begin." Orders were at once issued from the Castle that the military should proceed at their own absolute discretion in all measures which any officer should judge needful for suppressing that rebellion which did not yet exist, but which it was fully determined should immediately break out. A favorite measure of Lord Castlereagh was the system of "free quarters." His lordship knew thoroughly the people of his country; and was aware that nothing could so certainly and promptly goad them into desperate resistance as the quartering of an insolent and licentious soldiery in their houses and amongst their families. "Free quarters," therefore, were at once ordered; the magistrates of the "Ascendancy" were at the same time assured that whatever they should think fit to do against the people should be considered well done. They had already

* We do not desire to use stronger language than the facts will warrant, nor to advance, without sufficient authority, against any government so atrocious a charge as that of resolving to goad a people into insurrection, in order to make a pretext for slaughtering them first, and depriving their country of its national existence afterwards. This system at this time, viz., 5th April, 1798, Mr. Grattan has thus described: "Here we perceive and lament the effects of inveteracy, conceived by His Majesty's Ministers against the Irish. 'Irritable and quellable, devoted to superstition, deaf to law, and hostile to property;' such was the picture, which at different times his Ministers in Ireland have painted of his people, with a latent view to flatter the English by the degradation of the Irish, and by such sycophantship and malice, they have persuaded themselves to consider their fellow subjects as a different species of human creature, fair objects of religious proscription and political incapacities, but not of moral relationship, or moral obligation; accordingly, they have afforded indemnity for the rich, and new pains and penalties for the people; they have given felonious descriptions of His Majesty's subjects, and have easily persuaded themselves to exercise felonious practices against their lives and properties; they have become as barbarous as their system, and as savage as their own description of their countrymen and their equals; and now it seems they have communicated to the British Minister, at once, their deleterious maxims and their foul expressions, and he too indulges and wantons in villainous discourses against the people of Ireland, sounding the horrid trumpet of carnage and separation. Thus the language of the Ministers becomes an encouragement to the army to murder the Irish.

"We leave these scenes, they are dreadful; a Ministry in league with the abettors of the Orange Boys and at war with the people; a people unable to procure a hearing in either country, while the loquacity of their enemies besieges the throne."

(by the "Indemnity act") *carte blanche*, at any rate; and now, under the new impulsion given by the new Secretary, they vied with one another in atrocity. In the Counties of Kildare, Meath, Dublin, Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, the horrors of this oppression were especially grievous. The good Miles Byrne, every word of whose narration is thoroughly worthy of implicit trust, says: "The military placed on free quarters with the inhabitants were mostly furnished by the Ancient Britons; a cruel regiment, which became obnoxious from the many outrages they committed, wherever they were stationed; being quartered in houses where the men had to absent themselves, the unfortunate females who remained had to suffer all sorts of brutality from these ferocious monsters. What hardships, what calamities and miseries had not the wretched people to suffer, on whom were let loose such a body of soldiery as were then in Ireland!"

This gallant old Miles Byrne, writing from his notes sixty years afterwards, (he was but eighteen years old in 1798,) thus details some few of the scenes which passed in his county, and within his own knowledge:—

"Many of the low-bred magistrates availed themselves of the martial law, to prove their vast devotion to Government, by persecuting, and often torturing, the inoffensive country-people. Archibald Hamilton Jacob and the Enniscorthy yeomen cavalry never marched out of the town without being accompanied by a regular executioner, with his ropes, cat o' nine tails, &c.

"Hawtry White, Solomon Richards, and a Protestant minister of the name of Owens, were all notorious for their cruelty and persecuting spirit; the latter particularly so, putting on pitch caps, and exercising other torments. To the credit of some of his victims, when the vile fellow himself was in their power, and was brought a prisoner to the insurgent camp at Gorey, they sought no other revenge than that of putting a pitch cap on him. I had often difficulty in preventing the others, who had suffered so much at his hands, from tearing him to pieces. He, in the end, escaped, with many other prisoners, being escorted and guarded by men who did not consider that revenge, or retaliation of any kind, would forward the sacred cause they were embarked in; particularly, as they were desirous it should not be thought that it was a religious war they were engaged in. Although several of the principal chiefs of the United Irishmen were Protestants, the Orange magistrates did all they could to spread the belief, that the Catholics had no other object in view but to kill their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to give weight to this opinion, they did what they could to provoke the unfortunate people to commit outrages and reprisals, by killing some and burning their houses.

"In short, the state of the country previous to the insurrection, is not to be imagined; except by those who witnessed the atrocities of every description committed by the military and the Orangemen, who were let loose on the unfortunate, defenceless population.

"The infamous Hunter Gowan* now sighed for an opportunity to vent his ferocious propensity of murdering his Catholic neighbors in cold blood. When the yeomanry corps was first formed, he was not considered sufficiently respectable to be charged with the command of one; but in consequence of the proclamation of martial law, he soon obtained a commission of the peace and was created a captain, and was commissioned to raise a cavalry corps; in a short time he succeeded in getting about thirty or forty low Orangemen, badly mounted; but they soon procured better horses, at the expense of the unfortunate farmers, who were plundered without redress. This corps went by the name of the black mob; their first campaign was, to arrest all the Catholic blacksmiths, and to burn their houses. Poor William Butter, James Haydon, and Dalton, smiths whom we employed to shoe our horses and do other work, for many years before, were condemned to be transported, according to the recent law enacted, that magistrates upon their own authority could sentence to transportation.

* This Hunter Gowan had been horsewhipped by one of the Byrnes, old Garrett Byrne, of Ballymanus. Miles Byrne says, "Gowan took the law of Garrett Byrne, and ran him into great expense." He soon, however, found out even a more effectual method of having his revenge upon the Byrnes.

But the monster Hunter Gowan, thinking this kind of punishment too slight, wished to give his young men an opportunity to prove they were staunch blood-hounds. Poor Garrett Fennell, who had just landed from England, and was on his way to see his father and family, was met by this corps, and tied by his two hands up to a tree ; they then stood at a certain distance and each man lodged the contents of his carabine in the body of poor Fennell, at their captain's command.

"They then went to a house close by, where they shot James Darcy, a poor inoffensive man, the father of five children. The bodies of these two murdered victims were waked that night in the chapel of Monaseed, where the unhappy women and children assembled to lament their slaughtered relatives. This chapel was afterwards burned. Poor Fennell left a young widow and two children. This cruel deed took place on the road between our house and the chapel. The day after, the 25th of May, 1798, distant about three miles from our place, one of the most bloody deeds took place that was ever recorded in Irish history since the days of Cromwell. Twenty-eight fathers of families, prisoners, were shot and massacred in the Ball Alley of Carnew, without trial. Mr. Cope, the Protestant minister, was one of the principal magistrates who presided at this execution. I knew several of the murdered men ; particularly, Pat Murphy, of Knockbrandon, at whose wedding I was two years before ; he was a brave and most worthy man, and much esteemed. William Young, a Protestant, was amongst the slaughtered.

"At Dunlavin, County of Wicklow, previous to the rising, thirty-four men were shot without any trial ; officers, to their disgrace, presiding and sanctioning these proceedings. But it is useless to enumerate or continue the list of cruelties perpetrated ; it will suffice to say, that where the military were placed on free quarters, and where all kinds of crime were committed, the people were not worse off than those living where no soldiers were quartered ; for in the latter instance, the inhabitants were generally called to their doors, and shot without ceremony ; their houses being immediately burned or plundered.

"This was the miserable state our part of the country was in at the beginning of May, 1798. All were obliged to quit their houses and hide themselves the best way they could. Ned Fennell, Nicholas Murphy and I, agreed, the last time we met, previous to the insurrection, that through the means of our female friends, we should do everything in our power to keep the people from desponding, for we had every reason to hope, that ere long, there would be orders received for a general rising from the Directory. We also promised to endeavor to get news from Dublin, if possible, and at least from Arklow, through Phil Neill and young Garrett Graham, of that town ; both of them very active and well-known to the principal men in Dublin, and through them and Anthony Perry, we expected shortly to receive instructions for what was best to be done, under the critical circumstances in which we were placed. I was daily in hopes of getting some information from my step-brother Kennedy (at Dublin), and on this account I remained as long as I could in the neighborhood of our place, keeping away however, from my mother's house ; sleeping at night in the fields, watching in the day-time from the hills and high grounds, to see if the military or yeomen were approaching."

It was a needful part of the general plan of Government to extend and encourage the Orange societies, and to exasperate them against their Catholic neighbors. Of the precise connection between the Castle and the Orange lodges, it is not, of course, easy to ascertain the precise terms and extent. It is, however, notorious, that while the Irish and English Government has always professed to disapprove the sanguinary principles of the Orangemen, they have always relied upon that body in seasons of threatened revolt, as a willing force to crush the mass of the people ; and that even so late as 1848, arms were secretly issued to the lodges from Dublin Castle. We have already seen Mr. Grattan's distinct that "the Ministry was in league with the abettors of the Orange Boys, and at war with the people." In the examination of Mr. Arthur O'Connor before the Secret Committee, we find O'Connor describing the proceedings of the Government in these terms :—

"Finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious feuds, and set an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for a political usurpation they abhorred. No doubt, by these means you have gained a temporary aid, but by destroying the organization of the Union, and exasperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary shift.

"*Committee.*—Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, *nor their extermination.*

'*O'Connor.*—You,' my lord, (Castlereagh) from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know from the secret nature, and the zeal of the Union, that its executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish Government. As one of the executive it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation in endeavoring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination was administered. When these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being the parent and protector of these *sworn extirpators.*"

In common fairness, we must give the Orange body the benefit of whatever credit can possibly be accorded to their own denial of their alleged oath of extermination. Early in this year, while the Government was scourging the people into revolt, certain Grand Masters of the Orangemen met in Dublin, and published the following document:—

'*To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland:*

"From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws,

"We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honor and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to disavow these principles and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

"We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies under the specious name of United Irishmen.

"We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

"And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence, on the downfall of their country.

"We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and pledge ourselves to each other to maintain the laws and support our good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country, and by so doing, show to the world that there is a body of men in this island who are ready in the hour of danger to stand forward in the defence of that grand palladium of our liberty, the Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King William.

"Fellow-subjects, we are accused of being an institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods, for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that *the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinions never entered into our hearts!* We regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

"We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under His Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any

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duty which they should think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe should presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land; to these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

"Signed by order of the several lodges in Dublin, for selves and other Masters.

"THOMAS VERNER,
"EDWARD BALL,
"JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
"WILLIAM JAMES,
"ISAAC DEJONCOURT.

The credit which can be given to this profession of principles is much diminished, or reduced to nothing, by the fact already recorded, that immediately on the establishment of the first Orange Lodges in Armagh County, (the first of the above addressers being the founder and first Grand Master) the members of those lodges did forthwith set themselves to the task of extirpating all their Catholic neighbors; solely because hey were Catholics; and that in one year they had slain, or driven from their homes, fourteen hundred *families*, or seven thousand individuals.

It is further notorious that the Orange yeomanry serving in Leinster, were amongst the most furious and savage torturers of the people.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1798.

Reynolds, the Informer—Arrests of U. I. Chiefs in Dublin—The Brothers Sheares—Their Efforts to Delay Explosion—Clare and Castlereagh Resolve to Hurry it—Advance of the Military—Half-Hanging—Pitch Caps—Scourging—Judkin Fitzgerald—Sir John Moore's Testimony—His Disgust at the Atrocities—General Napier's Testimony—Catholic Bishops and Peers Profess their "Loyalty"—Armstrong, Informer—Arrest of the Sheares—Arrest and Death of Lord Edward—Mr. Emmet's Evidence before Secret Committee—Insurrection Breaks Out—The 23d of May—Naas—Prosperous—Kilcullen—Proclamation of Lake—Of the Lord Mayor of Dublin—Skirmishes at Carlow—Hacketstown, &c.—Insurgents have the Advantage at Dunboyne—Attack on Carlow—Executions—Sir E. Crosbie—Massacre at Gibbet Rath of Kildare—Slaughter on Tara Hill—Suppression of Insurrection in Kildare, Dublin and Meath.

THE Government was now preparing its master-stroke, which was both to cause a premature explosion of the insurrection, and to deprive the people at one blow of their leaders, both civil and military. There existed, unfortunately, at that period, one Thomas Reynolds, a silk mercer of Dublin, who had purchased an estate in the County of Kildare, called Kilkea Castle, and from the fortune he had acquired, commanded considerable influence with his Catholic brethren. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having, for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their revolutionary designs, easily attached him to their cause; and having succeeded, he was soon after sworn an United Irishman, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Dublin; in the year 1797, he accepted the commission of colonel, the offices of treasurer and representative of the County of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster. He had money dealings about a mortgage of some lands at Castle Jordan with a Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, who having lamented to him, in the course of conversation, the undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds said that he knew a person connected with the United Irishmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to Government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him that such a person would obtain the highest honors and pecuniary rewards that administration could confer. In short, after making his conditions, and receiving in hand five hundred guineas as a first payment on account, he told Mr. Cope that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an insurrection which was shortly to take place, but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him, but insinuated that it was imparted by a third person.

In consequence of this, Justice Swan, attended by twelve sergeants in colored clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge street, on the 12th of March, 1798, and

seized several of their papers, which led to the discovery of all their plans ; and on the same day Messrs. Emmet, M'Neven, Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson, and Hugh Jackson were arrested and taken into custody ; and warrants were granted against Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Messrs. M'Cormick and Sampson, who, having notice thereof, made their escape.*

The leaders did not intend to make an insurrection till the French came to their assistance ; and they meant in the meantime to continue to increase their numbers, and to add to their stock of arms.

On the removal of so many valuable leaders everything was done that could be done to repair the loss, and to keep the United Irishmen quiet ; for it was now very well understood that the design of the Government was to provoke a premature explosion. The two brothers Sheares, Henry and John, both barristers, and gentlemen of high character and excellent education, took charge of the government of the Leinster Societies. A handbill was immediately circulated, to keep up the spirits of the people, cautioning them against being either "goaded into untimely violence or sunk into pusillanimous despondency." The handbill concluded thus : "Be firm, Irishmen ; but be cool and cautious. Be patient yet awhile. Trust to no unauthorized communication; and above all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants by premature, by partial or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not theirs."

But Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh were determined that it should be at *their* time. Universal military executions and "free quarters" were at once proclaimed all over the country.

It is difficult to detail with due historic coolness the horrors which followed the proclamation of the 30th of March; nor can we wonder that Dr. Madden expresses himself thus upon the occasion : "The rebellion did not break out till May, 1798, and, to use the memorable words of Lord Castlereagh, even then 'measures were taken by Government to cause its premature explosion ;' words which include the craft, cruelty, and cold-blooded, deliberate wickedness of the politics of a Machiavelli, the principles of a Thug, and the perverted tastes and feelings of a eunuch in the exercise of power and authority, displayed in acts of sly malignity and stealthy, vindictive turpitude, perpetrated on pretence of serving purposes of state."

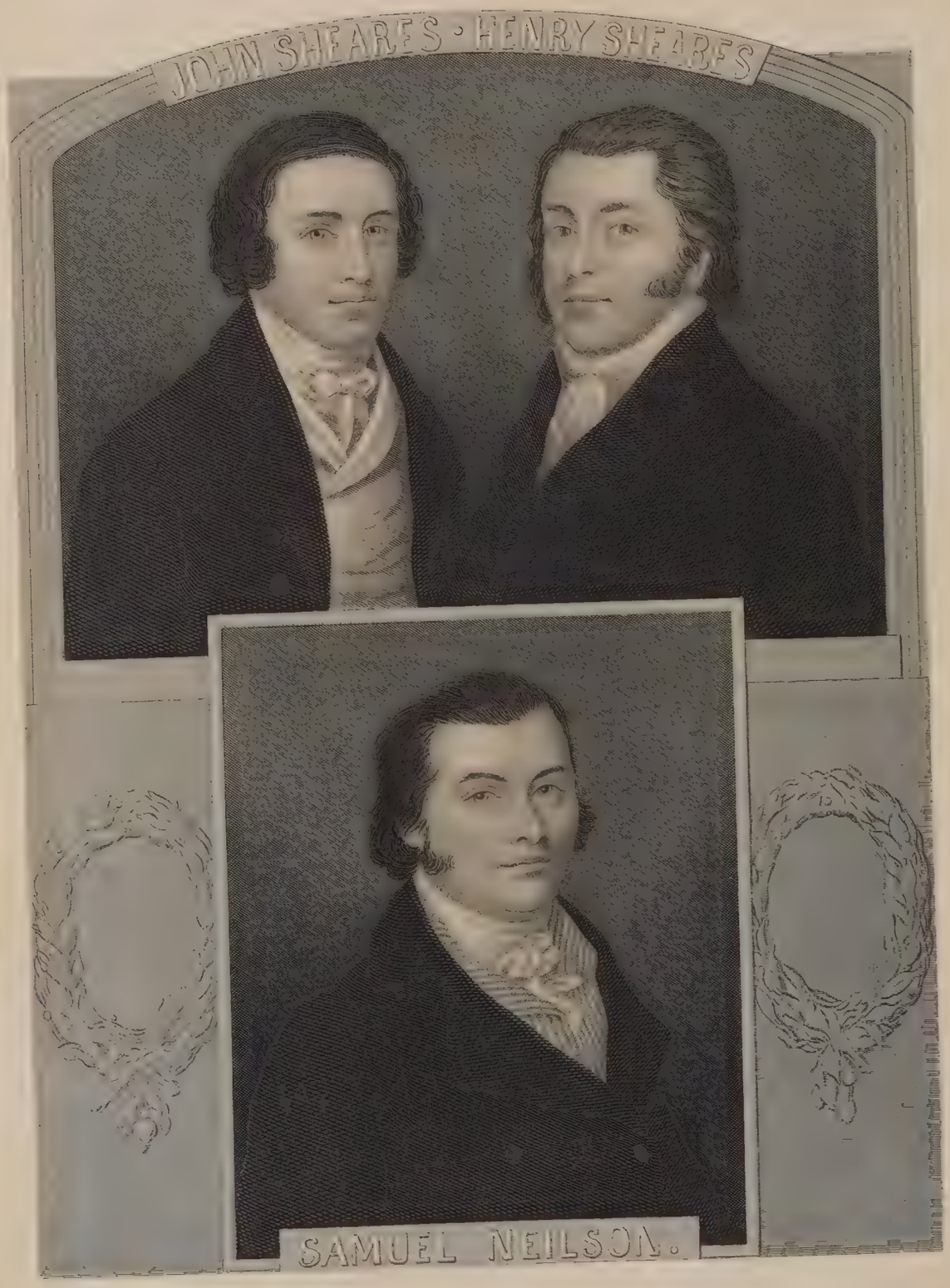
Besides, Lord Castlereagh, if he was really the chief adviser of those measures to cause a premature explosion, was not the only person who approved of them. The same Secret Committee whose report is so often cited, states, "that it appears, from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out as soon as it did had it not been for the *well-timed measures* adopted by Government subsequent to the proclamation of the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, bearing date 30th of March, 1798." It is necessary to ascertain what these well-timed measures were. On the examination of the state prisoners before this committee in August, 1798, the Lord-Chancellor put the following question to Mr. Emmet : "Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?" To which Mr. Emmet replied : "The free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow!" Messrs. M'Neven and O'Connor gave similar replies to the same query.

However that may be, it remains now to give something like a connected narrative of what was actually done, and how the premature explosion did burst out.*

The proclamation, which was published on the 30th of March, declared that a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom for the destruction of the established government, had been considerably extend-

* A few days after these arrests there was a meeting of the Provincial Committee at the "Brazen Head Hotel." It was there proposed, by a man named Reynolds, a distant relative of the traitor, that Thomas Reynolds should be put out of the way—that is, assassinated. The proposal was rejected unanimously. Madden, 1st Series.

* The authorities for this period are numerous—Sir Richard Musgrave, Hay, Gordon, Miles Byrne, &c.,—for County Wexford. In the text, we adopt in the main the narrative of Plowden, checking it where needful by the documents assembled together by Madden, Lord Camden's dispatches, &c.



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ed, and had manifested itself in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that, in consequence thereof, the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigor and decision for the immediate suppression of that conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels and all disaffected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures. To Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then chief commander of the forces, orders were issued from the Lord-Lieutenant to proceed with his army into the disturbed counties, vested with full powers to act according to his discretion for the attainment of the proposed object. A manifesto, dated from his headquarters at Kildare, the 3d of April, was addressed to the inhabitants of the county by the General, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the date of the notice, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to distribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarters—promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition—and announcing his resolution of recurring to other severities if the county should still continue in a disturbed state.

On the advance of the military into each county, the same notice was given to its inhabitants, and at the expiration of the term prescribed the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected *or suspected*, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were often deeply injured by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the waste which was otherwise made of their effects. Numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned, in which concealed arms had been found, in which meetings of the Union had been holden, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or had been suspected of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Numbers were daily scourged, picqueted, or otherwise put to pain, to *force confessions* of concealed arms or plots. Outrageous acts of severity were often committed by persons not in the regular troops—some from an unfeigned and others from an affected zeal for the service of the Crown. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of disquietude and distress that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes.

To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to many that reason was not clear. These burnings, doubtless, caused no small terror and consternation to the disaffected; but they caused also a loss to the community at large, rendered many quite desperate who were deprived of their all, augmented the violence of hatred in those among whom those houseless people took refuge. Men imprisoned on suspicion, or private information, were sometimes half hanged, or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial. Reflecting loyalists were much concerned at the permission or impunity of such acts, which tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of revolution.

Among the causes which, in the troubled interval of time previous to the grand insurrection, contributed to the general uneasiness, were the insults practised by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the truest loyalists as well as malcontents, on persons who wore their hair short, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green color, both of which were considered as emblems of republican or of a revolutionary spirit. The term *croppy* was adopted to signify a revolutionist, or an enemy to the established government. Persons of malevolent minds took advantage of these circumstances to indulge their general malignity or private malice, when they could with impunity. On the heads of many, who were selected as objects of outrage, were fixed by these pretended loyalists caps of coarse linen or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside, which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without a laceration of the hair, and even skin. On the other side, several of the united party made it a practice to seize violently such as they thought proper or were able, and cropped or cut their hair short, which rendered them

liable to the outrage of the pitched cap of those pretended strenuous partisans of the Constitution. Handkerchiefs, ribbons, even a sprig of myrtle and other parts of dress marked with the obnoxious color, were torn or cut away from females unconscious of disloyalty, and undesignedly bearing the imaginary badge. Various other violent acts were committed, so far as to cut away pieces of men's ears, even sometimes the whole ear, or a part of the nose; nor could the staunchest loyalist be certain always of exemption from insult by being clear of all imaginary marks of disloyalty; for on the arrival of a detachment of the army in any part of the country where the inhabitants were known to the officers and soldiers, which was almost always the case, private malice was apt to convey in whispers false intelligence, marking individuals, perhaps the best members of society, as proper objects of military outrage, and they suffered accordingly.

By the system of secret accusation and espionage, thus universally adopted, with other extraordinary measures, in this dangerous crisis, Government made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magistrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly secret, and proceed against the accused according to discretion.

One case deserves particular mention, not because of its peculiar atrocity—for there were very many such,—but on account of the very singular fact that the perpetrator was afterwards punished by law. It is thus recorded by Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in his History of the Rebellion:—

"Thomas Fitzgerald, High Sheriff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbors, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of torture and laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damages on similar grounds would have been commenced if the Parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A *letter written in the French language*, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature."

This was the same Fitzgerald whom the good and gallant Sir John Moore saw once in the village of Clogheen engaged in his favorite pursuit. Sir John Moore had the misfortune, like Abercrombie, to hold a command in that army of military execution; and on his march from Fermoy, entering the town of Clogheen, he saw a man tied up and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off; nor was his disgust repressed when he was informed that the High Sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that he had already flogged the truth out of many respectable persons. His rule was "to flog each person till he told the truth."

The brave Sir John Moore has borne ample testimony to the barbarity of the policy he had witnessed in Ireland pursued by the authorities, and the revenge the Orange gentry and yeomen indulged in upon the poor. In speaking of Wicklow, where Sir John had been chiefly employed, he states his opinion, "that moderate treatment by the generals, and the preventing of the troops from pillaging and molesting the people would soon restore tranquillity, and the latter would certainly be quiet if the gentry and yeomen would only behave with tolerable decency, and not seek to gratify their ill-humor and revenge upon the poor." *

Major-General William Napier, commenting in the Edinburgh *Review* on the life of

* Review in the Edinburgh of Life of Sir J. Moore. The reviewer was General Wm. Napier.

Sir John Moore, and the indignation he had always expressed at such atrocious cruelty to the poor people, takes occasion to give his own recollections of the period. He exclaims: "What manner of soldiers were thus let loose upon the wretched districts which the Ascendency-men *were pleased to call disaffected?* They were men, to use the venerable Abercrombie's words, who were 'formidable to everybody but the enemy.' We ourselves were young at the time; yet, being connected with the army, we were continually amongst the soldiers, listening with boyish eagerness to their conversation, and we well remember—and with horror to this day—the tales of lust, and blood, and pillage—the record of their own actions against the miserable peasantry—which they used to relate." And it is important to remember that all this while there was no insurrection. True, insurrection was intended and longed for; but the people were then neither ready nor inclined to turn out and fight the King's troops. They knew well that they needed a small organized force of regular troops to form a nucleus of an army, and were still waiting and looking out for the French.

In the very midst of the horrible scourging oppression which was thus driving the people to madness, one can derive no pleasure from the fact that Catholic bishops and peers took that very time to testify their loyalty, their attachment to the English Throne, and their detestation of rebellion. On the 6th of May, the Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Southwell, Kenmare, Sir Edward Bellew, and forty-one other noblemen, gentlemen, and professors of divinity, including Bishop Hussey, President of Maynooth, published a declaration under their signatures, "with a view," says Mr. Plowden, "of rescuing their body from the imputation of abetting and favoring rebellion and treason." The document was thus addressed: "To such of the deluded people now in rebellion against His Majesty's Government in this kingdom as profess the Roman Catholic religion." Those doctors of divinity could vilify rebels very much at their ease; but if one of them had found himself in the position of Father John Murphy, when, on a certain day in this same month of May, returning to his home, he found his house and his humble chapel of Boolavogue smoking in ruins, and his poor parishioners crowding round him in wild affright, not daring to go even to the neighborhood of their ruined homes, "for fear of being whipped, burned, or exterminated by the Orangemen, hearing of the number of people that were put to death unarmed and unoffending through the country"—one would be curious to know what that doctor of divinity would have done upon such an emergency. Probably very much as Father John did.

A certain Captain Armstrong, an officer of the Kildare militia, a man of some landed property and decent position in society, was the person who now undertook to act the part of Reynolds, and serve as a spy upon the brothers John and Henry Sheares. Armstrong gained access to the confidence, and even intimacy, of the Sheares, not only by his agreeable social qualities, but by his pretended zeal in the cause to which they were devoted. He dined with the two brothers, at their house in Baggot street, on the 20th of May: the next morning they were both arrested. Doctor Madden says of this transaction: "Captain Armstrong, in his evidence on the trial of the Sheares, did not think it necessary to state that at his Sunday's interview (May 20th, 1798,) he shared the hospitality of his victims; that he dined with them, sat in the company of their aged mother and affectionate sister, enjoyed the society of the accomplished wife of one of them, caressed his infant children, and on another occasion—referred to by Miss Steele—was entertained with music—the wife of the unfortunate man, whose children he was to leave in a few days fatherless, playing on the harp for his entertainment! These things are almost too horrible to think on.

"Armstrong, after dining with his victims on Sunday, returned to their house no more. This was the last time the cloven foot of treachery passed the threshold of the Sheares. On the following morning they were arrested and committed to Kilmainham jail. The terrible iniquity of Armstrong's conduct on that Sunday—when he dined with his victims, sat in social intercourse with their families a few hours only

before he was aware his treachery would have brought ruin on that household,—is unparalleled."

We may mention here, parenthetically, that Captain Armstrong, after having hanged his hospitable entertainers of Baggot street, lived himself to a good old age (he died in 1858); but in his interview with Dr. Madden, touching some alleged inaccuracies in the work of the latter, he denied having caressed any children at Sheares'. He said "he never recollected having seen the children at all; but there was a young lady of about fifteen there, whom he met at dinner. The day he dined there (and he dined there only once) he was urged by Lord Castlereagh to do so. It was wrong to do so, and he (Captain Armstrong) was sorry for it; but he was persuaded by Lord Castlereagh to go there to dine, for the purpose of getting further information."

Perhaps the history of no other country can show us an example of the first minister of state personally exhorting his spies to go to a gentleman's house and mingle with his family in social intercourse, in order to procure evidence to hang him. However, his lordship did procure the information he wanted. He found that the leaders of the United Irishmen, being at length convinced of the impossibility of restraining the people and keeping them quiet under such intolerable tyranny, had decided on a general rising for the 23d of May.

The whole of the United Irishmen throughout the kingdom, or at least throughout the province of Leinster, were to act at once in concert; and it was their intention to seize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery of Chapel-izod, and the Castle of Dublin, in one night—the 23d of May. One hour was to be allowed between seizing the camp of Loughlinstown and the artillery at Chapel izod; and one hour and a half between seizing the artillery and surprising the Castle; and the parties who executed both of the external plans were to enter the city of Dublin at the same moment. The stopping of the mail coaches was to be the signal for the insurgents everywhere to commence their operations. It was also planned that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. The united men were, however, at that period, not exactly agreed as to the nature of the insurrection Mr. Samuel Neilson, with some other of the leaders, were bent upon attacking first the county jail of Kilmainham and the jail of Newgate, in order to set their comrades at liberty; and the project for attacking the latter was also fixed for the 23d of May, the night of the general insurrection. The Sheares, however, and others were of a contrary opinion, and they wished to defer the attack on the jails till after the general insurrection had taken place.

Although the Government had been long in possession, through the communications of Reynolds, Armstrong, and other informers, of all the particulars of the conspiracy, they had hitherto permitted or encouraged its progress, in order, as it has been alleged, that the suppression of it might be effected with more *éclat* and terror. As the expected explosion, however, now drew so near, it was found to be necessary to arrest several of the principal leaders, who might give direction, energy, and effect to the insurrection. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had concealed himself since the 12th of March; and, on the 18th of May, Major Sirr having received information that he would pass through Watling street that night, and be preceded by a chosen band of traitors as an advanced guard, and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by Captain Ryan, Mr. Emerson, of the attorneys' corps, and a few soldiers in colored clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a skirmish with them on the quay at the end of Watling street, in which some shots were exchanged; and they took one of them prisoner, who called himself at one time Jameson, at another time Brand.

The arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was effected next day, the 19th of May.

Government having received information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged in the house of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas street, sent Major Sirr to arrest him. He, attended by Captain Swan, of the revenue corps, and Captain Ryan, of the Sepulchre's, and eight soldiers disguised, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in

coaches to Murphy's house. While they were posting the soldiers in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, Captain Swan perceiving a woman running hastily up stairs, for the purpose, as he supposed, of alarming Lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed ; and, on entering an apartment, found Lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain ; assuring him at the same time that he would treat him with the utmost respect.

Lord Edward sprang from the bed and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at Captain Swan ; he then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in his body ; one of them, under the ribs, was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously.

At that moment, Captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at Lord Edward with a pocket pistol ; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs, but affected him so much that he threw himself on the bed ; and, Captain Ryan having thrown himself on him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which Lord Edward drew a dagger and plunged it into his side. They then fell on the ground, where Captain Ryan received many desperate wounds ; one of which, in the lower part of his belly, was so large that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, saw Captain Swan bleeding, and Lord Edward advancing towards the door, while Captain Ryan, weltering in blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg and Swan by the other. He, therefore, fired his pistol at Lord Edward, wounding him in the shoulder. His lordship then, quite overpowered, surrendered himself. He was conveyed at once to the Castle. This was two days before the arrest of the Sheares. In their house in Baggot street was found a rough draft of a proclamation, which seems to have been intended for publication on the morning after taking possession of Dublin. It is violent and vindictive, though not approaching in atrocity to the actual scenes which were then daily enacted under the auspices of Government. Still, having been published by the Government, and being authentic, (at least as a rough draft,) it forms a part of the history of the times It is in these words :—

"Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag—the sacred green—is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism ; and that capital, which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise then, united sons of Ireland—arise like a great and powerful people, to live free, or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider, that for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be secured and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall receive from the hands of the grateful nation an ample recompense out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands ; and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity ; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy. We also swear that we will never sheath the sword till every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men ; until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talents. As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find no quarter, unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily exchang-

ing the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and have joined the national standard. Receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example. They can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But, for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand . . . . . Rouse all energies of your souls; call forth all the merits and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity; and, under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry; they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head. Attack them in every direction, by day and by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks. Cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long-oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen! Vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. *Remember Orr!*"

In this proclamation—if it really was intended to be issued as it was drawn up—we have at least the evidence that the United Irishmen were banded together to procure "equal rights for all," and contemplated no oppression of any sect or class of their countrymen. However, such as it was, it must be considered to have been disavowed by other leaders of the United Irishmen, then in prison. In the examination before the Secret Committee of the Lords, as we learn by the memoir of Emmet, MacNeven, and O'Connor, the following examination is found:—

"*Lord Kilwarden*—You seem averse to insurrection; I suppose it was because you thought it impolitic.

"*Emmet*—Unquestionably; for if I imagined an insurrection could have succeeded, without a great waste of blood and time, I should have preferred it to invasion, as it would not have exposed us to the chance of contributions being required by a foreign force; but as I did not think so, and as I was certain an invasion would succeed speedily, and without much struggle, I preferred it even at the hazard of that inconvenience, which we took every means to prevent.

"*Lord Dillon*—Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so; but let me ask you whether it was not intended to cut off (in the beginning of the contest) the leaders of the opposition party, by a summary mode, such as assassination. My reason for asking you is, John Sheares' proclamation, the most terrible paper that ever appeared in any country. It says that 'many of your tyrants have bled, and others must bleed,' &c.

"*Emmet*—My lords, as to Mr. Sheares' proclamation, he was not of the executive when I was.

"*Lord Chancellor*—He was of the new executive.

"*Emmet*—I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordship says; but I believe he was joined with some others in framing a particular plan of insurrection for Dublin and its neighborhood; neither do I know what value he annexed to those words in his proclamation; but I can answer that, while I was of the executive,

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there was no such design, but the contrary; for we conceived when one of you lost your lives we lost an hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages for the conduct of England; and, after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which, though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle it was natural to expect confiscations. Our intention was, that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations; and every child who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

"*Lord Chancellor*—Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?

"*Emmet*—The free quarters, the house-burnings, the tortures, and the military executions in the Counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

"*Lord Chancellor*—Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

"*Emmet*—No; but I believe if it had not been for those arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection; but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line. After these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place."

On the 21st of May, Lord Castlereagh, by direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote to the Lord-Mayor of Dublin, to inform him that there was a plan for seizing the city, and recommending precautions. The next day, his lordship presented a message to the House of Commons to the same effect, and a loyal address was presented in reply. Great preparations for defence were now made in Dublin. Various civic bodies armed themselves in haste, and placed themselves at the service of the authorities. Among these was the lawyers' corps, which showed great zeal on the occasion; and amongst the members of that body we find the name of a young lawyer who had very lately been called to the bar—Daniel O'Connell.

It was now impossible to prevent the rising. The United Irishmen of Leinster, though thus left without leaders, had got their instructions for action on the 23d of May; and, besides, they felt that no reverse of fortune in the open field could be worse than what they were already suffering.

It appears that the plan of attack formed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been communicated to most of the insurgents; for their first open acts of hostility, though apparently fortuitous, irregular, and confused, bore evident marks of a deep-laid scheme for surprising the military by separate, though simultaneous attacks, to surround in a cordon the city of Dublin, and cut off all succors and resources from without. On that day, (May 23d,) Mr. Neilson* and some others of the leaders were arrested; and the City and County of Dublin were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council in a state of insurrection; the guards at the Castle and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and, in fact, the whole city was converted into a besieged garrison. Thus the insurgents were unable to effect anything by surprise. Without leaders, and almost without arms or ammunition, they ventured on the bloody contest. Notwithstanding the apparent forwardness of the North, the first commotions appeared in different parts of Leinster. The Northern and Connaught mail coaches were stopped by parties of the insurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of insurgents attacked the town and jail of Naas, about fourteen miles from Dublin, where Lord Gosford commanded. As the guard had been sea-

* Mr. Neilson was seized between nine and ten in the evening, by Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, as he was reconnoitering the prison. A scuffle ensued, and Neilson snapped a pistol at him; by the intervention of two yeomen he was secured and committed. It is reported, and appears probable, that a large number of the conspirators who were awaiting his orders, having lost their leader, dispersed for that night.

sonably increased, in expectation of such an attack, the assailants were repulsed and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or discipline, they sustained for some time the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the fencible corps, raised by Sir Watkin William Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The King's troops lost two officers and about thirty men; and the insurgents, as was reported, lost 140 in the contest and their flight. They were completely dispersed, and several of them taken prisoners. On the same day, a small divison of His Majesty's forces were surprised at the town of Prosperous; and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way through to Naas, with considerable loss. About the same time, General Dundas encountered a large body of insurgents on the hills near Kilcullen, and 130 of them were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 insurgents, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighborhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Clondalkin. In their progress, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of Lord Roden. After some resistance, the insurgents were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders—Ledwich and Keough—were taken. They were immediately tried by a court-martial, and executed.

Although the first effort of the insurgents had been thus defeated, still they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt. General Lake, who, upon the resignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, published the following notice on the morning of the 24th of May:—

"Lieutenant-General Lake, commanding His Majesty's forces in this kingdom, having received from His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish rebels in the most summary manner by martial law," &c.

On the same morning, the Lord-Mayor of Dublin issued a proclamation to this effect:—

"Whereas, the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution, these are, therefore, to desire all persons who have registered arms, forthwith to give in (in writing) an exact list or inventory of such arms at the Town Clerk's office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose; and all persons who have not registered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession; and if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms; or if any person who has not registered shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board His Majesty's navy, as by law directed.

"And I do hereby desire that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are sent to me. And I hereby call upon all His Majesty's subjects within the County of the City of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the public security; as those persons who shall willfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect."

Parliament, being then in session, met as usual, and Lord Castlereagh presented to the House of Commons a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, that he thought it his indispensable duty, with the advice of the Privy Council, under the present circumstances of the kingdom, to issue a proclamation, which he had ordered to be laid before the House of Commons, to whom he remarked, the time for speaking was now gone by, and that period at last come when

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deeds and not words were to show the dispositions of members of that House, and of every man who truly valued the Constitution of the land, or wished to maintain the laws, and protect the lives and properties of His Majesty's subjects. Everything which courage, honor, fortune, could offer in the common cause was now called for. The rebels had openly thrown off the mask, &c., &c.

Open war having now been fairly commenced, the Government proceeded to the strongest measures of cöercion. Although by no public official act were the picquetings, stranglings, floggings, and torturings, to extort confessions, justified or sanctioned, yet it is universally known, that under the very eye of Government, and with more than their tacit permission, were these outrages practiced. In mentioning the Irish Government, it is not meant that this system proceeded from its Chief Governor; it was boasted to have been extorted from him. And to this hour it is not only defended and justified, but panegyrized by the advocates and creatures of the furious drivers of that system of terrorism.

So far from there being any doubt of the existence of any such practices a short time previous to and during the rebellion, Sir Richard Musgrave has, in an additional appendix to his memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, given to the public his observations upon whipping and free quarters. He admits, indeed, that whosoever considers it abstractedly, must, of course, condemn it as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our Constitution, and those of justice and humanity; but he was convinced, that such persons as dispassionately considered the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, would readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice. "Suppose," says he, "the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of Government, and the destruction of society; and whipping was resorted to.

"As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures, as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.

"When the sword of civil war is drawn, the laws are silent. As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected, that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

"This practice was never sanctioned by Government, as they, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other reason but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious schemes of the traitors. Free quarters were confined merely to the province of Leinster.

"When Government was possessed of the evidence that the inhabitants of a village or a town, who had taken the usual oaths to lull and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

"It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practiced in the County of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the Directory intended to have deferred till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr Emmet, declared in his evidence, upon oath, before the Secret Committee of the Lords, that, but for the salutary effects of those military severities, there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country."

This warm advocate for the torture has not with his usual minuteness favored his reader with any instances of innocent persons having undergone this severe trial from

wanton suspicion, personal revenge, or malevolent cruelty. Yet many such there were; as must necessarily be the case, where the very cast of a countenance that displeased a corporal or common yeoman sufficed to subject the unfortunate passenger to this military ordeal. No man can give credit to the assertion, that *Government used their utmost exertions to prevent it*, who knows anything of the state of Ireland at that disastrous period. In Beresford's Riding House, Sandys' Prevot, the Old Custom House, the Royal Exchange, some of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly notorious exhibitions of these torturings, as there also were in almost every town, village, or hamlet throughout the kingdom, in which troops were quartered.*

Many attacks were made by the rebels on the second day of the rebellion, (the 24th of May,) generally with ill-success; the chief of which were those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven. There were also several skirmishes near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Luske, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. At Dunboyne and Barretstown the insurgents are allowed to have had the advantage. But in all the other encounters, though greatly superior in numbers, they were defeated, with incredible loss of their men.

The non-arrival of the mail-coach at the usual hour of eight o'clock in the morning at Carlow, was to be the signal for rising there and its vicinity. This town lies about forty miles southwest of Dublin. Of the intended attack the garrison was apprised by an intercepted letter, and from Lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison consisted in the whole of about four hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Mahon, of the Ninth Dragoons, and they were very judiciously posted for the reception of the assailants. A body, perhaps amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, having assembled before the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half distant from Carlow, marched intc the town at two o'clock in the morning on the 25th of May, in a very unguarded and tumultuary manner, shouting as they rushed into Tullow street, with vain confidence, that the town was their own: they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavored to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which were immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses, with some hundred men, were consumed in this conflagration. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the King's troops.

After the defeat, executions commenced here, as they did elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred, in a short time, were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims was Sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march; he was condemned and shot as an United Irishman. Sir Edward Crosbie had no further connection with the rebels than that they exercised on a lawn before the house, which of course Sir Edward could not prevent.

In the attack upon Slane, a mere handful of troops, about seventeen yeomen and forty of the Armagh militia, although surprised in the houses on which they were billetted, fought their way separately to their rallying post, and then made a vigorous a stand, that some hundreds of the people were with considerable slaughter repulsed. Several of the assailants of this small town appeared dressed in the uniforms of the Cork militia and Ancient Britons; which appearance, in this and several other instances, proved a fatal deceit to the King's troops. They were the spoils taken at Prosperous; at which place the success of the insurgents, amongst other causes, was owing to their having been headed or led on to the attack

* It is too large a credit to be allowed to this author's assertion, that *the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person.* If the security of the monarch be to be found in the affectionate hearts of his people, it is matter of important consideration how far these practices tended more to unite or separate the two kingdoms.

by an officer ; as their defeats in most other places, with immense superiority of numbers, were to be attributed to the want of some intelligent person to control and direct them. Their discomfitures in general were not the effect of fear or cowardice, but of want of discipline and organization.

Kildare County was not favorable to the insurgents, because it is generally a flat, grassy plain, where regular cavalry can act with terrible effect. Two weeks were sufficient to crush all insurrectionary movements in that county, and in Meath and Carlow. Yet in that short campaign splendid feats of gallantry were achieved by the half-armed peasantry. At Monastereven, the insurgents were repulsed with some loss, the defenders of the place being in part "loyal" Catholics, commanded by one Cassidy. At Old Kilcullen the insurgents defeated and drove back the advance-guard of General Dundas, with the loss of twenty-two regular soldiers, including a Captain Erskine. But after the first few days, there was in reality no insurrection at all in Kildare County ; and the operations of the troops there, though called sometimes "battles," were nothing but onslaughts on disarmed fugitives—in other words, massacres. These proceedings were hailed with triumph in Dublin, as great military achievements. For example, the slaughter of the unresisting, capitulated people at the Gibbet Rath of Kildare, was regarded as a vigorous measure which the emergencies of the time required. The rebels, according to Sir R. Musgrave, amounted to about 3,000 in number ; they had entered into terms with General Dundas, and were assembled at a place that had been a Danish fort, called the Gibbet Rath. Having offered terms of submission to General Dundas on the 26th of May, that General dispatched General Welford to receive their arms and grant them protection. Before the arrival of the latter, however, on the 3d of June, the multitude of unresisting people were suddenly attacked by Sir James Duff, who, having galloped into the plain, disposed his army in order of battle, and with the assistance of Lord Roden's Fencible Cavalry, fell upon the astonished multitude, as Sir Richard Musgrave states, "pell mell." Three hundred and fifty men, under terms of capitulation, admitted into the King's peace and promised his protection, were mowed down in cold blood, at a place known to every peasant in Kildare as "the Place of Slaughter," as well remembered as Mullaghmast itself, the Gibbet Rath of the Curragh of Kildare.

The massacre took place on the 3d of June ; the terms of surrender were made by one Perkins, a rebel leader, on the part of the insurgents, and General Dundas, on the part of the Government, and with its express sanction and permission for them, on delivering up their arms, to return to their homes. Their leader and his brother were to be likewise pardoned and set at liberty.

It was when the people were assembled at the appointed place, to comply with these conditions, that Sir James Duff, at the head of 600 men, then on his march from Limerick, proceeded to the place to procure the surrendered weapons. One of the insurgents, before giving up his musket, discharged it in the air, barrel upwards ; this simple act was immediately construed into a hostile proceeding, and the troops fell on the astonished multitude, and the latter fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued and slaughtered without mercy by a party of Fencible Cavalry, called "Lord Jocelyn's Foxhunters." According to the Rev. James Gordon, upwards of 200 fell on this occasion ; Sir R. Musgrave states 350.

"No part of the infamy of this proceeding," says Dr. Madden, "attaches to General Dundas. The massacre took place without his knowledge or his sanction. His conduct throughout the rebellion was that of a humane and brave man."

The brutal massacre on the Curragh is thus described by Lord Camden, the Lord-Lieutenant, in his dispatch to the Duke of Portland :—

"Dublin Castle, May 29th.

"*My Lord* :—I have only time to inform your grace, that I learn from General Dundas that the rebels in the Curragh of Kildare have laid down their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders.

"By a dispatch I have this instant received, I have the further pleasure of acquainting your grace that Sir James Duff.

who, with infinite alacrity and address, has opened the communication with Limerick, (that with Cork being already open,) had arrived at Kildare whilst the rebels had possession of it, completely routed them and taken the place.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"CAMDEN."

The same transaction is thus described by the chief actor :—

Extract of a letter from Major-General Sir James Duff to Lieutenant-General Lake, dated Monastereven.

"I marched from Limerick on Sunday morning with sixty dragoons, Dublin militia, three field pieces, and two curricle guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged of the utmost importance to Government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached this place in forty-eight hours. I am now, at seven o'clock this morning, (Tuesday,) marching to surround the town of Kildare, the headquarters of the rebels, with seven pieces of artillery, 150 dragoons, and 350 infantry, determined to make a dreadful example of the rebels. I have left the whole country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps.

"I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail coach, which I will escort to Naas. I am sufficiently strong. You may depend on my prudence and success. My guns are well manned, and all the troops in high spirits. The cruelties the rebels have committed on some of the officers and men have exasperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations I will endeavor to inform you.

"P. S.—KILDARE, two o'clock, P. M.—We found the rebels retiring from the town on our arrival, armed ; we followed them with the dragoons. I sent on some of the yeomen to tell them, on laying down their arms, they should not be hurt. Unfortunately, some of them fired on the troops ; * from that moment they were attacked on all sides—nothing could stop the rage of the troops. I believe from two to three hundred of the rebels were killed. We have three men killed and several wounded. I am too much fatigued to enlarge."

There is no need to recount in detail the various slaughters done by the troops, sometimes upon armed insurgents, sometimes upon mere masses of unarmed people. These were all commemorated indifferently by Lord Camden in his dispatches as "battles," "defeats of the rebels," and the like. One of his dispatches describes the most serious part of the rising in Wicklow County :—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, May 26th, 10 A. M.

"*My Lord* :—I have detained a packet, in order to transmit to your grace the information received this morning.

"I have stated in a private letter to your grace, that a party of the rebels, to the amount of several hundreds, were attacked by a detachment of the Antrim militia, a small party of cavalry, and Captain Stratford's yeomanry; and that, being driven into the town of Baltinglass, they lost about 150 men.

"This morning an account has been received from Major Hardy, that yesterday a body of between 3,000 and 4,000 had collected near Dunlavin, when they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 300 men, by Lieutenant Gardner, at the head of a detachment of Antrim militia, and Captain Hardy's and Captain Hume's yeomanry.

"The troops and yeomanry behaved with the utmost gallantry in both actions."

On the same 26th of May another slaughter took place on Tara Hill, in Meath. Some chiefs of the Leinster insurgents had assembled at that point, where they expected to be joined by a force coming from the North. They were here attacked, and after an obstinate defence, killing thirty-two of the soldiers and yeomanry, they were again overpowered, by discipline and superior arms. The issue is told in this dispatch :—

Extract of a letter from Captain Scobie, of the Reay Fencibles, to Lieutenant-General Lake, dated Dunshaughlin, Sunday morning, May 27th, 1798.

"The division, consisting of five companies of His Majesty's Reay Regiment of Fencible Infantry, which I have the honor to command, arrived here yesterday morning according to route, accompanied by

* Plowden describes the affair thus: As the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter, foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards.

Lord Fingal's troop of yeomen cavalry, Captain Preston's and Lower Kells' troop of cavalry, and Captain Molloy's company of yeomen infantry.

"At half-past three, P M., I was informed that a considerable force of the rebel insurgents had taken station on Tara Hill. I instantly detached three companies of our division, with one field-piece, and the above corps of yeomanry, to the spot, under the command of Captain M'Lean, of the Reay's, the issue of which has answered my most sanguine expectation.

"The rebels fled in all directions; 350 were found dead on the field this morning, among whom is their commander, in full uniform; many more were killed and wounded.

"Our loss is inconsiderable, being nine rank and file killed, sixteen rank and file wounded."

On the whole, it must be admitted that the troops found but little difficulty in crushing the insurgent peasants of Kildare, Dublin, and Meath. The slaughter of the people was out of all proportion with the resistance. The number of deaths arising from torture or massacre, where no resistance was offered, during the year 1798, forms the far greater portion of the total number slain in this contest The words of Mr. Gordon are: "I have reason to think, more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, *with or without arms*." *

In the meantime, events still more serious were taking place in Wexford County.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1798.

Wexford a Peaceable County—Lord Castlereagh's Judicious Measures—Catholics Driven out of Yeomanry Corps—Treatment of Mr. Fitzgerald—United Irish in Wexford—The Priests Oppose that Society—How they were Requited—Miles Byrne—Torture in Wexford—Orangemen in Wexford—North Cork Militia—Hay's Account of the Ferocity of the Magistrates—Massacre of Carnew—Father John Murphy—Burning of his Chapel—Miles Byrne's Account of First Rising—Oulard—Storm of Enniscorthy—Wexford Evacuated by the King's Troops—Occupied by Insurgents—All the County now in Insurrection—Estimated Numbers of Insurgents—Population of the County.

WEXFORD was one of the most peaceable counties in Ireland. Protestants and Catholics lived there in greater harmony than elsewhere; and had united in forming yeomanry corps for defence of the country after the attempted invasion under Hoche. The United Irish organization extended to that county as we know from Miles Byrne; but not with such power as in Meath and Kildare, for the very reason that the people were not, up to that time, subjected to such intolerable oppression. In the first months of 1798, however, everything was changed. Orders were given from the Castle to purify the yeomanry corps, by expelling those who should not take an oath that they were not United Irishmen. The oath was to the effect that they were neither United Irishmen *nor Orangemen;* but practically, the measure was so executed as to disarm none but Catholics, or such Protestants as were known to be liberal in their opinions, like Antony Perry, of Inch. Miles Byrne (the personal memoir of this gallant officer was published only in 1863) gives several examples:—

"White, of Bally-Ellis, raised a foot corps, and got great praise from the Government, as he had it equipped and armed when Hoche's expedition came to Bantry Bay in 1796.

"If this corps was one of the first that was ready to march, it was also one of the first to be disbanded and disarmed, for it was composed principally of Catholics, though the officers were Protestants.

"The corps of yeomanry cavalry, commanded by Beaumont, of Hyde Park, in which Antony Perry, of Inch, or Perry Mount, and Ford, of Ballyfad, were officers, refused to take any oath respecting their being Orangemen, or United Irishmen; at the same time they resolved not to resign, but to continue their service as usual. Soon after, the corps was ordered to assemble, when a regiment of militia was in waiting, and the suspected members were surrounded and disarmed; that is to say, all the Catholics, which were about one-half of the corps, with Perry and one or two other Protestants, being considered too liberal to make part of a corps that was henceforward to be upon the true Protestant, or Orange system."

Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, gives

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion.

a sample of the proceedings which were carried on throughout the county from the moment of the formidable proclamation of martial law. He writes :—(*See Madden.*)

"Upon the 28th of April, 1798, my house, offices, and grounds, which are very considerable, were taken possession of by 120 cavalry and infantry, and 12 officers, who possessed themselves of all kinds of property within and without, and what they could not consume sent to Athy barracks. They continued in possession about thirty days, until the press of the times obliged them to change their position. Upon the approach of the military, my wife and family, of course, were obliged to fly my habitation, without the shortest previous intimation, and I was sent, under a military escort, to Dublin, where, after an arrest of ninety-one days, I was liberated, without the slightest specific charge of any kind. At the time of my arrest, I commanded as respectable a corps of cavalry as any in the kingdom, containing fifty-six in number, and not the slightest impropriety was ever attached to any of its members. From the time the military possessed themselves of my residence, the most iniquitous enormities were everywhere practiced upon the people of the country ; their houses plundered, their stock of all kinds seized, driven to the barracks, and sold by auction ; their persons arrested, and sentenced to be flogged, at the arbitrary will of the most despicable wretches of the community. A man of the name of Thomas James Rawson, of the lowest order, the offal of a dunghill, had every person tortured and stripped, as his cannibal will directed. He would seat himself in a chair in the centre of a ring formed around the triangles, *the miserable victims kneeling under the triangle until they would be spotted over with the blood of the others.* People of the name of Cronin were thus treated. He made the father kneel under the son while flogging, the son under the father, &c."

Why such a demoniac system was introduced amongst a peaceful people—save to goad them into revolt—it is quite impossible to comprehend. Thousands of men who had avoided the United Irish Society before, now began to join it. The priests were still counselling patience and submission, and doing all in their power to make the people deliver up their pikes and other weapons. Miles Byrne says : "The priests did everything in their power to stop the progress of the association of United Irishmen ; particularly poor Father John Redmond, who refused to hear the confession of any of the United Irish, and turned them away from his knees. He was ill-requited afterwards for his great zeal and devotion to the enemies of his country ; for after the insurrection was all over, Earl Mountnorris brought him in a prisoner to the British camp at Gorey, with a rope about his neck, hung him up to a tree, and fired a brace of bullets through his body. Lord Mountnorris availed himself of this opportunity to show his 'loyalty,' for he was rather suspected on account of not being at the head of his corps when the insurrection broke out in his neighborhood. Both Redmond and the parish priest, Father Frank Cavanagh, were on the best terms with Earl Mountnorris, dining frequently with him at his seat, Camolen Park; which place Father Redmond prevented being plundered during the insurrection. This was the only part he had taken in the struggle."

Various kinds of torture were now habitually applied by the magistrates to extort confession of the two great crimes—having arms, or being United Irish ; and the merest suspicion, or pretence of suspicion, was quite enough to cause a man to be half-hanged, flogged almost to death, or fitted with a pitch cap. Edward Hay gives a good general account of the methods by which the Wexford people were at last maddened to revolt :—

"The Orange system made no public appearance in the County of Wexford until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by Lord Kingsborough. In this regiment there were a great number of Orangemen, who were zealous in making proselytes and displaying their devices—having medals and Orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their bosoms. It is believed that previous to this period there were but few actual Orangemen in the county ; but soon after, those whose principles inclined that way, finding themselves supported by the mili-

RICHES ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

tary, joined the association, and publicly avowed themselves by assuming the devices of the fraternity.

"It is said that the North Cork regiment were also the inventors (but they certainly were the introducers) of pitch-cap torture into the County of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, (and, therefore, called a croppy, by which appellation the soldiery designated an United Irishman,) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbor, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers; and to the view of vast numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard-house door, attracted by the cries of the tormented. Many of those persecuted in this manner experienced additional anguish from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable from being turned out; for, in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the ferocious hands of these more than savage barbarians, the blinded victims frequently fell, or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging this pitched cap from the head must be next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded or blistered as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A sergeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new methods of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close, and then set on fire. Some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipped off. Sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off, and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practiced without the least reserve, in open day; and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends, actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons, whom they either considered as enemies, or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment.

"This was done with a view that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general that it might no longer be a mark of party distinction. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dress that exhibited a shade of green, (considered the national color of Ireland,) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and, of course, so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty suffered outrage in this manner.

"The proclamation of the County of Wexford having given greater scope to the ingenuity of magistrates to devise means of quelling all symptoms of rebellion, as well as of using every exertion to procure discoveries, they soon fell to the burning of houses wherein pikes, or other offensive weapons, were discovered, no matter how brought there; but they did not stop here, for the dwellings of suspected persons, and those from which any of the inhabitants were found to be absent at night, were also consumed. The circumstance of absence from the houses very generally prevailed throughout the country, although there were the strictest orders forbidding it. This was occasioned at first, as was before observed, from apprehension of the Orangemen, but afterwards proceeded from the actual experience of torture by the people from the yeomen and magistrates. Some, too, abandoned their houses for fear of being whipped,

if, on being apprehended, confession satisfactory to the magistrates could neither be given or extorted; and this infliction many persons seemed to fear more than death itself. Many unfortunate men, who were taken in their houses, were strung up, as it were to be hanged, but were let down now and then to try if strangulation would oblige them to become informers. After these and the like experiments, several persons languished for some time, and at length perished in consequence of them. Smiths and carpenters, whose assistance was considered indispensable in the fabrication of pikes, were pointed out on evidence of their trades as the first and fittest objects of torture. But the sagacity of some magistrates became at length so acute, from habit and exercise, that they *discerned* an United Irishman even at the first glance! And their zeal never suffered any person whom they designed to honor with such distinction to pass off without convincing proof of their attention. . . . . .

"Mr. Hunter Gowan had for many years distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded with a pension of £100 per annum. Now exalted to the rank of a magistrate, and promoted to be captain of a corps of yeomanry, he was zealous in his exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan, at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn and a human finger stuck on the point of it.

"With this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition; while in the meantime the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of Orangemen. After the labor and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public house to refresh themselves, and, *like true blades of game*, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had *graced* their ovation, in imitation of keen fox hunters, who *wkisk* a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones, where his daughters were, and while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch blood-hounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to show them the croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady in the room was so shocked that she turned about to a window, holding her hand to her face to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan, perceiving this, took the finger from his daughters, and *archly* dropped it into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended!!! . . . . . .

"Having spent Friday, the 25th of May, with Mr. Turner, a magistrate of the county, at Newfort, he requested me to attend him next day at Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald, where, as the most central place, he had appointed to meet the people of the neighborhood. I accordingly met him there on Saturday, the 26th, where he continued the whole day administering the oath of allegiance to vast numbers of people. A certificate was given to every person who took the oath and surrendered any offensive weapon. Many attended who offered to take the oath, and also to depose that they were not United Irishmen, and that they possessed no arms of any kind whatever, and earnestly asked for certificates. But so great was the concourse of these, that, considering the trouble of writing them out, it was found impossible to supply them all with such testimonials at that time. Mr. Turner, therefore, continued to receive surrendered arms, desiring such as had none to await a more convenient opportunity. Numbers, however, still conceiving that they would not be secure without a written protection, offered ten times their intrinsic value to such as had brought pike blades to surrender; but these being unwilling to forego the benefit of a written protection for the moment, refused to part with their weapons on any other condition. Among the great numbers assembled on this occasion were some men from the village of Ballaghkeen

who had the appearance of being more dead than alive, from the apprehensions they were under of having th 'r houses burned or themselves whipped should they return home. These apprehensions had been excited to this degree because that, on the night of Thursday, the 24th, the Enniscorthy cavalry, conducted by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob, had come to Ballaghkeen; but, on hearing the approaching noise, the inhabitants ran out of their houses, and fled into large brakes of furze on a hill immediately above the village, from whence they could hear the cries of one of their neighbors, who was dragged out of his house, tied up to a thorn tree, and while one yeoman continued flogging him, another was throwing water on his back. The groans of the unfortunate sufferer, from the stillness of the night, reverberated widely through the appalled neighborhood; and the spot of execution these men represented to have appeared next morning 'as if a *pig* had been killed.'"* . . . . . .

On the 25th of May was perpetrated the massacre of Carnew. A large number of prisoners had been shut up in the jail of that place, on suspicion of being guilty of possessing arms, or of knowing some one who possessed arms. These prisoners were all taken out of the jail and deliberately shot in the ball alley, by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia, in *presence of their officers.*†

Father John Murphy was curate of Monageer and Boolevogue. He was a gentleman of learning and accomplishments, having studied in the University of Seville. He had now been resident several years, quietly doing the sacred duties of his calling, enjoying the esteem of all his neighbors, and little dreaming that it was to fall to his lot to head an insurrection. Miles Byrne, who knew him well, narrates with much simplicity the story of the good priest's first act of war:—

"The Reverend John Murphy, of the parish of Monageer and Boolevogue, was a worthy, simple, pious man, and one of those Roman Catholic priests who used the greatest exertions and exhortations to oblige the people to surrender their pikes and fire-arms of every description. As soon as the cowardly yeomanry thought that all the arms were given up, and that there was no further risk, they took courage, and set out, on Whit Saturday, the 26th of May, 1798, burning and destroying all before them. Poor Father John, seeing his chapel and his house, and many others of the parish, all on fire, and in several of them the inhabitants consumed in the flames, and that no man seen in colored clothes could escape the fury of the yeomanry, betook himself to the next wood, where he was soon surrounded by the unfortunate people who had escaped; all came beseeching his reverence to tell them what was to become of them and their poor families. He answered them abruptly, that they had better die courageously in the field than be butchered in their houses; that, for his own part, if he had any brave men to join him, he was resolved to sell his life dearly, and prove to those cruel monsters that they should not continue their murders and devastations with impunity. All answered and cried out that they were determined to follow his advice, and to do whatever he ordered. 'Well, then,' he replied, 'we must, when night comes, get armed the best way we can, with pitch-forks and other weapons, and attack the Camolen yeoman cavalry on their way back to Earl Mountnorris, where they will return to pass the night, after satisfying their savage rage on the defenceless country people.'

"Father John's plan was soon put in execution. He went to the high road by which the corps was to return, left a few men near a house, with instructions to place two cars across the road the moment the last of the cavalry had passed, and at a short distance from thence, half a quarter of a mile, he made a complete barricade across the highway, and then placed all those brave fellows who followed him behind a hedge along the road-side; and in this position he waited to receive this famous yeomanry cavalry, returning from being glutted with all manner of crimes during this memorable day, the 26th of May, 1798.

"About nine o'clock at night, this corps, riding in great speed, encountered the above-mentioned obstacle on the road, and were at the same moment attacked from front to

* Edward Hay. † Hay, Madden.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

rear by Father John and his brave men, with their pitch-forks. The cavalry, after discharging their pistols, got no time to reload them, or to make much use of their sabres. In short, they were literally lifted out of their saddles, and fell dead under their horses' feet. Lieutenant Booky, who had the command in the absence of Earl Mountnorris, was one of the first killed; he was a sanguinary villain, and it seemed a just judgment that befell them all. But, be that as it may, Father John and his men were much elated with their victory, and getting arms, ammunition, and horses by it, considered themselves formidable, and able at least to beat the cruel yeomanry in every encounter. They marched at once to Camolen Park, the residence of Lord Mountnorris, where they got a great quantity of arms of every description, and which had been taken from the country people for months before; and even the carabines belonging to the corps, and which had not been distributed, waiting the arrival of the Earl from Dublin.

"During the night, and the next day, Whit Sunday, the 27th of May, the people flocked in to join Father John's standard, on hearing of his success; and as soon as the news was known in Gorey, the troops took fright and abandoned the town, letting the prisoners go where they pleased; but finding that Father John had marched in another direction, they returned and resumed their persecutions as before; they again arrested great numbers and had them placed in the market-house loft, ready to be butchered the moment the insurgents made their appearance before the town. Poor Perry was amongst the prisoners, and in a dreadful state, having the skin as well as the hair burned off his head. Esmond Cane was arrested that day and made a prisoner."

Father John might now have marched into Wicklow County without much opposition, "but," continues Miles Byrne, "he thought it would be more advisable to raise the whole County of Wexford first, and get possession of the principal towns. In consequence of this decision, on Whit Sunday, the 27th of May, he marched with all his forces, then amounting to four or five thousand men, to Oulard Hill, a distance of ten miles from Wexford, and five from Enniscorthy. He encamped on this hill for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the unfortunate people who were hiding to come and join him. He soon perceived several corps of yeomanry cavalry in sight, but all keeping at a certain distance from the hill, waiting until the infantry from Wexford arrived to make the first attack.

"Shortly after, he saw a large force on the march, flanked by some cavalry, and as soon as they began to mount the hill, Father John assembled his men and showed them the different corps of cavalry that were waiting, he said, 'to see us dispersed by the foot troops, to fall on us and to cut us in pieces; but let us remain firm together and we shall surely defeat the infantry, and then we shall have nothing to dread from the cavalry, as they are too great cowards to venture into the action.' All promised to conform to his instructions. 'Well, then,' he rejoined, 'we must march against the troops that are mounting the hill, and when they are deployed and ready to begin the attack, we must retreat precipitately back to where we are, and then throw ourselves down behind this old ditch,' pointing to a boundary on the top of the hill. All his instructions were executed as he had ordered.

"The King's troops were commanded by Colonel Foote and Major Lombard, and as soon as they came within about two musket-shots of the insurgents, they deployed and prepared for action, but became enraged when they saw the insurgents retreating back to the top of the hill; however, they followed quickly, knowing that the hill was completely surrounded by the several corps of yeomanry cavalry, and that it was impossible for the insurgents to escape before they came in with them.

"Father John allowed the infantry to come within half musket-shot of the ditch, and then a few men on each flank and in the centre stood up, at the sight of which the whole line of infantry fired a volley. Instantly, Father John and all his men sallied out and attacked the soldiers, who were in the act of re-charging their arms; and although they made the best fight they

could with their muskets and bayonets, they were soon overpowered and completely defeated by the pikemen, or rather by the men with pitch-forks and other weapons; for very few had pikes at this battle, on account of naving given them up by the exhortations and advice of the priests.

"Of this formidable expedition, which was sent from Wexford on the 27th of May to exterminate the insurgents, very few returned to bring the woeful tidings of their defeat, and the glorious victory obtained by the people over their cruel tyrants. Of the North Cork party, that had been the scourge of the country for several months previous, and so distinguished for making Orangemen, hanging, picketing, putting on pitch-caps, &c., Major Lombard, the Honorable Captain De Courcy, Lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and Ensign Keogh, with all the privates but two, were left dead on the field of battle. In short, none escaped except Colonel Foote, a sergeant, a drummer, and the two privates mentioned above. The insurgents had but three killed and five or six wounded. The Shilmalier Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Lehunt, as well as the different corps of cavalry that surrounded the hill during the battle, and which did not take any part in the action, in their precipitate retreat to Wexford, Enniscorthy, and Gorey, shot every man they met on the road; went to the houses, called the people to their doors and put them to death; many who were asleep shared the same fate, their houses being mostly burned.

"Solomon Richards, commander of the Enniscorthy Cavalry, and Hawtry White, who commanded all the troops of cavalry sent from Gorey to exterminate the people, surpassed description. They little thought, however, that for every one they put to death in cold blood, they were sending thousands to join the insurgent camp.

"Father John and his little army now became quite flushed with their last victory. Seeing the King's troops flying and escaping in every direction, they were at a loss to know which division they should pursue; they, however, (having as yet no cavalry,) marched from Oulard Hill and encamped for the night on Carrigrew Hill. Next morning, the 28th of May, at seven o'clock, they marched to Camolen, and from thence to Ferns. Not meeting with any of the King's troops in this town to oppose them, and having learned that they had retreated to Gorey and to Enniscorthy, Father John resolved at once to attack this last town, in order to afford a better opportunity to the brave and unfortunate country people to escape from their hiding places and come to join his standard, he and his little army crossed the Slaney by the bridge at Scarawalsh; and certainly this skillful manœuvre or countermarch had the happiest result; for, immediately on crossing the river, he was joined by crowds."

On their arrival before Enniscorthy, the insurgents amounted to the number of 7,000 men, 800 of whom were armed with guns, which they had seized at Camolen almost immediately after they had been sent to that place by the Earl of Mountnorris. About one o'clock on the 28th of May, Enniscorthy was attacked by this vast multitude, and after a vigorous defence by the comparatively small garrison, was left in possession of the insurgents. The garrison retreated and fell back on Wexford; they lost above ninety of their men, and the town was on fire in several places. They were attended by a confused number of unfortunate loyal inhabitants, but were not pursued by the insurgents, who might have easily cut off their retreat.

To disperse the insurgents, if possible, without battle or concession, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progress, an expedient was essayed by Captain Boyd, of the Wexford Cavalry. This officer had, in consequence of a requisition to that purpose of the sheriff and other gentlemen, on the 25th and 27th, from information or suspicion of treasonable designs, arrested Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Castle, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteigue, and Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, all three respectable gentlemen of the County of Wexford. Visiting them in prison on the 29th, Captain Boyd agreed with these gentlemen, that one of them should go to the rebels at Enniscorthy, and endeavor to persuade them to disperse and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promise any terms to the in-

surgents in case of submission. Colclough, at the request of Mr. Harvey, agreed to go, on condition of his being accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the insurgents in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operation; some proposing to attack Newtownbarry, others Ross, others Wexford, others to remain in their present posts; the greater number to march home for the defence of their houses against Orangemen.

It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their hostile intentions.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the Bull Ring (a small square in the town so denominated) until the officers and other gentlemen in the place had there assembled, when he informed them, in a very audible voice, from on horseback, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the insurgents on Vinegar Hill, he found, as he had already suggested before his departure, that he possessed no influence with the people, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford; adding that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requested to be informed, if it were intended to make further trial of his services, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwise they must be sensible how eager he must be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his presence. He was then entreated to endeavor to maintain tranquillity in his own neighborhood, which having promised to do, as much as in his power, he called at the jail to visit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed (according to the compact with Captain Boyd) to return next day and take his place in the jail, and then set off through the barony of Forth, for his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, distant about ten miles from Wexford.

Early in the morning of the 29th, Colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a six-pounder, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon Fort, dispatched by General Fawcett, who had been apprised of the insurrection on the 27th, by Captain Knox, an officer sent to escort Sergeant Stanley, a judge of assize, on his way to Munster. This reinforcement being insufficient, an express was sent from the Mayor of Wexford to the General, requesting an additional force; he expeditiously returned with an exhilarating answer, that the General himself would commence his march for Wexford on the same evening, from Duncannon, with the Thirteenth Regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Maxwell, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeomen and North Cork militia, took post with his men on the Windmill Hill, above the town, at day-break on the following morning, the 30th, with the resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of General Fawcett's army.

That General had marched according to his promise, on the evening of the 29th; but halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, by the insurgents, under the Three Rocks, which they had occupied as a military station, being about three miles from Wexford; the howitzers were taken and almost the whole party slain *

Colonel Maxwell, informed of the destruction of Captain Adams' detachment, by two officers who had escaped the slaughter, advanced immediately with what forces he could collect, with design to retake the howitzers, and cöoperate with General Fawcett, of whose retreat he had no suspicion,

* The following official account was given of this affair:—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, June 2d, 1798.

"Accounts have been received from Major-General Eustace, at New Ross, stating that Major-General Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated. General Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon Fort."

but observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry, and the enemy making a motion to surround him, he retired to Wexford, with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

Everything now wore the aspect of a gloomy, desperate consternation. Some yeomen and supplementaries, posted nearly opposite the jail, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death, which so roused the attention of the jailer to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door, and delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. Some magistrates were admitted to see Mr. Harvey in the jail, and, at their most urgent entreaties, he wrote the following notice to the insurgents :—

"I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to Christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners' lives. "B. B. HARVEY.

"*Wednesday, May 30th*, 1798."

Counselor Richards, with his brother, then undertook to announce the surrender of the town to the insurgents, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform. Scarcely had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of the Wexford infantry under Captain Hughes only excepted, made the best of their way out of town in whatever direction they imagined they could find safety, without acquainting their neighbors on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants, whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town, were mostly Catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insults and taunts. They were always placed in front of the posts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be the consequence. Accordingly, persons were placed behind to keep them to their duty, and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their post, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until all possible means of retreating were cut off. Upon the approach of the insurgents, the confusion and dismay were excessive, the few remaining officers and privates ran confusedly through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever their fears suggested. Some ran for boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. Some, from an insufficiency of men's clothes, assumed female attire for the purpose of disguise. Extreme confusion, tumult, and panic were everywhere exhibited. The North Cork regiment, on quitting the barracks, had set them on fire, but the fire was soon after put out.

In the meantime, Mr. Richards having arrived at the Three Rocks, made it known to the insurgent chiefs, that they were deputed to inform the people that the town would be surrendered to them, on condition of sparing lives and properties ; these terms, they were informed, would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was, therefore, detained as a hostage, and Counselor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle and arrange the articles of capitulation. These gentlemen, on their arrival, to their astonishment, found the place abandoned by the military. A multitude of insurgents was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore thought necessary to treat with them, in order to prevent the consequences apprehended from such a tumultuary influx of people. Dr. Jacob, then Mayor of the town and Captain of the Wexford infantry, entreated Mr. Fitzgerald to announce to the people rushing in, that the town was actually surrendered ; and to use every argument that his prudence might suggest to make their entry as peaceable as possible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and instantly after this communication, thousands of people poured into the town, over the wooden bridge, shouting and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant and victorious exultation. They first proceeded to the jail, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Mr. Harvey should become their com-

mander. All the houses in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, and other emblematic symbols. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink, which, however, were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering them had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned—a report having prevailed to that effect.

The insurgents being in possession of the town, several of the yeomen, having thrown off their uniforms, affected, with all the signs and emblems of the United Irishmen, to convince them of their unfeigned cordiality and friendship; those who did not throw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemy's property. The house of Captain Boyd was a singular exception. It was, though not deserted, pillaged.

Those troops who had fled from Wexford signalized themselves in their retreat by plundering and devastating the country; by burning the cabins and shooting the peasants in their progress; and thus they augmented the number and rage of the insurgents. These excesses were seen from the insurgents' station at the Three Rocks, and it was with extreme difficulty that the enraged multitude were hindered by their chiefs from rushing down upon Wexford, and taking summary vengeance of the town and its inhabitants.

The whole County of Wexford was now in open insurrection. Perhaps, it would be more correct to say that the people had taken to the field because their houses were mostly burned down, and had collected themselves into masses, with such poor arms as they had for their common protection. The aggregate numbers of persons, whether insurgents or fugitives, with their crowds of women and children, far exceeded the numbers of fighting men that the county could furnish. The population of Wexford at that time did not much, if at all, exceed one hundred and fifty thousand persons.*

* In 1841, it was 202,033. In 1851, it was 180,159.—*Thom's Almanac.*

The men who were properly of fighting age, therefore, were not more than thirty thousand. Sir Jonah Barrington has estimated the whole number of those who rose in this county at thirty-five thousand; but even to attain this amount, there must have been counted many thousands of old men, women, and children, besides many thousands more who were unarmed, or only half-armed. These straggling multitudes, then, without camp equipage, or accoutrements, or artillery, (except a few ship-guns, not mounted, and some captured field-pieces,) were now committed to a desperate struggle against the force of a powerful empire, well supplied with everything, and led by veteran generals. The only wonder, to those who read this narration, will be, not that they were finally overpowered, but that they achieved such successes, as for a time they certainly did. If the other thirty-one counties had done as well as Wexford, there would have been that year an end to British dominion

CHAPTER XXXV.

1798.

Camp on Vinegar Hill—Actions at Ballycannoo—At Newtownbarry—Tubberneering—Fall of Walpole—Two Columns—Bagenal Harvey Commands Insurgents—Summons New Ross to Surrender—Battle of New Ross—Slaughter of Prisoners—Retaliation—Scullabogue—Bagenal Harvey Shocked by Affair of Scullabogue—Resigns Command—Father Philip Roche General—Fight at Arklow—Claimed as a Victory by King's Troops—Account of it by Miles Byrne—The Insurgents Execute some Loyalists in Wexford Town—Dixon—Retaliation—Proclamation by "People of Wexford"—Lord Kingsborough a Prisoner—Troops Concentrated round Vinegar Hill—Battle of Vinegar Hill—Enniscorthy and Wexford Recovered—Military Executions—Ravage of the Country—Chiefs Executed in Wexford—Treatment of Women—Outrages in the North of the County—Fate of Father John Murphy's Column—Of Antony Perry's—Combat at Ballyellis—Miles Byrne's Account of it—Extermination of Ancient Britons—Character of Wexford Insurrection—Got up by the Government.

While the insurgents were holding the town of Wexford, two large "encampments" of them were formed, one at Carrigrew Hill, the other at Carrickbyrne, within six miles of the town of New Ross, situated on the large river Nore, and commanding the main passage into the County of Kilkenny. Their principal headquarters was still at

Vinegar Hill, close by Enniscorthy, situated on the Slaney. They made some rough entrenchments round this hill, and placed a few guns in position there. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by a fresh party from the camp. Such great numbers of the exasperated of the people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men, women, and children. They posted strong picket-guards, sentinels, and videttes in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it. They then proceeded to destroy the interior of the church of Enniscorthy.*

A body of more than one thousand insurgents, in advancing towards Gorey, on the 1st of June, had taken possession of a small village called Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey, and were proceeding to take possession of an advantageous post called Ballymanaan Hill, midway between the village and the town, when they were met by the whole of the small garrison of Gorey, and by a steady and well-directed fire the people were soon completely routed. This victorious band, on their return to Gorey, fired most of the houses at Ballycannoo, and entered the town in triumph, with one hundred horses and other spoil which they had taken. In this, as in every other engagement at the beginning of the rebellion, the insurgents elevated their guns too much for execution, which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the part of the King's troops. On this occasion three only were wounded, and none killed. The insurgents are said to have lost above three score.†

This success, coupled with that at Newtownbarry, gave a momentary check to the ardor of the people. A party from Vinegar Hill surrounded this latter town in such a manner that Colonel L'Estrange at first abandoned it. After a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of Lieutenant-Colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succor of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The insurgents, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared, and driven out of the town with the loss of about two hundred men.‡

On advice received at Newtownbarry of the attack intended by the insurgents, an express had been sent to Clonegall, two miles and a half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to Newtownbarry. The comander of these troops, Lieutenant Young, of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in hanging four prisoners, in spite of the urgent remonstrance of an officer of the North Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death—some of them having actually declined to join the insurgents when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march—three miles longer than the direct road,—the troops did not arrive at Newtownbarry till after the action was entirely over. Mr. Young, on his arrival at Clonegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every individual of his soldiers with a feather bed, and had, without the least necessity, turned Mr. Derenzy, a brave and loyal gentleman, and his children, out of their beds. When remonstrances were made to this officer for the incessant depredations of his men, his answer was: "I am the commanding officer, and damn the croppies." §

The insurgents had taken post on Corri-

* This was done strictly in retaliation for the burning and wrecking of Catholic chapels. There were, on the whole, sixty-nine Catholic chapels destroyed during the insurrection; more than thirty in Wexford alone. *Plowden.*

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon recounts [page 136] an occurrence after the battle, of which his son was a witness, which greatly illustrates the state of the country at that time: "Two yeomen, coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud shriek of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he, being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

‡ The light in which this conduct of the commanding officer at Newtownbarry was set forth in the official bulletin, was, *that he at first retreated in order to collect his forces.*

§ Gord 2 edit., p. 151.

grua Hill in great force, where they rested on their arms till the 4th of June. Meantime, the long and anxiously expected army under General Loftus arrived at Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled the loyalists with confidence. The plan was to march the army in two divisions, by different roads on Corrigrua, and attack the enemy in conjunction with other troops. The insurgents were in the meantime preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey. Information had been received by the insurgent chiefs of the intended motions of the army, and they acted upon it. Both armies marched about the same time ; that of the insurgents surprised a division under Colonel Walpole, at a place called Tubberneering. The insurgents instantly poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and Walpole received a bullet through the head early in the action. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the people. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which they were galled by the fire of some of the insurgents, who had taken station in the houses. The loyalists of Gorey once more fled to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

Miles Byrne, who was in this bloody action of Tubberneering, (or Clough,) generously pays a tribute to the gallantry of the unfortunate Walpole. He says :—

"It is only justice to the memory of this unfortunate man to say that he displayed the bravery of a soldier, and fought with the greatest perseverance in his critical situation ; but he was soon overpowered by our men, now so flushed with victory that nothing could retard their march onward. Walpole was nearly surrounded by our forces, that outflanked him before he fell. We saw him lying dead on the road, and he had the appearance of having received several gunshot wounds. His horse lay dead beside him, with a number of private soldiers dead and wounded. His troops now fled in great disorder, and could not be rallied : they were taken by dozens in the fields and on the road to Gorey. After they had thrown away their arms, accoutrements, and everything to lighten them, they were yet overtaken by our pikemen. It was curious to see many of them with their coats turned inside out. They thought, no doubt, by this sign of disaffection to the English that, when made prisoners, they would not be injured. But this manœuvre was unnecessary, for I never heard of a single instance of a prisoner being ill-treated during those days of fighting. Our men were in too good-humor to be cruel after the victory they had obtained."

While Walpole's division was attacked by the enemy, General Loftus, being within hearing of the musketry, detached seventy men—the grenadier company of the Antrim militia—across the fields to its assistance ; but they were intercepted, and almost all killed or taken. The General, still ignorant of the fate of Colonel Walpole's division, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, by a long circuit, to the field of battle, where he was first acquainted with the event. For some way he followed the insurgents towards Gorey, but finding them posted on Gorey Hill, from which they fired upon him the cannon taken from Colonel Walpole, he retreated to Carnew ; and still, contrary to the opinion of most of his officers, thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the county to the insurgents, and retreated nine miles further, to the town of Tullow, in the County of Carlow.

Whilst one formidable body of the Wexford insurgents was advancing towards the north, another still more formidable was preparing to penetrate to the southwest. The conquest of New Ross, which is situated on the river formed by the united streams of the Nore and the Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the Counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thousands were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of that important post, when it might have been effected without opposition immediately upon their success at Enniscorthy had, fortunately for the royal cause, been aban-

doned, on account of a personal difference amongst their chiefs. The insurgent army of Wexford chose Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey,* as soon as he was liberated from prison, for their generalissimo, and they divided into two main bodies—one of which directed its course northward to Gorey; the other, which was headed by Harvey in person, took post on Carrickburn mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized till the 4th of June, when it marched to Corbet Hill, within a mile of that town, which it was intended to attack the next morning. Harvey, though neither destitute of personal courage, nor of a good understanding, possessed no military experience, much less those rare talents by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controlled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have succeeded had it been put in execution. Having sent a summons to General Johnson, the commander of the King's troops, with a flag of truce, to surrender the town, the bearer of it, one Furlong, was shot by a sentinel of an outpost.† Whilst Harvey was arranging his forces for the assault, they were galled by the fire of some outposts. He ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and drive in the outposts. Kelly was followed confusedly by a much greater number than he wished. He executed his commission, but could not bring back the men, as ordered. They rushed impetuously into the town, drove back the cavalry with slaughter on the infantry, seized the cannon, and being followed in their successful career by crowds from the hills, seemed some time nearly masters of the town. From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favor of the insurgent army, some officers of the garrison fled to Waterford, twelve miles distant, with the alarming intelligence.

The original plan of attack was thus defeated by this premature, though successful onset, in one quarter. The Dublin and Donegal militia maintained their posts at the market-house, and at a station called Fairgate, and prevented the insurgents from penetrating into the centre of the town; while Major-General Johnson, aided by the extraordinary exertions of an inhabitant of Ross, named M'Cormick, who had served in the army, though not then in commission, brought back to the charge the troops that had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side. They presently recovered their post, and drove the insurgents from the town, the outskirts of which were now in flames, fired by the assailants or disaffected inhabitants, as Enniscorthy had been. The insurgents, in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the assault, and regained some ground. Again dislodged by the same exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at last finally repulsed, after an engagement of above *ten hours*, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The official bulletin, published at Dublin on the 8th of June, stated that, on the 5th, about six in the morning, the insurgents attacked the position of General Johnson, at New Ross, with a very large force and

* The following was the form of their appointment:

"At a meeting of the commanders of the United Army, held at Carrickburn camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander-in-chief of the United Army of the County of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

"Signed, by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,

"NICHOLAS GRAY, Secretary."

"It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should, from and after the 1st day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected, a general officer of the United Army of the County of Wexford.

"Signed by the above authority,

"NICHOLAS GRAY."

† To shoot all persons carrying flags of truce from the insurgents, appears to have been a maxim with His Majesty's forces. In Furlong's pocket was found the following letter of summons to General Johnson:—

"SIR—As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

"I am, Sir, B. B. HARVEY,

"General commanding, &c., &c., &c.

"Camp at Corbet Hill, half-past three o'clock in the morning, June 5, 1798"

great impetuosity; but that, after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed. The loss of the insurgents was very great, the streets being literally strewed with their carcasses. An iron gun upon a ship carriage had been taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickburn, leaving several iron ship guns not mounted.

General Johnson, in his dispatch, greatly regretted the loss of that brave officer, Lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. A return of the killed and wounded of His Majesty's forces had not then been received, but it appeared not to have been considerable. It was supposed to have been about three hundred, though the official detail afterwards made reduced it to about half that number.*

Sir Jonah Barrington, on the authority of a Protestant gentleman, who was an eye-witness, gives in these words the horrible sequel of the affair of New Ross:—

"The firing, however, continued till towards night, when the insurgents who had not entered the houses, having no officers to command them, retreated through the gate by which they had entered, half a mile to Corbet Hill, leaving some thousands of their comrades asleep in different houses, or in the streets to which the flames had not communicated. Of these, the garrison put hundreds to the sword, without any resistance; and more than five thousand were either killed or consumed by the conflagration."

We now come to a scene of savage vengeance, which, however provoked, it will be always painful for an Irishman to read of. The same night of the defeat and carnage in New Ross, the barn of Scullabogue at the foot of Carrickburn Hill, containing about one hundred loyalist prisoners, and guarded by a small party of insurgents, under John Murphy, of Loughgur, was deliberately fired, and all its inmates burned to death. The occasion of this proceeding was as follows: Some of the people, retreating from New Ross, arrived in violent excitement, and announced that the troops and yeomanry were slaughtering the unresisting prisoners after the fighting was all over—which was true. Moreover, cases were notorious, as at Dunlavin and Carnew, where prisoners had been put to death with the most wanton cruelty, contrary to all the laws of civilized war; and men maddened by defeat are not likely to form a cool judgment as to the proper application and extent of the doctrine of retaliation in war. Yet there is, unhappily, no other way of enforcing upon an enemy due observance of the laws of war than the sternest retaliation for every outrage done by that enemy against those laws. All the historians of the insurrection* represent that the people who burned the barn did it by way of retaliation. Sir Jonah Barrington says:—

"It is asserted that eighty-seven wounded peasants, whom the King's army had found, on taking the town, in the market-house, used as an hospital, had been burned alive; and that, in retaliation, the insurgents burned above a hundred royalists in a barn at Scullabogue."

Mr. Plowden, although, as a "loyal" Catholic, he thinks it his duty to give hard measure to the "rebels," yet has conscientiously placed this affair of Scullabogue in its true light. He says:—

"There is no question but that the insurgents were universally and unexceptionably determined upon the principle of retaliation and retribution. They considered every man that lost his life under military execution, without trial, as a murdered victim, whose blood was to be revenged—so sanguinary and vindictive had this warfare fatally become. Besides numerous instances of such military executions, wherever the army had gained an advantage,

* The impetuosity and ardor with which the insurgents assailed the town of Ross, and the prodigality with which they threw away their lives, surpassed belief. The troops did not stand it; and the difficulty with which General Johnson rallied them proves the terror which this charge of the insurgents had created. The first assailants had no sooner dislodged the troops, than, instead of pursuing them on their retreat, they fell to plunder, and became quickly disabled to act from intoxication, whereby they were so easily repulsed on the return of the fugitive troops. Sir Richard Musgrave says, [p. 410,] "that such was their enthusiasm that, though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardor."

* Except Sir Richard Musgrave, whose authority is not to be taken into consideration at all.

they bore deeply in their minds the deliberate and brutal murder of thirty-eight prisoners, most of whom had not (at least who were said and believed not to have) committed any act of treason, at Dunlavin on the 24th of May; and the like wanton and atrocious murder of thirty-nine prisoners of the like description at Carnew, on the morning of Whitsun Monday, merely because the party which had them in custody had orders to march; and they were unwilling to discharge them, but wanted time to examine, much more to try them. A gentleman of punctilious veracity and retentive memory has assured me that he was present in the House of Commons at the examination of a Mr. Frizell, a person of respectability, at the bar of that House, in the summer of 1798, who was a prisoner in the house of Scullabogue on the 4th of June. He was asked every question that could be suggested relative to the massacre; to which his answers were substantially as follows: That, having been taken prisoner by a party of the rebels, he was confined to a room on the ground floor in Scullabogue house, with twenty or thirty other persons; that a rebel guard with a pike stood near the window, with whom he conversed; that persons were frequently called out of the room, in which he was, by name, and he believes were soon after shot, as he heard the report of muskets shortly after they had been so called out; that he understood that many were burned in the barn, the smoke of which he could discover from the window; that the sentinel pikeman assured him that they would not hurt a hair of his head, as he was always known to have behaved well to the poor; that he did not know of his own knowledge, but only from the reports current amongst the prisoners, what the particular cause was for which the rebels had set fire to the barn. Upon which, Mr. Ogle rose with precipitancy from his seat and put this question to him with great eagerness: 'Sir, tell us what the cause was?' It having been suggested that the question would be more regularly put from the chair, it was repeated to him in form; and Mr. Frizell answered that the only cause that he or, he believed, the other prisoners ever understood induced the rebels to this action, was, that they had received intelligence that the military were again putting all the rebel prisoners to death in the town of Ross, as they had done at Dunlavin and Carnew Mr. Ogle asked no more questions of Mr. Frizell, and he was soon after dismissed from the bar. To those gentlemen who were present at this examination, the truth of this statement is submitted."

As to the number of victims, Dr. Madden, who has examined the subject carefully, sets it down at "about one hundred."

General Bagenal Harvey was inexpressibly shocked by the affair of Scullabogue, especially when he learned that it was done upon a pretended order from himself.

When Cloney saw Harvey, after the flight from New Ross, he found the latter and several of the leaders "lamenting over the smoking ruins of the barn and the ashes of the hapless victims of that barbarous atrocity."

Mr. George Taylor, whose views are those of the Ascendency party, states that Bagenal Harvey, the next morning, was in the greatest anguish of mind when he beheld Scullabogue barn: "He turned from the scene with horror, and wrung his hands, and said to those about him: 'Innocent people were burned there as ever were born. Your conquests for liberty are at an end.' He said to a friend he fell in with, with respect to his own situation: 'I see now the folly of embarking in this business with these people. If they succeed, I shall be murdered by them; if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.'" They were defeated, and he was hung.

The next day after the defeat, the insurgents resumed their position on Carrickburn Hill. There were loud murmurs against their unfortunate Commander-in-Chief; who, on his side, was not too well pleased with the conduct of his men. He, therefore, resigned, and retired to Wexford: but not before issuing "General Orders"—and it was his last act of military command—denouncing the penalty of death against "any person or persons who should take it upon himself or themselves to kill or murder any prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the Commander-in-Chief."

By election Father Philip Roche was now made Commander-in-Chief. The insurgents next attacked some gunboats in the river, but without success. Father Roche then led them to the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, the scene of their late discomfiture. In the meantime, some important movements took place on the northern border of the county. Perhaps, the most critical occasion during the whole insurrection was the advance of the insurgents upon Arklow, in Wicklow County, on the 9th of June, and the battle at that place. The commanders on this occasion were the two Fathers Murphy, John and Michael, and the force was the same which had so thoroughly defeated the King's troops at Tubberneering.

After the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, the insurgents had wasted much time in Carnew. At length, however, they collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Arklow on the 9th, the first day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, and they were furnished with three serviceable pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men, including yeomen, supplementary men, and those of the artillery. The insurgents attacked the town on all sides, except that which is washed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the sea-shore, was rapid and impetuous; the picket-guard of yeoman cavalry, stationed in that quarter, instantly galloped off in such terror that most of them stopped not their flight till they had crossed the river, which was very broad, swimming their horses, in great peril of drowning. The further progress of the assailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, supported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line composed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, those of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham Fencibles. The main effort of the insurgents, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening, was directed against the station of the Durham, whose line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the insurgents poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, so that the opposite fire of the soldiery had no effect, Colonel Skerret, the second in command, ordered his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breastwork, and the right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy, leaving their cover, should advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in most formidable force, the assailants rushing within a few yards of the cannons' mouths; but they were received with so close and effective a fire, that they were repulsed with loss in every attempt. The Durhams were not only exposed to the fire of the enemy's small arms, but were also galled by their cannon. General Needham, fearing to be overpowered by numbers, began to talk of a retreat; to which Colonel Skerret spiritedly replied to the General, that they could not hope for victory otherwise than by preserving their ranks; if they broke, all was lost. By this answer, the General was diverted some time from his scheme of a retreat, and in that time the business was decided by the retreat of the insurgents, who retired, when frustrated in their most furious assault, and dispirited by the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon shot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack.

Such is the generally-received account of the fight at Arklow. The loyalists have always claimed victory. Indeed, the official bulletin runs thus:—

"Dublin, June 10th, 1798.

"Accounts were received early this morning by Lieutenant-General Lake, from Major-General Needham, at Arklow, stating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked his position in Arklow at six o'clock yesterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themselves for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being strongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavoring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the Fortieth Dragoon Guards, Fifth Dragoons, and An-

cient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the position they were defeated with much slaughter. The loss of His Majesty's troops was trifling, and their behavior highly gallant."

One part of this dispatch is certainly false. The insurgents were not "routed." but after remaining for some time in possession of the field of battle, they retired at their leisure, carrying off all their wounded. Sir Jonah Barrington calls it "a drawn battle;" and Miles Byrne, who fought in it, was under the impression that his party had gained a victory, though he admits they did not follow it up as they ought to have done. This fine old soldier, writing of it sixty years afterwards, in Paris, exclaims with bitter regret :—

"How melancholy to think a victory, so dearly bought, should have been abandoned, and for which no good or plausible motive could ever be assigned. No doubt we had expended nearly all our ammunition, but that should have served as a sufficient reason to have brought all our pikemen instantly to pursue the enemy whilst in a state of disorder, and panic-struck, as it really was that day at Arklow.

"My firm belief is, to-day, as it was that day, that if we had had no artillery, the battle would have been won in half the time; for we should have attacked the position of the Durham Fencibles at the very onset, with some thousand determined pikemen, in place of leaving those valiant fellows inactive to admire the effect of each cannon-shot. No doubt our little artillery was admirably directed, and did wonders, until Esmond Kyan's wound deprived the Irish army of this gallant man's services; he was in every sense of the word a real soldier and true patriot.

"Never before had the English Government in Ireland been so near its total destruction. When Hoche's expedition appeared on the coast in 1796, the Irish nation was ready to avail itself of it, to throw off the English yoke; but now the people found they were adequate to accomplish this great act themselves without foreign aid. What a pity that there was not some enterprising chief at their head at Arklow, to have followed up our victory to the city of Dublin, where we should have mustered more than a hundred thousand in a few days; consequently, the capital would have been occupied without delay by our forces; when a provisional government would have been organized, and the whole Irish nation called on to proclaim its independence. Then would every emblem of the cruel English Government have disappeared from the soil of our beloved country, which would once more take its rank amongst the other independent states of the earth."

The town of Wexford was still in the hands of the insurgents. They had appointed a certain General Keogh Governor and Commandant of the town. This extraordinary man, having been a private in His Majesty's service, had risen to the rank of Lieutenant in the Sixth Regiment, in which he served in America. He was a man of engaging address, and of that competency of fortune which enabled him to live comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he appreciated his own abilities highly; in clubs and coffee-houses, he had long been in the habit of censuring the corruptions of Government, and was so violent an advocate for reform, that the Lord-Chancellor had deprived him of the Commission of the Peace, in the year 1796 In order to introduce some order into the town, the insurgents chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a ratable portion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. Many habitations of the Protestants who had made their escape were plundered, some of them were demolished.

Several of the Protestant inhabitants of the town were imprisoned at this time, but only those who were considered the most obnoxious, or were known as Orangemen, and, therefore, bound by oath to exterminate their Catholic neighbors. It must be admitted, that during the three weeks while the insurgents occupied Wexford, many military executions took place; but always on the plea of *retaliation*. For example, on the 6th day of June, under an order from Enniscorthy, ten prisoners at Wexford were selected for execution, and suffered accordingly. Conjectures have been hazarded

why such orders emanated from Enniscorthy rather than from Wexford. The natural inference from the limitation of the victims to half a score, is that the insurgents, who professed to act upon the principles of retaliation, had received information that a similar number of their people had suffered in like manner on the preceding day.

Mr. Plowden remarks, very reasonably: "Bloody as the rebels are represented to have been, there could have been no other reason for their limiting their lust for murder to the particular number of ten."

Most of the sanguinary executions perpetrated at Wexford during this time are attributed to the violence of a man named Dixon, a ship-captain belonging to the port. His atrocity is ascribed to private vengeance.

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, his relative, a Roman Catholic clergyman, having been sentenced to transportation, had been sent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the insurrection; he was found guilty on the testimony of one Francis Murphy, whose evidence was positively contradicted by three other witnesses. Under these circumstances, Dixon took a summary method of avenging himself; and was always ready to undertake the charge of doing military execution upon those who were abandoned to his ministrations. An author of candor and credit, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, has stated that he could not ascertain with accuracy the number of persons put to death without law in Wexford during the whole time of its occupation by the insurgents; but believed it to have amounted to one hundred and one. Probably ten times that number of innocent country people had been, during the same three weeks, murdered in cold blood by the yeomanry. It is sad to be obliged to go into such a dismal account; but as the "rebels" have been always very freely vilified for their cruelties, and have had but few friends to plead for them, it is right, at least, to establish the truth, so far as that can now be discovered. Most of the sanguinary deeds were done without, or against, the orders of the leaders, who could not always restrain their exasperated followers; and the following proclamation, issued in Wexford, seems to show that there was no wish to spill the blood of any who had not been guilty of some peculiar atrocities towards the people:—

"*Proclamation of the People of the County of Wexford.*

"Whereas, it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen. Now, we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cause, as well as to show our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, &c., &c., &c., and to secure and convey them to the jail of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people.

"Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

"God save the People."

On the 2d of June, a small vessel was taken on the coast and brought into Wexford; and on board this vessel Lord Kingsborough and three officers of the North Cork militia were captured. During his lordship's detention he was lodged in the house of Captain Keogh, and to his humane, spirited, and indefatigable exertions, and those of Mr. Harvey, his lordship acknowledged that his life was due, on the many occasions that the fury of the multitude broke out against him. There were few men in Ireland at this period more unpopular than his lordship—his exploits in the way of extorting confessions by scourgings, and other tortures, had rendered his name a terror to the people. The difficulty of preserving his life from the vengeance of a lawless multitude must have been great.

A considerable concentration of regular troops was now rapidly being formed in the county, with a view to crush the insurrection at once.

On the 19th of June, General Edward Roche, and such of the insurgents of his neighborhood as were at Vinegar Hill, were sent home to collect the whole mass of the people for general defence. By the march of the royal army in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off took place.

The alarm was now general throughout the country; all men were called to attend the camps; and Wexford became the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast; gunboats blocked up the entrance of the harbor; and from the commanding situation of the camp at the Three Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the troops, was clearly visible. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled towards Wexford as to an asylum, and described the plunder and destruction of houses, the murders and outrages of the soldiery let loose and encouraged to range over and devastate the country. General Moore, who advanced with a part of the army, did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and had some of the murderers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were greatly baffled by the indomitable ferocity and revenge of the refugees returning home.

These cruelties, being reported in the town of Wexford, provoked additional cruelties there also; and it was in this moment of alarm, when peremptory orders came for all the fighting men to repair to Vinegar Hill, that the savage Dixon, with the assistance of seventy or eighty men, whom he had made drunk for the purpose, perpetrated upon the Protestant prisoners the slaughter called "Massacre of the Bridge of Wexford," in revenge for the slaughters which the Orangemen were committing upon unarmed people in the country around. When about thirty-five unfortunate men had been murdered, the butchery was stopped, at seven in the evening, by the interference of Father Corrin, and by the alarming intelligence that the post of Vinegar Hill was already almost beset by the King's troops.

After the indecisive affair at Arklow, the royal army, under General Needham, remained for some days close within its quarters; then proceeded to Gorey on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by Lieutenant-General Lake, that the great station of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill should be surrounded by His Majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters; one under Lieutenant-General Dundas; another under Major-Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth from Ross, under Major-Generals Johnson and Eustace, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. The march of the army from Ross was a kind of surprise to the bands of Philip Roche, on Lacken Hill, who retired after a sharp fight, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, where the Wexford insurgents where concentrating their forces. This eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles round, had been in possession of the insurgents from the 28th of May, during which time the face of affairs had been growing more and more gloomy for the cause of the people. With the despondency, there also came upon the insurgents a feeling of more vindictive rage. They saw the people could expect no mercy; and as the advancing columns spread devastation and slaughter, and the people on the hill could see the smoke of burning villages, and almost hear the shrieks of tortured and mangled women and children, they again applied their system of retaliation. The prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the in-

surgents, after a sham trial, or no trial at all, were shot or piked. About eighty-four suffered death here in this manner.*

It was at Vinegar Hill that the last engagement of any importance took place between the troops and the people. It was on the 21st of June, and little more than three weeks after Father John Murphy's rising.

Vinegar Hill is a gentle eminence on the banks of the river Slaney; at its foot lies the considerable town of Enniscorthy. At one point the ascent is rather steep, on the others, gradual; the top is crowned by a dilapidated stone building. The hill is extensive, and completely commands the town and most of the approaches to it; the country around it is rich, and sufficiently wooded, and studded with country-seats and lodges. Few spots in Ireland, under all its circumstances, can be more interesting to a traveler. On the summit of the hill the insurgents had collected the remains of their Wexford army; its number may be conjectured from General Lake deciding that twenty thousand regular troops were necessary for the attack; but, in fact, the effective of his army amounted, on the day of battle, to little more than thirteen thousand. The peasantry had dug a slight ditch around a large extent of the base; they had a very few pieces of small half-disabled cannon, some swivels, and not above two thousand fire-arms of all descriptions. But their situation was desperate; and General Lake considered that two thousand fire-arms, in the hands of infuriated and courageous men, supported by multitudes of pikemen, might be equal to ten times the number under other circumstances. A great many women mingled with their relatives, and fought with fury; several were found dead amongst the men, who had fallen in crowds by the bursting of the shells.

General Lake, at the break of day, disposed his attack in four columns, whilst his cavalry were prepared to do execution on the fugitives. One of the columns (whether by accident or design is strongly debated) did not arrive in time at its station, by which the insurgents were enabled to retreat to Wexford, through a country where they could not be pursued by cavalry or cannon. It was astonishing with what fortitude the peasantry, uncovered, stood the tremendous fire opened upon the four sides of their position; a stream of shells and grape was poured on the multitude; the leaders encouraged them by exhortations, the women by their cries, and every shell that broke amongst them was followed by shouts of defiance. General Lake's horse was shot, many officers wounded, some killed, and a few gentlemen became invisible during the heat of the battle. The troops advanced gradually, but steadily, up the hill; the peasantry kept up their fire, and maintained their ground; their cannon was nearly useless, their powder deficient, but they died fighting at their post. At length, enveloped in a torrent of fire, they broke, and sought their safety through the space that General Needham had left by the non-arrival of his column. They were partially charged by some cavalry, but with little execution; they retreated to Wexford, and that night occupied the town.

The insurgents left behind them a great quantity of plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number of which three were six-pounders. The loss on the side of the King's forces was very inconsiderable, though one officer, Lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford militiá, was killed, and four others slightly wounded—Colonel King, of the Sligo regiment; Colonel Vesey, of the County of Dublin regiment; Lord Blaney, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole.

Enniscorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the insurgents, excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who made no distinction between loyalist and insurgent. The most diabolical act of this kind was the firing of a house, which had been used as a hospital by the insurgents, in which numbers of sick and wounded, who were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes †

* Hay's History. Plowden says that report carried the number of victims as high as four hundred.

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, he was informed by a surgeon, that the burning was accidental, the bedclothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day with Enniscorthy, Brigadier-General Moore, according to the plan formed by General Lake, having made a movement towards that quarter from the side of Ross, on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery; and having directed his march to Taghmon, in his intended way to Enniscorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the people from Wexford, perhaps five or six thousand, near a place called Goff's Bridge, not far from Hore Town. After an action, which continued till near eight, the insurgents were repulsed with some loss; yet the fate of the day was long doubtful, and many of the King's troops were killed.

Wexford, which had been taken by the insurgents on the 30th of May, was surrendered to the King's troops on the 23d of June.

"Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties," we are told by Hay, "several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger; but they were soon taken up and committed to jail. The Rev. Philip Roach had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for those under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger that he advanced within the lines before he was recognized, when all possibility of escape was at an end. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Windmill Hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the jail in such a condition as scarcely to be known. The people whom he left in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival; but at last being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and set off, under the command of the Rev. John Murphy, to Fook's Mill, and so on through Scollaghgap into the County of Carlow. . . . . .

"From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel of Bellemurrin, situate on the demesne of Ballenkeele, on which they were encamped, besides several houses in the neighborhood."

It is not clear that Lord Kingsborough, who was in Wexford as a prisoner, had power to "promise protection of person and property," in case of surrender. At all events, no attention was paid to those negotiations. Two of the insurgent chiefs, Cloney and O'Hea, repaired to Enniscorthy, to make proposals for capitulation. . . . .

"Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy *for their destruction.* To the deluded multitude he promises pardon on their *delivering into his hands their leaders,* surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

"(Signed) G. Lake.

"Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798."

Lord Lake established his headquarters in the house of Captain Keogh, the late commandant of the post—Keogh being now lodged in jail. Cornelius Grogan surrendered, relying on the protection. Messrs. Colclough and Harvey attempted to escape, and concealed themselves in a cave upon the Great Saltee Island, off the coast. Here they were discovered; were brought to Wexford; and, a few days after, all these gentlemen, with many others, were tried by martial law and executed. Their heads were cut off and spiked in a row in front of the court-house.*

* Bagenal Harvey was proved, on the trial, to have constantly opposed deeds of blood, and endeavored to prevent the wanton destruction of loyalist property. It was so much the worse for him. The Rev. Mr. Gordon tells us a remarkable trait of the times: "The display of humanity by a rebel was, in general, in the trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favor of the accused. Strange as it may seem, in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was considered as having influence among the rebels—consequently a commander. This

As for the unfortunate country people, now left to the mercy of a savage soldiery, they were hunted down in all directions by the yeomanry cavalry. A detail of these horrors would be revolting. We must take a summary from the testimony of those who saw it.

"In short," says Mr. Edward Hay, "death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so severely that scarcely a man escaped. The old and harmless suffered, whilst they who had the use of their limbs, and were guilty, had previously made off with the main body of the people. The dead bodies scattered about, with their throats cut across, and mangled in the most shocking manner, exhibited scenes exceeding the usual horrors of war. The soldiery on this occasion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompesch, were permitted to indulge in such ferocity and brutal lust to the sex as must perpetuate hatred and horror of the army to generations."

The treatment of women by these Hessians and the yeomanry cowards was truly horrible; and the less capable of any excuse, as, in this matter at least, there could be no pretence for retaliation.

"It is a singular fact," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "that in all the ferocity of the conflict, the storming of towns and of villages, *women* were uniformly respected by the insurgents. Though numerous ladies fell occasionally into their power, they never experienced any incivility or misconduct. But the foreign troops in our service (Hompesch's) not only brutally ill-treated, but occasionally *shot* gentlewomen. A very respectable married woman in Enniscorthy (Mrs. Stringer, the wife of an attorney,) was wantonly shot at her own window by a German, in cold blood. The rebels (though her husband was a royalist) a short time after took some of those foreign soldiers prisoners, and piked them all, as they told them—'*just to teach them how to shoot ladies.*' Martial law always affects *both* sides. Retaliation becomes the law of nature wherever municipal laws are not in operation. It is a remedy that should never be resorted to but in *extremis*."

On the same shocking subject Mr. Plowden observes :—

"As to this species of outrage, which rests not in proof, it is universally allowed to have been on the side of the military. It produced an indignant horror in the country which went beyond, but prevented retaliation. It is a characteristic mark of the Irish nation neither to forget nor forgive an insult or injury done to the honor of their female relatives. It has been boasted of by officers of rank that, within certain large districts, a woman had not been left undefiled; and upon observation, in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to this difference of conduct towards the sex in the military and the rebels, attributed it, *in disgust, to a want of gallantry in the croppies.* By these general remarks it is not meant to verify or justify the saying of a fie'd-officer, or a lady of quality, both of whom could be named; but merely to show the prevalence of the general feelings and professions at that time upon these horrid subjects; and, consequently, what effects must naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exists which produces the bad effect. Even Sir Richard Musgrave admits (p. 428) that, "on most occasions, they did not offer any violence to the tender sex."

There was little more fighting in the county. Separate bands of the insurgents were making their way either into Wicklow on the north, a country of mountains, glens, and lakes, or westward into Carlow by way of Scollaghgap, between Mount Leinster and Blackstairs Mountain.

The northern part of the County of Wexford had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants on the 19th, at the ap

seems to have arisen from a rage of prosecution, by which the crime of rebellion was regarded as too great to admit any circumstances of extenuation in favor of the person guilty of it, and by which every mode of conviction against such a person was deemed justifiable."

He makes mention of the notoriety of this practice having drawn the following extraordinary exclamation from a Roman Catholic gentleman who had been one of the insurgents: "I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving the life or property of any one!"

proach of the army under General Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who had formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the 21st, and, on finding no officer of the army, as was expected, to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to a body of the insurgents encamped at Peppard's Castle, on the 22d, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their associates, upon the near approach of the insurgents, fled back with precipitation; and thence, accompanied by many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with the loss of forty-seven men. The day was called bloody Friday. The insurgents had been exasperated to this vengeance by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children. They even saw the dead bodies of two women, about which their surviving children were creeping and bewailing them! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the pigs in the streets devouring the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, with several others recently shot, and some still expiring.

After the return of the insurgents from the pursuit, several persons were found lurking in the town, and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Peppard, sovereign of Gorey; but, from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time, the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, still further maddened the people; but, forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted his utmost endeavors to restrain the insurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favorites, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey; when, after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White Heaps, on Croghan Mountain, and on the 23d set off for the mountains of Wicklow.

Such Wexford men as still remained in arms, having no longer any homes, and afraid to go to their homes if they had, were endeavoring to join the insurgents in other counties. One of these bodies, commanded by the Rev. John Murphy, (with whom was Miles Byrne,) proceeded through the County of Carlow; and, having arrived before the little town of Goresbridge, in the County of Kilkenny, a show of defence was made at a bridge on the river Barrow, by a party of Wexford militia; but they were quickly repulsed, driven back into the village, and nearly all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The prisoners were conveyed with the insurgents until they arrived on a ridge of hills which divides the Counties of Carlow and Kilkenny from the Queen's County. Here they put some of the unfortunate prisoners to death, and buried their bodies on the hill. Others escaped and joined their friends. In justice to the memory of the Rev. John Murphy it must here be stated that these murders were done contrary to his solemn injunctions, and that they were the result of long-felt and deadly hatred, entertained by some of the insurgents towards the militia-men. The example of murdering in cold blood was, no doubt, constantly set them by their enemies. If a war of partial extermination had not been proclaimed, no justification whatever could be offered for this atrocity; but it is well known that, although the practice was not avowedly sanctioned by the constituted authorities, it was in almost all cases unblushingly advised by the underlings of power in Ireland.

"Having rested for the night of the 23d of June on the Ridge, as those hills are called, they proceeded early next morning to Castlecomer, and commenced a furious attack on the town at ten o'clock. The principal resistance offered to their progress was from a party stationed in a house at the foot of

the bridge, which was ably defended, and opposite to which many brave men fell, by rashly exposing themselves in front of so strong a position; for the town could have been attacked and carried with very little loss from another quarter. In fact, every other position was speedily abandoned by the military and yeomanry, who retreated and took up a position on a hill at a respectful distance from the town. Here, as well as in most other places where the insurgents had been engaged, skill alone was wanting to insure success. The people had numbers and courage enough to overthrow any force which had been sent against them, if they had been skilfully commanded. The attack on the well-defended house was fruitlessly kept up for four hours, from which they finally retreated with severe loss, and marched in a northwest direction about five miles, into the Queen's County.* Soon after, finding themselves hard pressed by bodies of troops on three sides, they were obliged to retreat once more in the direction of the Carlow mountains. At Kilcomney they were forced to fight, but without any chance of success. They were entirely routed. Father Murphy was taken three days later, brought to General Duff's headquarters at Tullow, tried by martial law, and, after being first cruelly scourged, was executed. His head, as usual, was spiked in the market-place of the town.

Another of the scattered bands, led by Antony Perry, of Inch, and Father Kearns, penetrated into Kildare, and joining with the Kildare insurgents, attempted to march upon Athlone. They were beaten, however, at Clonard; Perry and Father Kearns were both taken prisoners, and met the usual doom.†

Edward Fitzgerald, Miles Byrne and some other chiefs, still kept a considerable band on foot in the mountains on the border of Wicklow, from whence they occasionally made descents, and attacked some bodies of troops with success. One of these affairs was the assault upon the barracks at Hacketstown; and another was the memorable extirpation of that hated regiment, the "Ancient Britons," at Ballyellis. Before Miles Byrne finally retired into the fastnesses of Wicklow, to join Holt, he had the satisfaction to bear a hand in that bloody piece of work. We let him tell it in his own words:—

"Early in the morning of the 29th of June, it was resolved to march and attack the town of Carnew. The column was halted at Monaseed to repose and take some kind of refreshments, which were indeed difficult to be had, as every house had been plundered by the English troops on their way to Vinegar Hill a few days before.

"The Irish column resumed its march on the high road to Carnew, and in less than half an hour after its departure, a large division of English cavalry, sent from Gorey by General Needham, marched into Monaseed. This division consisted of the notorious Ancient Britons, a cavalry regiment which had committed all sorts of crimes when placed on free quarters with the unfortunate inhabitants previous to the rising. This infernal regiment was accompanied by all the yeomen cavalry corps from Arklow, Gorey, Coolgreeny, &c., and the chiefs of those corps, such as Hunter Gowan, Beaumont, of Hyde Park, Earl Mountnorris, Earl Courtown, Ram, Hawtry White, &c., could boast as well as the Ancient Britons of having committed cold-blooded murders on an unarmed country people. But they never had the courage to meet us on the field of battle, as will be seen by the dastardly way they abandoned the Ancient Britons at Ballyellis

"The officers of the Ancient Britons, as well as those of the yeomen corps, learned that the Irish forces had just marched off on the road to Carnew, and were informed at a public house, that the insurgents who had been there were complaining how they were fatigued to death by the continual marching and countermarching, and that although they had fire-arms, their ammunition was completely exhausted, and scarce a ball-cartridge remained in their army. The truth of this information could not be doubted. All the information coming through so sure a channel, encouraged the English troops to pursue without delay the insurgents, and to cut them down and exterminate them to the last man, for they could not resist

* Cloney's Memoir. † Madden's Lives.

without ammunition. The Ancient Britons were to charge on the road, whilst the yeomen cavalry, being so well-mounted, were to cover the flanks and to march through the field; and those fox-hunters promised that not one croppy should escape their vengeance.

"All being thus settled and plenty of whisky distributed to the English soldiers, the march to overtake the insurgents commenced, and when about two miles from Monaseed, at Ballyellis, one mile from Carnew, the Ancient Britons being in full gallop, charging, and as they thought, driving all before them, to their great surprise, were suddenly stopped by a barricade of cars thrown across the road, and at the same moment that the head of the column was thus stopped, the rear was attacked by a mass of pikemen, who sallied out from behind a wall, and completely shut up the road, as soon as the last of the cavalry had passed. The remains or ruins of an old deer-park wall, on the right-hand side of the road, ran along for about half a mile; in many parts it was not more than three or four feet high. All along the inside of this our gunsmen and pikemen were placed. On the left-hand side of the road there was an immense ditch, with swampy ground, which few horses could be found to leap. In this advantageous situation, for our men, the battle began; the gunsmen, half covered, firing from behind the wall, whilst the English cavalry, though well mounted, could only make use of their carabines and pistols, for with their sabres they were unable to ward off the thrusts of our pikemen, who sallied out on them in the most determined manner.

"Thus, in less than an hour, this infamous regiment, which had been the horror of the country, was slain to the last man, as well as the few yeomen cavalry who had the courage to take part in the action. For all those who quit their horses and got into the fields were followed and piked on the marshy ground. The greater part of the numerous cavalry corps which accompanied the Ancient Britons kept on a rising ground, to the right side of the road, at some distance, during the battle, and as soon as the result of it was known, they fled in the most cowardly way in every direction, both dismayed and disappointed that they had no opportunity on this memorable day of murdering the stragglers, as was their custom on such occasions. I say 'memorable,' for during the war, no action occurred which made so great a sensation in the country; as it proved to the enemy, that whenever our pikemen were well commanded and kept in close order, they were invulnerable. And, besides, it served to elate the courage and desire of our men to be led forthwith to new combats.

"The English troops that marched out from Carnew retreated back on the town in great haste, when they heard of the defeat of the Ancient Britons at Ballyellis. The infantry, finding that they were closely pursued by our men, barricaded themselves in a large malt house belonging to Bob Blaney. This malt house was spared at the time of the first attack on Carnew, when the greatest part of the town was burned, on account of the upright and humane conduct of the owner, Mr. Blaney. Now it had become a formidable and well-fortified barrack capable of holding out a long time, particularly as our army had no cannon to bring to bear against it. However, it was instantly attacked, and great efforts made to dislodge the enemy, who kept up a continual fire from all the windows; and, as at Hacketstown, every means were taken to approach the doors under cover of beds, straw, &c., but without success, as the men were wounded through the beds and straw, before they could reach the doors. So it became necessary to wait till night came on, when the garrison which occupied this malt house would have no other alternative left it but to surrender at discretion, or be consumed to ashes.

"Edward Fitzgerald and the other chiefs deemed it more prudent, however, to raise the siege and to take a military position on Killcavan Hill for the night, rather than remain before the barracks or malt house; knowing well that General Needham, who commanded the English forces at Gorey, as also the English troops at Ferns and Newtownbarry, would make a forced march to relieve Carnew, and, if possible, endeavor to obtain some kind of revenge for the destruction of their favorite Ancient Britons;

whom they so cowardly abandoned at Ballyellis to their dismal and well-earned doom."

But these combats were now little more than efforts of despair. Fitzgerald, who commanded at Ballyellis, not long after surrendered, along with Aylmer, in Kildare, was detained for some time, then permitted to exile himself, and was known, in 1803, to be residing at Hamburg. Mr Fitzgerald was a gentleman of large property and great personal accomplishments, and had been goaded into resistance by the savage tyranny which he saw carried on around him. Miles Byrne, after these terrible scenes in his native land, afterwards served in the French army for thirty years. He died a Knight of St. Louis and an officer of the Legion of Honor, with the grade of *Chef-de-Bataillon.*

It is to be remarked of this insurrection in Wexford, that scarcely any of its leaders were United Irishmen. Father Murphy, who began it, and some fifteen other clergymen who took an active part in it, not only were not United Irishmen, but had done their utmost to discourage and break up that society, in some cases even refusing the sacrament to those who were members. Therefore, that insurrection was not the result of a conspiracy to make an insurrection, but of the acts of the Government to provoke one.

Next, it is to be observed that this was not a "Popish" rebellion, although every effort was made to give it a sectarian character—first by disarming and disgracing the Catholic yeomanry, next by burning chapels and maltreating priests, and further by the direct incitements and encouragement given to the Orange yeomanry, (who were brought into the county for the purpose,) to practice their favorite plan of exterminating Catholics. Yet some of the most trusted leaders of the people were Protestants; as Harvey, Grogan, one of the two Colcloughs, Antony Perry, and Keogh, Commandant of Wexford. There was, it is true, one Protestant church defaced, as we have seen; but not till long after several Catholic chapels had been demolished. It may be affirmed, that whatever there was of religious rancor in the contest was the work of the Government, through its Orange allies; and with the express purpose of preventing an union of Irishmen of all creeds—a thing which is felt to be incompatible with British Government in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1798.

Rising in Ulster—Antrim—Saintfield—Ballinahinch—Insurgents Defeated—McCracken and Monro Hanged—Skirmish in Cork County—Courts-Martial—Many Executions—Hanging of Father Redmond—Surrender of Fitzgerald and Aylmer—Compact between Prisoners and Government—In order to Save the Lives of Byrne and Bond—Compact Violated by Government—Byrne Hanged—Bond Dies Suddenly in Prison—Reign of Terror in Dublin—Brothers Sheares Tried—Hanged—Other State Trials—Curran in Court—"The Three Majors"—Sirr, Swan, and Sandys—The "Major's People"—John Claudius Beresford—Tortures in Dublin—Country in Wild Alarm—Spiked Heads—Fit Time to Propose Legislative Union—Marquis Cornwallis comes as Viceroy—To bring about the Union—"Impression of Horror"—Apparent Measures to End the Devastations—Offers of "Protection"—Not Efficacious—Testimony of Lord Camden himself—True Account of the "Compact"—United Irishmen sent to Fort George.

The rising of the United Irishmen of Ulster was delayed for two weeks after the day agreed upon (May 23d) by the arrest of some of their leaders. On the 7th of June, however, a meeting of magistrates having been appointed in the town of Antrim, for the prevention of rebellion, some insurgents, with design of seizing their persons, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major-General Nugent, who commanded in that district, having received intelligence of the intended rising, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived after the rebels had taken possession of the town. They then attacked the insurgents in the town, but their vanguard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men killed and wounded, of which three were officers, Colonel Durham, who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a six-pounder which they had brought with them, and two curricle guns which they had taken from the King's army. They were pursued towards Shane's Castle and Ran-

dal's Town, with considerable slaughter; on this day Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded. * A small body made an unsuccessful assault on the town of Larne, and some feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. The main body of these northern insurgents retired to Donegar Hill, where, disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, they agreed to surrender their arms, and almost all of them dispersed.

On the 8th of June another body of insurgents in the County Down, near Saintfield, under the command of a Dr. Jackson, set fire to the house of a man named Mackee, an informer against the United Irishmen. They placed themselves the next day in ambuscade, and nearly surrounded a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton, consisting of York Fencibles and yeoman cavalry, of whom they killed about sixty. The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confusion, rallying with a coolness not very common in this war, succeeded in repulsing their assailants, but could not pursue, and eventually themselves retreated to Belfast. The loss of the insurgents was very small. The next day, under command of Henry Monro, a shopkeeper in Lisburn, they took possession of a strong post on Windmill Hill, above the little town of Ballinahinch, near the centre of the County Down, and at the house and in the demesne of Lord Moira. On the 12th, General Nugent, marching from Belfast, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill Hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which before the action they wantonly set on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery, with little or no execution. At length, the Monaghan regiment of militia, posted with two field-pieces at Lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with such determined fury by the pikemen of the insurgents that it fell back in disorder. The want of discipline in the insurgents lost what their valor had gained. The disordered troops found means to rally, while the Argyleshire Fencibles, entering the demesne, were making their attack on another side. The insurgents, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a stand at the top, at a kind of fortification, defended the post for some time with great courage, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss exceeded a hundred; that of the royal army not above half that number. The main body of these insurgents retired to the mountains of Slieve Croob, where they soon surrendered or separated, returning to their several homes; and thus terminated this short and partial, but active insurrection in the north, in the course of which some slighter actions had taken place, particularly at Portaferry, where they were repulsed by the yeomanry. They also set fire to a revenue cruiser, in which forty men perished.

The official bulletin of the affair of Ballinahinch is as follows:—

"Dublin Castle, eleven o'clock, A. M., June 14, 1798.

"Intelligence is just arrived from Major-General Nugent, stating that, on the 11th instant, he had marched against a large body of rebels who were posted at Saintfield. They retired on his approach to a strong position on the Saintfield side of Ballinahinch, and there made a show of resistance, and endeavored to turn his left flank; Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart arriving from Down with a pretty considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomanry, they soon desisted, and retired to a very strong position behind Ballinahinch.

"General Nugent attacked them next morning at three o'clock, having occupied two hills on the left and right of the town, to prevent the rebels from having any other choice than the mountains in their rear for their retreat. He sent Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart to post himself, with part of the Argyle Fencibles and some yeomanry, as well as a detachment of the Twenty-second Light Dragoons, in a situation from whence he could enfilade the rebel line; whilst Colonel Leslie, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry, and yeoman infantry, should make an attack upon their front. Having two

* He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the insurgents were in possession of it. He shot one who had seized the bridle of his horse, after which he was dragged from his saddle, and so wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

howitzers and six six-pounders with the two detachments, the Major-General was enabled to annoy them very much from different parts of his position.

"The rebels attacked impetuously Colonel Leslie's detachment, and even jumped into the road from the Earl of Moira's demesne to endeavor to take one of his guns; but they were repulsed with slaughter. Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart's detachment was attacked by them with the same activity, but he repulsed them also, and the fire from his howitzer and six-pounder soon obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force was, on the evening of the 12th, near five thousand; but, as many persons are pressed into their service, and almost entirely unarmed, the general does not suppose that, on the morning of the engagement, their numbers were so many.

"About four hundred rebels were killed in the attack and retreat, and the remainder were dispersed all over the country. Parts of the towns of Saintfield and Ballinahinch were burned. . . . Three or four green colors were taken, and six one-pounders, not mounted, but which the rebels fired very often, and a considerable quantity of ammunition."

Of course, the failure in Ulster was attended by the usual penalty of failure. The leader of the Antrim insurgents was Henry Joy McCracken, a manufacturer of Belfast, a brave, well-educated, and highly-estimable man in the prime of life. He and some others were tried and executed in Belfast. Mouro was carried to Lisburn and hung at his own door, his wife and family being in the house.

An attempt at insurrection was next made in Cork County. The principal action, and the only one, which Government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where, on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Clognakelty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, mostly armed with pikes. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column so rapidly and fiercely that the troops had scarcely time to form. It seems plain, from Sir Hugh O'Reilly's dispatch, that at this moment there was imminent danger of his detachment being cut to pieces, when, fortunately for him, a hundred men of the "Caithness Legion," under Major Innes, came up on the flank of the insurgents, and assailed them with so sharp and well-sustained a fire of musketry that O'Reilly had time to rally his men and get his guns into position. At last the people were forced to retire, but were not pursued. Sir Hugh estimates their loss at one hundred and thirty. He does not tell his own. This action took place on the 19th of June.

There remained little to do now but to try and execute insurgent leaders by martial law. Courts-martial were instituted everywhere at the headquarters of commanding officers. These terrible tribunals were in full action throughout Wexford County—in New Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey, Newtownbarry, and Wexford town—and multitudes were hung or transported. Amongst the executions which caused the most horror was that of Father John Redmond, who had absolutely done nothing to favor the insurrection. "His body after death underwent the most indecent mutilations." *

Those Wexford insurgents who remained with Mr. Fitzgerald, along with Mr. Aylmer, as outstanding chiefs, negotiated with General Dundas, to whom they surrendered on the 12th of July, on condition that all the other leaders who had adventured with them should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominions. The same terms were afterwards secured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne, who was sent into confinement in the Castle of Dublin, together with Messrs. Fitzgerald and Aylmer, by which they fared much better than those who laid down their arms in Wexford, depending on the faithful fulfillment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingsborough.

* Gordon's History. Mr. Gordon knew Mr. Redmond well, and declared that during the insurrection he was mostly hiding in Protestant houses to avoid the "rebels," who considered him an enemy to their cause.

The plan of proposing terms for saving the lives of Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. Byrne was proposed through Mr. Dobbs, a member of Parliament. That gentleman went with the sheriff to the prison in which Mr. A. O'Connor was confined, on the 24th of July, with a paper* signed by seventy state prisoners, purposing to give such information as was in their power of the arms, ammunition, schemes of warfare, internal regulations and foreign negotiations of the United Irishmen, provided the lives of Messrs. Bond and Byrne should be spared.

In consequence of this agreement, some of the insurgent chiefs, who were still in arms, among whom was Mr. Aylmer, of Kildare, surrendered themselves.† Several principals of the Union, particularly Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. MacNeven, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath in their examinations before the secret committees of the two Houses of Parliament; in whose reports, although garbled and falsified, published by authority of Government, is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Yet certain it is, that whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (fifteen in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved or assumed by ministers to retain them in custody, at least during the continuance of the war with France. Oliver Bond died in the meantime in prison, "of apoplexy," as was given out; but the friends of this gentleman believe to the present hour that he was murdered at night by one of the jailers or turnkeys of Newgate prison —for what cause or at whose instigation was never known. The other prisoner, Byrne,—to save whose life, along with that of Bond, the contract was expressly made—was hung.

During the whole time of the insurrection the city of Dublin was held under strict military law. A large force, consisting chiefly of yeomanry, was kept constantly in the metropolis. The grand and royal canals, which were fifty feet broad and twelve deep, were a security against a surprise; and the several bridges were strongly palisaded, and guarded both by night and by day. The trials and executions of some of the principal leaders in the rebellion tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further attempts of individuals. Among others, an insurgent officer, a Protestant, named Bacon, having been apprehended disguised in female apparel, was executed on the 2d of June, near Carlisle bridge. On the 14th, was executed, on the same scaffolding, Lieutenant Esmond. On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and soon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been Secretary of the Provincial Committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne, delegate from the County Committee of Wicklow, and that of Oliver Bond, on the 23d. Mr. Curran was the leading counsel on all

* The following was the agreement signed by seventy-three on the 29th of July:—

"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and Government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of Government, and give security not to pass into an enemy's country, if on their so doing they are to be freed from prosecution, and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope, that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it."

Signed by seventy-three persons.
29th of July, 1798.

† In a pamphlet, styled a Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the 4th, 1799, that Minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to Parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made, one of which is that the information given by these prisoners to Government was garbled, to serve the purposes of the ministry, and particularly that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one had been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honor of his lordship for a disproof of these accusations, which *may be* a vindication to persons unacquainted with his lordship's character. The pamphlet was said to have been suppressed by Government, at least was not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated.

these trials ; and it was a service of danger. The Court was usually crowded with armed men ; and as the undaunted advocate delivered his powerful and indignant pleadings, often at midnight, amidst a hostile and menacing audience, the lamplight glittered upon serried bayonets, and he was sometimes interrupted by a clash of arms. "What is that?" he sternly exclaimed, on the trial of Oliver Bond. "The question was occasioned by a clash of arms among the military that thronged the Court. Some of those who were nearest to the advocate appeared, from their looks and gestures, about to offer him personal violence ; upon which, fixing his eye sternly upon them, he exclaimed : 'You may assassinate, but you shall not intimidate me.'"*

While the insurrection was raging in Wexford, and capital convictions and executions were very frequent all over the country, it must be supposed that the people of Dublin were in a state of profound alarm, sometimes real and genuine terror, sometimes a factitious alarm, created by the agents of Government to furnish excuse for brutal acts of severity. Then was the reign of the "three Majors," Sirr, Swan, and Sandys. These men had been officers of the militia ; and all in a sufficiently-decent rank of life—the last-named, indeed, was brother-in-law to Mr. under-Secretary Cooke. This triumvirate were now really the rulers of Dublin ; and the most indispensable of all the agencies of the Castle. Their services chiefly consisted in organizing and maintaining a band of wretches, who were employed at the assizes throughout the country, but especially in the vicinity of Dublin, as informers. They were known to the people by the name of the "Batallion of Testimony."

It is said, on high authority, that the employment of spies and informers tends rather to the increase than the suppression of crime, and that a good government has no need of their infamous services. One thing is certain, that their services were thought useful to a bad government ; and the same circumstance that rendered their services necessary, made their infamy a matter of little moment to their employers. From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what was called the "Major' People." A number of these people were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them contiguous to the Viceroy's palace ; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham jail, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House ;" and for one batch of them, who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison, with the surrounding cells, assigned to them, which is still called the "Stag Yard." These persons were considered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons.

Sandys had been a captain in the Longford militia. Shortly after his marriage with the sister of the under-Secretary's wife, he was appointed Brigade-Major to the garrison of Dublin. In 1797, '98, and '99, he presided over the Prevot Prison, in the Royal Barracks, a filthy, close, dark, and pestilential place of confinement, with a small court-yard, and some ill-constructed sheds, set up to afford increased accommodation for the multitude of persons daily sent to the depot.

Major Sandys carried on a regular trade in the official advantages of his functions in the Prevot. He sold indulgences to the state prisoners, of a little more than the ordinary scant allowances of air, light, and food. He sold exemption from the taws and triangles for money and for goods, for every marketable commodity.

The court-yard of that miserable den was ringing forever, by day and by night, with the shrieks of wretches scourged at the Major's triangles, to extort confessions, or to force the prisoners to make statements inculpating others. The court in the rear of the Royal Exchange was another place of torture ; but, perhaps, the most dreadful scene of continual lacerations, pitch-cappings, and picketings, in Dublin, was in the Riding-School in Marlborough street, where

* Life of Curran. By his son.

the punishments were administered under the eye and by the direction of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, a scion of the great house of Waterford.* Yet, in a debate in the English House of Commons, in March, 1801, on the Irish Martial Law bill, in reply to an observation with respect to the use of torture, made by Mr. Taylor, Lord Castlereagh had certainly the boldness to affirm, that "torture never was inflicted in Ireland, with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of Government." Mr. John Claudius Beresford, who was the most competent of all men to speak on that subject, observed, that "it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practiced;" and in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords, on another occasion, in the Imperial Parliament, Lord Clare avowed the practice, and defended it on the grounds of its necessity.

No specific orders, undoubtedly, emanated from the Government to Mr. Beresford to convert the Riding-School into a scourging-hall—to Mr. Hepenstal to make a walking-gallows of his person—to Mr. Love for the half-hanging of suspected rebels at Kilkea Castle—to Mr. Hunter Gowan for burning down the cabins of the croppies—to the High Sheriff of Tipperary for the laceration of the peasant's back, of which Sir John Moore was an eye-witness—to Captain Swaine for the picketings at Prosperous, or Sir Richard Musgrave for writing a treatise in defence of torture; or to all the other gentlemen of "discernment and fortitude" for adopting "the new expedient" for discovery of crime.

"But," observes Dr. Madden, "it is in vain, utterly futile and fruitless, to deny the constant use of torture in 1797 and 1798, in the Riding-House, Marlborough street, under the direction of John Claudius Beresford, and in the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, then governed by Major Sandys, brother-in-law to Mr. under-Secretary Cooke, (Lord Castlereagh's chief official in the Secretary's office;) occasionally, too, in the Royal Exchange, and in the small vacant space adjoining the entrance to the Upper Castle Yard, immediately behind the offices of Lord Castlereagh, and having on the opposite side the back part of the Exchange where, *under the very windows of Lord Castlereagh's office*, the triangles were set up for fastening the wretches to, who were flogged—tortured even to death."

There was at that time a military order enforced in Dublin, that every householder should expose a list on his front door of all the inmates of his house; but this observance being complied with by no means insured families against domiciliary visits from the military, or from the "Major's People," whenever there was any suspicion that obnoxious persons or papers might be secreted there. There are still alive many who recollect the terror and agony of households when invaded by these odious wretches, who did not generally confine themselves to their ostensible errand, but insulted women and girls, and carried off valuable plate. One instance of this is mentioned in a speech of Curran, where a silver cup was taken possession of because it had engraved upon it the words *Erin go bragh!* The accounts of pay and weekly "subsistence money," given to the "Major's People" as well as to other common swearers, are extant, and may be read in the collections of Dr. Madden. When it is remembered that scenes similar to these were passing in every town, as well as Dublin; that many bridges and "gallows-hills" showed their blackening corpses swinging in the winds; that in front of many court-houses, and over the gateways of many jails, ghastly heads were grinning upon spikes,* while every hour gave birth to some new and fearful rumor of horrors yet unknown, some idea may be formed of the Terror in Ireland.

The country was now, therefore, precisely

* Dr. Madden has gone to the trouble of collecting a great many of the authentic cases of half-hangings, scourgings, and other tortures inflicted in those days.

* On the trial of John Magee for libel, in 1813, O'Connell, in his memorable speech on that occasion, thus alludes to Toler, (Lord Norbury,) when employed on special commissions: "Why, in one circuit, during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before *one* judge; of these, ninety-eight were *capitally convicted*, and *ninety-seven hanged!* One escaped, but he was a soldier, who murdered a peasant—a thing of a trivial nature. *Ninety-seven victims in one circuit! !*"

Toler was Solicitor-General in 1798, but was sometimes put on the Commission, and went circuit.

in the frame of mind which Mr. Pitt considered favorable for facilitating his favorite measure, a Legislative Union. Divided into two bitterly hostile parties, vindictive rage on the one side, affright and despondency on the other—the United Irish Society ruined, partly by the savage extirpation of Catholic insurgents, partly by the defection of the Republican Presbyterians of the North, and the mutual distrust which had been carefully sown between these two sections of that organization—all hope of either Catholic Emancipation or Reform (through an *Irish* Parliament) being now apparently adjourned to an indefinite futurity, it was believed that the parties would, at last, be led to throw themselves into the arms of England, who would know how to take care of them all. Accordingly, Lord Camden, having done his office in stirring up rebellion, was recalled, and the Marquis Cornwallis, already unfavorably known in two worlds, arrived in Ireland on the 20th day of June—the very day before the battle of Vinegar Hill—to assume the reins of government, but invested, besides the vice-regal power, with the additional authority of Commander of the forces. It appeared that the instructions of this nobleman were to moderate by degrees the horrible rage of extermination. The estimates given of his character and conduct by contemporary Irish writers are wonderfully various. Sir Jonah Barrington says of him: "Lord Cornwallis was now selected to complete the project of a Union, and Lord Castlereagh was continued as Chief Secretary. His system was of all others the most artful and insidious; he affected impartiality while he was deceiving both parties; he encouraged the United Irishman, and he roused the royalist; one day he destroyed, the next day he was merciful. His system, however, had not exactly the anticipated effect. Everything gave reason to expect a restoration of tranquillity; but it was through the impression of *horror* alone that a union could be effected; and he had no time to lose, lest the country might recover its reason."

Mr. Plowden, on the other hand, who was devoted to the measure of a union, and was himself already writing pamphlets in its favor, can find no terms strong enough in lauding Lord Cornwallis. He says: "This appointment, in this critical juncture, appears, under Providence, to have been the immediate salvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrolled ferociousness of the soldiery, by stopping military executions, suspending the sentences of courts-martial till he had himself revised the minutes, by converting the system of cöercion and terrorism into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himself the hatred of the Orangemen, *by bringing to bear the incorporate union with Great Britain*, as the efficient means of redressing popular grievances, and crushing the seeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the subsistence of Orangeism."

Lord Cornwallis certainly did, not long after his arrival, begin to interpose a check upon the bloody work then going on in Wexford. On the 28th of June, after the heads of the Wexford leaders had been duly spiked in front of the jail, and the yeomanry cavalry had glutted themselves for one whole week with carnage and conflagration, picketings, and scourgings, Lord Lake was removed from command in that quarter, and it was given to General Hunter, with directions to put an end to the indiscriminate slaughter. A proclamation was issued and printed in the Dublin *Gazette*, but not till the 3d of July (thus giving the Orangemen one other week's bloody carnival)—authorizing His Majesty's generals to give *protections* on certain terms. The proclamation is in these words:—

"Whereas, it is in the power of His Majesty's generals, and of the forces under their command, entirely to destroy all those who have risen in rebellion, against their sovereign and his laws: yet it is nevertheless the wish of Government, that those persons who, by traitorous machinations, have been seduced, or by acts of intimidation, have been forced from their allegiance, should be received into His Majesty's peace and pardon, ——— commanding in the county of ——— specially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all persons who may be now assembled in any part of the said county against His Majesty's peace, to surrender

themselves and their arms, and to desert the leaders who have seduced them ; and for the acceptance of such surrender and submission the space of fourteen days from the date hereof is allowed, and the towns of ——— are hereby specified, at each of which places one of His Majesty's officers and a Justice of the Peace will attend ; and upon entering their names, acknowledging their guilt, and promising good behavior for the future, and taking the oath of allegiance, and, at the same time, abjuring all other engagements contrary thereto, they will receive a certificate, which will entitle them to protection so long as they demean themselves as becomes good subjects.

"And, in order to render such acts of submission easy and secure, it is the general's pleasure that persons who are now with any portion of the rebels in arms, and willing to surrender themselves, do send to him, or to ——— any number from each body of rebels not exceeding ten, with whom the general, or ——— will settle the manner in which they may repair to the above towns, so that no alarm may be excited, and no injury to their persons be offered.

"June 29, 1798."

Then follows the form of certificate of "protection." Next, on the 17th of July, a message from the Viceroy was read in the House of Commons, signifying the King's pleasure that an "Amnesty act" should be passed, with certain conditions and large exceptions. Accordingly, such a bill was passed in favor of all rebels who had not been leaders ; who had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation. But, practically, there was no cessation, at least in the unhappy County of Wexford, of the horrors of military outrage, even after the proclamation. General Hunter, indeed, seems to have endeavored to appease the minds of the people, and restore confidence and tranquillity to that distracted country.

But some principal gentlemen of the county, and others besides, attempted to interpose their authority to supersede the tenor of the general pardon held out by proclamation, pursuing the same line of arbitrary conduct which they had practiced previous to the insurrection. They even proceeded to the length of presuming to tear some of the protections, which the country people had obtained ; but this coming to the General's knowledge, he quieted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been rash enough to levy arbitrary contributions for the losses they had sustained during the insurrection. A curate was induced to wait on the General with an account of an intended "massacre" of the Protestants, which he detailed with the appearance of the utmost alarm, and was patiently heard out by the General, who then addressed him with this marked appellation and strong language :— "*Mr. Massacre*, if you do not prove to me the circumstances you have related, I shall get you punished in the most exemplary manner, for raising false alarms, which have already proved so destructive to this unfortunate country." The curate's alarm instantly changed its direction and became personal ; and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this representation, his piteous supplication and apparent contrition, procured him forgiveness.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their supplementaries continued the system of conflagration, and shooting such of the peasantry as they met ; and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented, of course, the humane and moderate intentions of the present government from having their due effect. The melancholy consequence of such a system of terror, persecution, and alarm, had very nearly brought on the extermination of an extensive and populous tract of the County of Wicklow, called the Macomores ; the perpetration of the plan was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade-Major Fitzgerald, under the directions and orders of General Hunter. Incessant applications and remonstrances had been made by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity to Government, complaining that this range of country was infested with

constant meetings of rebels, who committed every species of outrage, and these reports were confirmed by affidavits; they were credited by Government, to whom they were handed in by a magistracy presumed to be deliberate, grave, and respectable; the Viceroy was rendered indignant at these reiterated complaints, and orders were sent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract, to form a line along its extent on the western border, and at both ends, north and south, on the land side, so as to leave no resource to the wretched inhabitants, *who were to be slaughtered by the soldiery, or to be driven into the sea*, as it is bounded by the Channel on the eastward. Even *women and children were to be included* in this terrific example. The execution of this severe exemplary measure was intrusted to the discretion of General Hunter, who fortunately discovered the inhuman misrepresentation that had produced those terrific orders. The devoted victims found an opportunity to implore protection from the incursions of the black mob (they thus denominated the supplementaries to the different corps of yeomanry) who wreaked their vengeance even upon those who had received protection from General Needham, at Gorey, as different parties of the soldiery and yeomanry waited their return in ambush, and slaughtered every one they could overtake.

This prevented many from coming in for protection. Afterwards these sanguinary banditti made incursions into the country, fired into the houses, thus killing and wounding many unoffending peasants. Several houses after being plundered were burned, and the booty was brought into Gorey. By the frequency of these horrible excesses and depredations, such houses as remained unburned were of course crowded with several families, and this multiplied the number of victims at each succeeding incursion. At last, most of the inhabitants took refuge on the hills, and armed themselves with every offensive weapon they could procure.

The false alarmists were not depressed by several discomfitures, for although General Hunter reported the country to be in a perfect state of tranquillity, they again returned to the charge, and renewed their misrepresentations. Mr. Hawtry White, Captain of the Ballaghkeen Cavalry, and a Justice of the Peace for the county, sent several informations to Government of the alarming state of the country; and the commanding officer at Gorey was so far persuaded of the intention of a general rising, that he quitted the town and encamped on a hill above it. These representations, made under the semblance of loyalty, had not, however, the wished-for weight with the Government. General Hunter was ordered to inquire into the information of Mr. Hawtry White. Major Fitzgerald was again sent out, and the result of his inquiry was, that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtry White to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither and put under arrest; and on his still persisting in his false representations, he was conducted to the island, where, he asserted, the rebels were encamped, and, lo! no island appeared above the water. Mr. Hawtry White was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, interfered in the most earnest manner to prevent this investigation, representing that Mr. White's great age might have subjected him to the imposition of fabricated information; and the firmness of the General relaxed at the instance of so many respectable persons.

To show how very far the people of the country were really protected by the proclamations and protections, announced by Lord Cornwallis, it will be needful only to give one or two extracts from the "Memoirs and Correspondence" of that nobleman, published many years later:—

[*Extract of a letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, dated the 8th of July*, 1798.]

"The Irish militia are totally without discipline, contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power—in short, murder appears to be their favorite pastime."—(Vol. ii., p. 357.)

[*Extract of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross.*]

"DUBLIN CASTLE, July 24, 1798.

"Except in the instances of the six state trials that are going on here, there is no law either in town or country but martial law, and you know enough of that to see all the horrors of it, even in the best administration of it. Judge, then, how it must be conducted by Irishmen, heated with passion and revenge. But all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people without any process or examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious. These men have saved the country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia, with few officers, and those chiefly of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity, and the fencibles take a share, although much behindhand with the others. The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders, which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side; and as long as they furnish a pretext for our parties going in quest of them, I see no prospect of amendment.

"The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland and my wretched situation."—(Vol. ii. p. 368).

The Marquis Cornwallis issued the following "General Orders," with the view of restraining the murderous and rapacious conduct of the troops in Ireland, dated August 31, 1798.—

"It is with great concern that Lord Cornwallis finds himself obliged to call on the general officers and the commanding officers of regiments in particular, and in general on officers of the army, to assist him in putting a stop to the licentious conduct of the troops, and in saving the wretched inhabitants from being robbed, and in the most shocking manner ill-treated, by those to whom they had a right to look for safety and protection.

"Lord Cornwallis declares that if he finds that the soldiers of any regiment have had opportunities of committing those excesses from the negligence of their officers, he will make those officers answerable for their conduct; and that if any soldiers are caught either in the act of robbery, or with the articles of plunder in their possession, they shall be instantly tried, and immediate execution shall follow their conviction."

The editor of the Cornwallis memoirs informs us (p. 13, vol. iii,) that between the landing of the French, in the autumn of 1798, and the month of February, 1799, (a period of four months,) although there were three hundred and eighty persons tried by court-martial, one hundred and thirty-one capitally convicted, and ninety executed, yet the number of the latter fell short of what "the loyal party expected and desired"—and he adds, "Many persons in England, as well as in Ireland, who were considered mild and temperate in their views, severely censured what they termed a ruinous system of lenity; nor was the British Government free from a participation in such feelings."

At p. 90, vol. iii., we find the following observations:—

"To Dr. Duigenan's letter Lord Castlereagh replied on the 6th of March, 1799, that, exclusive of all persons tried at the assizes, Lord Cornwallis had decided personally upon four hundred cases; that out of one hundred and thirty-one condemned to death, eighty-one had been executed; and that four hundred and eighteen persons had been transported or banished, in pursuance of the sentences of courts-martial, since Lord Cornwallis had arrived in Ireland."

[*Extract from a letter of Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross, April* 15, 1799.

"You write as if you really believed that there was any foundation for all the lies and nonsensical clamor about my lenity. On my arrival in this country I put a stop to the burning of houses and murder of the inhabitants by the yeomen, or any other persons who delighted in that amusement; to the flogging for the purpose of extorting con-

fession; and to the free-quarters, which comprehend universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country."—(Vol. iii., p. 89.)

We have seen that the clamor about Lord Cornwallis' clemency was in reality "nonsensical," as he declares; and that he is not even to be credited with the amount of lenity to which he himself lays claim. In fact, it is altogether impossible to believe that, with the immense military force then in Ireland, and of which he was absolute Commander-in-Chief, he could not (if he would) have put a stop to the murders and depredations upon the now defenceless people. The only admissible theory of his conduct is, that he had instructions to keep alive what Barrington calls the "impression of horror," until the Union should be effectuated.

All this time there was nothing changed in the state of things in Dublin itself. The three majors and their "people" still predominated with absolute sway, and the state trials were proceeding, before carefully packed juries, of course. It was under this lenient and conciliatory Cornwallis that some of the best and worthiest gentlemen of Ireland were hunted to death by the basest of mankind, with the prostituted forms of law, before judges predetermined to convict, and juries of Orangemen specially brought together by perjured sheriffs, not to try, but simply to hang. The two brothers Sheares were hung and beheaded in front of Newgate prison on the 22d of July, (a month after the accession of Cornwallis to the viceroyalty.) Byrne and Bond were both convicted and sentenced to death. It was at this moment that the "compact" already mentioned was entered into by certain of the state prisoners with the Government, with a view of stopping, if possible, the further effusion of blood, and specifically and expressly of saving the lives of Byrne and Oliver Bond. As the Government not only violated that compact, but made it the occasion of slandering men to whom all was lost except their honor, it is necessary, in justice to those best and purest of Irish patriots, to record the actual facts. They are to be found in the collections of the laborious Dr. Madden.

The account of the compact of the state prisoners with the Irish Government, taken from the original draft of that document in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, and William James Mac Neven, was drawn up by them in France, on their liberation from Fort George, and remained in the possession of John Sweetman. The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of Thomas A. Emmet:—

"We, the undersigned, until this day state prisoners and in close custody, feel that the first purpose to which we should apply our liberty is to give to the world a short account of a transaction which has been grossly misrepresented and falsified, but respecting which we have been compelled to silence for nearly the last three years. The transaction alluded to is the agreement entered into by us and other state prisoners with the Irish Government, at the close of the month of July, 1798; and we take this step without hesitation, because it can in nowise injure any of our friends and former fellow-prisoners, we being among the last victims of perfidy and breach of faith.

"From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch, early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed in consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar Hill, on the 21st of the same month, led to its termination in Leinster; and the capitulation of Ovidstown, on the 12th of July,* may be understood as the last public appearance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that could be expected from it, *was at an end;* but blood still continued to flow—courts-martial, special commissions, and, above all, sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to lib-

* The event preceding the massacre of the capitulated body of the United Irishmen, on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, by the command of Major-General Sir James Duff, executed chiefly by the yeomanry cavalry of Captain Bagot, and the *Fox-hunters' Corps*, commanded by Lord Roden.

FISHER. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

erty, while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

"Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with Government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much might be saved and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds, and the more quickly matured, by the impending fate of two worthy men. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, the state prisoners began a negotiation with Government, and an agreement was finally concluded, by the persons named by their fellow-prisoners, at the Castle of Dublin, and was finally ratified by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke, three of the King's ministers. In no part of this paper were details or perfect accuracy deemed necessary, because the ministers, and particularly Lord Castlereagh, frequently and solemnly declared that it should in every part be construed by Government with the utmost liberality and good faith; and particularly the last clause was worded in this loose manner to comply with the express desire of the ministers, who insisted upon retaining to Government the entire popularity of the measure; but it was clearly and expressly understood, and positively engaged, that every leading man, not guilty of deliberate murder, should be included in the agreement who should choose to avail himself of it, in as full and ample a manner as the contracting parties themselves, and that there should be a general amnesty, with the same exceptions, for the body of the people.

"We entered into this agreement the more readily, because it appeared to us that by it the public cause lost nothing. We knew, from the different examinations of the state prisoners before the Privy Council, and from conversations with ministers, that Government was already in possession of all the important knowledge which they could obtain from us. From whence they derived their information was not entirely known to us, but it is now manifest that *Reynolds*, M'Ginn, and Hughes—not to speak of the minor informers—had put them in possession of every material fact respecting the internal state of the Union; and it was from particular circumstances well known to one of us, and entirely believed by the rest, that its external relations had been betrayed to the English Cabinet, through the agency of a foreigner with whom we negotiated.

"This was even so little disguised that, on the preceding 12th of March, the contents of a memoir which had been prepared by one of the undersigned at Hamburg, and transmitted thence to Paris, were minutely detailed to him by Mr. Cooke. Nevertheless, those with whom we negotiated seemed extremely anxious for our communications. Their reasons for this anxiety may have been many, but two, particularly, suggested themselves to our minds. They obviously wished to give proof to the enemies of an Irish republic and of Irish independence of the facts with which they were themselves well acquainted; while, at the same time, they concealed from the world their real sources of intelligence. Nor do we believe we are uncharitable in attributing to them the hope and wish of rendering unpopular and suspected men in whom the United Irishmen had been accustomed to place an almost unbounded confidence. The injurious consequences of Government succeeding in both these objects were merely personal; and, as they were no more, though they were revolting and hateful to the last degree, we did not hesitate to devote ourselves that we might make terms for our country.

"What were these terms? That it should be rescued from civil and military execution; that a truce should be obtained for liberty, which she so much required. There was also another strongly-impelling motive for entering into this agreement. If Government, on the one hand, was desirous of rousing its dependents by a display of the vigorous and well-concerted measures that were taken for subverting its authority and shaking off the English yoke; so we, on the other hand, were not less solicitous for the vindication of our cause in the eyes of the liberal, the enlightened, and patriotic. We perceived that, in making a fair and

candid development of those measures we should be enabled boldly to avow and justify the cause of Irish union, as being founded upon the purest principles of benevolence, and as aiming only at the liberation of Ireland. We felt that we could rescue our brotherhood from those foul imputations which had been industriously ascribed to it—the pursuit of the most unjust objects by means of the most flagitious crime.

"If our country has not actually benefited to the extent of our wishes and of our stipulations, et it be remembered that this nas not been owing to the *compact*, but to the *breach of the compact*—the gross and flagrant breach of it, both as to the letter and spirit, in violation of every principle of plighted faith and honor.

"Having been called upon to fulfill our part of the compact, a stop being put to all further trials and executions, a memoir was drawn up and signed by two of the undersigned, together with another of the body, (they being selected by Government for that purpose,) and was presented to Mr. Cooke on the 4th of August. It was very hastily prepared in a prison, and, of course, not so complete and accurate as it might otherwise have been; but sufficiently so to draw from Mr. Cooke an acknowledgment that it was a complete fulfillment of the agreement; though he said the Lord-Lieutenant wished to have it so altered as not to be a justification of the United Irishmen, which, he said, it manifestly was.

"Upon the refusal to alter it, Government thought proper to suppress it altogether, and adopted a plan which they had already found convenient for promulgating, *not the entire truth*, but so much of the truth as accorded with their views, and whatever else they wished to have passed upon mankind under color of authority for the truth. This was no other than examination before the secret committees of Parliament. By these committees several of us were examined; and, to our astonishment, we soon after saw in the newspapers, and have since seen in printed reports of these committees, misrepresented and garbled, and, as far as relates to some of us, very untrue and fallacious statements of our testimony—even in some cases, the very reverse of what was given. That no suspicion may attach to this assertion from its vagueness, such of us as were examined will, without delay, state the precise substance of our evidence on that occasion.

"The Irish Parliament thought fit, about the month of September in the same year, to pass an act to be founded expressly on this agreement. To the provisions of that law we do not think it worth while to allude, because their severity and injustice are lost in comparison with the enormous falsehood of its preamble. In answer to that we most distinctly and formally deny that any of us did ever publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, *acknowledge crimes*, *retract opinions*, or *implore pardon*, as is therein most falsely stated. A full and explicit declaration to this effect would have been made public at the time, had it not been prevented by a message from Lord Cornwallis, delivered to one of the subscribers, on the 12th of that month. Notwithstanding we had expressly stipulated at the time of the negotiation for the entire liberty of publication, in case we should find our conduct or motives misrepresented, yet this perfidious and inhuman message threatened that such declaration would be considered as a breach of the agreement on our part, and in that case the executions in *general should go on as formerly*.

"Thus was the truth stifled at the time; and we believe firmly that to prevent its publication has been one of the principal reasons why, in violation of the most solemn engagements, we were kept in close custody ever since, and transported from our native country against our consent.

"We conceive that to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country, and to posterity, we owe this brief statement of facts, in which we have suppressed everything that is not of a nature strictly vindicatory; because our object in this publication is not to criminate, but to defend. As to their truth, we positively aver them, each for himself, as far as they fall within his knowledge, and we firmly believe the others to be the truth, and nothing but the truth."

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of John Sweetman:—

"On the 12th of March, 1798, the depu-

ties from several counties having met in Dublin, to deliberate upon some general measures for Union, were arrested in a body at Mr. Bond's, as were also many other of its principal agents, and put into a state of solitary confinement. Some of those persons were examined by the Privy Council previous to their committal to prison; when it appeared, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the negotiations of the United Irishmen with France had been betrayed to the British Government. On the 30th, the kingdom was officially declared in a state of rebellion, and put under martial law. A proclamation from the Lord-Lieutenant had directed the military to use the most summary methods for repressing disturbances; and it was publicly notified by the commanders in some counties that, unless the people brought in their arms within ten days from the period of publication, large bodies of troops would be quartered on them, who should be licensed to live at free-quarters, and that other severities would be exercised to enforce acquiescence. In the latter end of May, the united armed men of the County Kildare felt themselves obliged to take the field, and hostilities commenced between them and the King's forces on the 24th. About this time the Counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up, and those of Down, Derry, Antrim, Carlow, and Meath were preparing to rise. The appeal to arms in these counties was attended with various success on both sides, and the military were invested with further powers by a proclamation, issued by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, directing the generals to punish all attacks upon the King's forces, according to martial-law, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient. For some time the people had the advantage in the field; but the defeat at New Ross on the 5th of June, at Antrim on the 7th, that of Arklow on the 9th, of Ballinahinch on the 12th, of Vinegar Hill on the 21st, and Kilconnell on the 26th, with the evacuation of Wexford, and some unsuccessful skirmishes which afterwards took place in the County of Wicklow, removed all hope of maintaining the contest *for the present* with any probability of success. In the interim troops were arriving from England, and several regiments of English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland About the end of June, a proclamation was issued, promising pardon and protection to all persons, except the leaders, who should return to their allegiance and deliver up their arms, which, it was said, had a very general effect. A large body of the Kildare men had already surrendered to General Dundas, and on the 21st of July another party, with its leaders, capitulated to General Wilford. The King's troops by this time were victorious in every quarter; and the park of artillery which had been employed in the south had returned to the capital.

"It was now upwards of two months since the war broke out, during which time no attempt had been made by the French to land a force upon the coast, nor was there any satisfactory account then received that such a design was in contemplation. The expedition of Buonaparte and the forces under his command were already ascertained to have some part of the Mediterranean for their object. No other diversion was made by the French to distract the British power during this period. Military tribunals, composed of officers who, in many instances, as it was publicly admitted, had not exceeded the inconsiderate age of boyhood, were everywhere instituted, and a vast number of executions had been the consequence. The yeomen and soldiery, licensed to indulge their rancor and revenge, were committing those atrocious cruelties which unfortunately distinguish the character of civil warfare. The shooting of innocent peasants at their work was occasionally resorted to by them as a species of recreation —a practice so inhuman that unless we had incontestible evidence of the fact we never should have given it the slightest credence. During these transactions, a special commission, under an act of Parliament, passed for the occasion, was sitting in the capital; and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act

done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the Government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused; and they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connections of Government to flatter those wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch-apostate Reynolds with the title of 'Saviour of his country.'"

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of William James MacNeven:—

"In the case of Mr. Bond, the jury, with an indecent precipitation, returned a verdict of guilty, on the 23d of July, and on the 25th he was sentenced to die. Byrne was also ordered for execution. In this situation of our affairs a negotiation was opened with Government, and proceeded in through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. An agreement was in consequence concluded and signed, which among other things stipulated for the lives of Byrne and Bond; but Government thought fit to annul this by the execution of Byrne. As, however, the main object, *the putting a stop to the useless effusion of blood*, was still attainable, it was deemed right to open a second negotiation. In its progress, Government having insisted on some dishonorable requisitions, which were rejected with indignation, occasioned the failure of this also. It was, however, proposed by them to renew it again, and deputies from the jails were appointed to confer with the official servants of the Crown. A meeting, accordingly, took place at the Castle on the 29th of July, when the final agreement was concluded and exchanged.

"In addition to the *fulfillment to the letter* of this agreement, the official servants of the Crown pledged the faith of Government for two things—one that the result and end of that measure should be the putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and that all executions should cease, except in cases of willful murder; the other was, that the conditions of the agreement should be liberally interpreted. The agreement was, in the course of a day or two, generally signed by the prisoners.

"Having thus stated the facts, we proceed to declare our reasons for entering into and ratifying this agreement: First. Because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two were making head against the whole of the King's forces, no effectual disposition was manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. Second. Because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their Government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. Third. Because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valor of the people fruitless. Fourth. Because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland—an event that they were previously taught to expect—no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. Fifth. Because, that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the Union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose insurmountable difficulties. Sixth. Because, from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that further resistance, for the present, was not only vain, but nearly abandoned. Seventh. Because we were well assured that the proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th of June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. Eighth. Because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected, that trial was

but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. Ninth. Because we were convinced by the official servants of the Crown, and by the evidence given on the trials, that Government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions—the former they obtained, as we believe, through the perfidy of some agents of the French Government at Hamburg; the latter through informers who had been more or less confidential in all our affairs. Tenth, and final. Every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual Orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, to preserve to Ireland her best blood . . . we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value—we agreed to abandon our country, our families, and our friends.

"And now we feel ourselves further called upon to declare that an act, passed in Ireland during the autumn of 1798, reciting our names, and asserting that we had 'retracted our opinions, acknowledged our crimes, and implored pardon,' is founded upon a gross and flagrant calumny—neither we, the undersigned, nor any of our fellow-prisoners, so far as we know or believe, having ever done either the one or the other; and we solemnly assert that we never were consulted about that act, its provisions, or preamble, and that no copy of it was ever sent to us by any servant of the Crown—though repeatedly promised by the under-Secretary—nor by any other person. On the the contrary, it had, unknown to us, passed the House of Commons, when one of us, (Samuel Neilson,) having seen by mere accident an abstract of it in an English newspaper, remonstrated with the servants of the Crown on the falsity of the preamble, and was silenced only by a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, that it was his positive determination to annul the agreement and *proceed with the executions*, &c., if any further notice whatever was taken of the preamble, or if one word was published on the subject. We did not conceive ourselves warranted, situated as things then were, in being instrumental to a renewal of bloodshed. We have ever since been constrained to silence, for, in violation of a solemn agreement, we have been kept *close prisoners*

"To our country and to our posterity, we felt that we owed this declaration; and to their judgment upon our conduct and motives we bow with respectful submission."

These gentlemen were all still kept close prisoners. Three of them, Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, and Dr. MacNeven, were twice, in the course of the year 1798, brought up and examined, as already described, before secret committees of both Houses, and in April, 1799, were sent to Fort George, a strong place near Inverness, in the Highlands of Scotland, where they were kept prisoners until the peace of Amiens. The names of the Fort George prisoners were :—

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
ARTHUR O'CONNOR,
ROGER O'CONNOR,
WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN,
JOHN SWEETMAN,
MATTHEW DOWLING,
JOHN CHAMBERS,
EDWARD HUDSON,
GEORGE CUMMING,
SAMUEL NEILSON,
THOMAS RUSSELL,
ROBERT SIMMS,
WILLIAM TENNENT,
ROBERT HUNTER,
HUGH WILSON,
JOHN SWEENY,
JOSEPH CUTHBERT,
WILLIAM STEELE DIXON,
JOSEPH CORMICK.

"We were selected," says Dr. Steele Dixon, in his narrative, "from the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, but principally from the city of Dublin and town of Belfast; we comprehended in our body three magistrates, three barristers, two physicians, one attorney, one apothecary, one printer and bookseller, one printer and proprietor of a newspaper, one dentist, one military captain, one runner to a bank, one merchant tailor, and one Presbyterian minister, with an eminent porter brewer, two wholesale merchants, one broker, and two young gentlemen without profession, trade, or calling. . . . I should have added,

a clergyman of the Church of England, as Arthur O'Connor was ordained as such previous to his being called to the bar ; and as Episcopal ordination impresses an indelible character, he not only then was, and now is, but ever must be, a *clergyman*. Of our circumstances, I shall only say, that we *had* all been *independent*, most of us *respectable*, in our professions, some possessed of large capitals in trade, and others of considerable landed property. Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention here that, as we were selected from the three principal provinces of Ireland, we were respectively members of the three principal Churches in the kingdom, and which alone Government has yet acknowledged *as Churches*. Nor is it unworthy of notice that the number of Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians in our little colony, was in an *inverse ratio* of the number of each denomination in Ireland at large. Perhaps the proportion may be stated as follows, though not correctly :—

Catholics, (two-thirds of the people,) prisoners... 4
Presbyterians, (more than one-fifth of the people,) prisoners..... 6
Protestants, (less than one-seventh of the people,) prisoners.....10

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1798.

Parliament—The Acts of Attainder—French Landing under Humbert—Killala—Conduct of the little French Army—Ballina—The Races of Castlebar—Panic and Rout of the British Force—French give a Ball—Lord Cornwallis Collects a Great Army—Marches to meet the French—Encounters them at Ballinamuck—Defeat and Capture of the French—Recovery of Ballina—Slaughter—Courts-Martial, &c.—End of the Insurrections of 1798—New French Expedition—Commodore Bompart—T. W. Tone—Encounter British Fleet at Mouth of Lough Swilly—Battle—the Hoche Captured—Tone a Prisoner—Recognized by Sir George Hill—Carried to Dublin in Irons—Tried by Court-Martial—Condemned to be Hanged—His Address to the Court—Asks as a Favor to be Shot—Refused by Cornwallis—Suicide in Prison.

In the midst of this reign of terror and of vengeance, Parliament continued to sit from time to time. Lord Castlereagh's majority n Parliament had its functions to discharge, as well as the "Major's People," in the general system of operations which were all to lead towards, and end in, the one grand point—a Legislative Union. On the 18th of July, Lord Castlereagh, after a long speech on the rebellion in general, and its atrocities, (which were all, according to him, on the part of the people,) proposed that a measure should be brought in to grant compensation to such of His Majesty's *loyal* subjects as had sustained losses in their property during the insurrection. This bill was brought in, was passed, and commissioners were appointed for carrying it into effect. On the 27th, the Attorney-General brought in a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, in order that their estates might be forfeited. All efforts in opposition to this new procedure against men who were all dead and had never been convicted of any crime, proved quite fruitless. It was the informer Reynolds, who had been implicitly trusted by the unsuspecting Lord Edward, that proved the case against him, to the satisfaction of the Committee. Curran was heard in defence, on the part of Lady Pamela Fitzgerald and her children, and made a very strong argument. On the unheard-of nature of this species of proceeding, he said : "Upon the previous and important question, namely, the guilt of Lord Edward, (without the full proof of which no punishment can be just,) I have been asked by the Committee if I have any defence to go into. . . . Sir, I now answer the question : I have no defensive evidence—it is impossible that I should. I have often of late gone to the dungeon of the captive, but *never have I gone to the grave of the dead*, to receive instructions for his defence—nor, in truth, have I ever before been at the trial of a dead man." It was all in vain ; that Parliament was quite ready to make a new precedent, in order to starve the widows and children of dead rebels. The bills of Attainder passed.* Besides these, the Parliament was busy with its "Fugitive bill," and its "Banishment bill," excepting from all

* A remnant of Lord Edward's property was saved for his widow by Mr. Ogilvie, Lord Edward's stepfather, who bought it when sold in Chancery to satisfy a mortgage. But what was saved was a trifle; and Lady Pamela died in poverty. As to Mr. Grogan, who possessed a large estate, Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"This Attainder bill was one of the most illegal

amnesty certain United Irishmen not then in the country, and certain others who were to be allowed to exile themselves. These two lists comprehend one hundred and forty names, including Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone, Richard McCormick, Dean Swift, Lewins, Emmet, Neilson, O'Connor, &c.; and all the names may be found in one of the appendixes of Madden. The last-named gentlemen, indeed, before their banishment, had some years to pass in the dreary fortress of Fort George.

The whole country was still under martial-law; many were suffering the extreme penalty, and that wholesome feeling, called by Barrington "an impression of horror," was sufficiently prevalent for all the purposes of Mr. Pitt, when his policy was materially served by a new and most pitiful French invasion, which came too late to serve Ireland, but was in admirable time to help England.

Fortunately for England, and, therefore, unhappily for Ireland, the French Republic was, during the year 1798, in its most helpless and chaotic condition. Napoleon was in Egypt; and the miserable Directory, with neither money nor credit, was lamentably unequal to the exigencies of the time. Wolfe Tone was still in France. As the news of each arrest, and of each action, successively reached France, he urged the generals and Government to assist the gallant and desperate struggle of his countrymen, and pressed on them the necessity of availing themselves of the favorable opportunity which flew so rapidly by. They began their preparations without delay; but money, arms, ammunition, and ships, all were wanting. By the close of June, the insurrection was nearly crushed, and it was not till the beginning of July that Tone was called up to Paris, to consult with the Ministers of the War and Navy Departments on the organization of a new expedition. At this period his journal closes, and the subsequent events are elsewhere recorded.

The plan of the new expedition was to dispatch small detatchments from several ports, in the hope of keeping up the insurrection, and distracting the attention of the enemy, until some favorable opportunity should occur for landing the main body, under General Kilmaine. General Humbert, with about one thousand men, was quartered for this purpose at Rochelle; General Hardy, with three thousand, at Brest; and Kilmaine, with nine thousand, remained in reserve. This plan was judicious enough, if it had been taken up in time. But, long before the first of these expeditions was ready to sail, the insurrection was subdued in every quarter.

The indignation of the unfortunate Irish was just and extreme against that French Government, which had so repeatedly promised them aid, and now appeared to desert them in their utmost need.

A miserable expedition, at the instance of Napper Tandy, was at length fitted out, of which Tone's son thus speaks:—

"The final ruin of the expedition was hurried by the precipitancy and indiscretion of a brave but ignorant and imprudent officer. This anecdote, which is not generally known, is a striking instance of the disorder, indiscipline, and disorganization which began to prevail in the French army. Humbert, a gallant soldier of fortune, but whose heart was better than his head, impatient of the delays of his Government, and fired by the recitals of the Irish refugees, determined to begin the enterprise on his own responsibility, and thus oblige the Directory to second or to abandon him."

With three or four ships, about one thousand men, and a small force of artillery—without instructions, and without any assurance of being supported, he compelled the captains to select for the most desperate attempt which is, perhaps, recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him, Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, of Lisburn, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett, whose name is often mentioned in Tone's memoirs. On the 22d of August they made the coast of Connaught, and landing in the Bay of Killala, immediately stormed and occupied that little town.

The Protestant Bishop of Killala was

and unconstitutional acts ever promoted by any government; but after much more than £10,000 costs to Crown officers, and to Lord Norbury, as Attorney-General, had been extracted from the property, the estates were restored to the surviving brother."

The surviving brother had fought on the royalist side during the insurrection.

then at his house, called the Castle, and there was with him a company of parsons, holding a visitation. It is from his narrative that we learn the details; and he especially bears witness to the excellent conduct of the French, both officers and men; although his testimony to this effect was "at the expense of his own translation"*

The French entered the bay under English colors; and the feint succeeded so well that two of the bishop's sons, with the Port-Surveyor, took a fishing-boat and went out with the intention of going on board one of the ships; they were presently surprised to find themselves prisoners Between seven and eight, a terrified messenger came and told the bishop that the French were landed, and that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly, in full speed, with the intelligence to Ballina. The yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the castle-gate, and resolutely advanced into the main street to meet the French advance-guard.

Borne down by numbers, and seeing two of their corps fall, they were seized with a panic, and fled. Kirkwood and nineteen yeomen were taken, and ordered into close custody at the castle. All opposition being now at an end, the French General marched into the castle-yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see the bishop, who, fortunately, was conversant with the French language. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension for himself or his people; they should be treated with respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support; a promise which, as long as those troops continued in Killala, was most religiously observed.

Mr. Kirkwood was examined, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighborhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers, who came with the French, to which he answered with such an appearance of frankness and candor, that he gained the esteem of the French General, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family, and attend to his private affairs. The conjugal affection of this gentleman on the next day made him forget his parole, and go to attend his sick wife, who, from the dread of the enemy, had secreted herself in the mountains. Enraged at this breach of parole, the French took everything they wanted out of his stores—oats, salt, and iron, to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling-house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned he found it a wreck.

The bishop's castle was made the head-quarters of the French General. But such excellent discipline was constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach, presented to them—a side-board of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great-coats, as well of the guests as of the family—not one single article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could seize. A green flag was mounted over the castle-gate, with the inscription *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the French. Their cause was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the meantime, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future Directory.

Though cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good to a considerable extent. The first that offered their service received complete clothing to the amount of about a thousand. The next comers, at least as many, received arms and clothing, but no shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms, Colonel Charost assured the bishop, five thousand and five hundred stand were delivered.

* Sir J. Barrington. *Rise and Fall, &c.*

The Right Rev. narrator thus describes the little army of invaders :—

"Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline ; yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse for the wear ; to a superficial observer they would have appeared almost incapable of enduring any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no cover but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy, under Buonaparte, the rest were from the Army of the Rhine."

The French, and the Irish officers who accompanied them, did not find the Connaught people so well prepared to receive them, nor so well organized, as they had hoped and expected. The general insurrection which was just suppressed had not penetrated into Mayo at all ; yet the bishop mentions some circumstances to show that the landing was not unexpected by the peasantry of those parts. At any rate, a French flag displayed anywhere in Ireland, was sure to attract the fighting part of the population around it—as, indeed, the same phenomenon would do at this day. The bishop, whose professional prejudices may lead him to exaggerate a little, gives a curious account of the astonishment of the French when they found their Irish allies were devout Catholics—as if they had not known this before ; he says :—

"The contrast with regard to religious sentiments between the French and their Irish allies was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot ; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men who boasted openly in our hearing, that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland. It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, that they were come to take arms for France and the Blessed Virgin."

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of two hundred men and six officers, and on the 25th, about seven o'clock in the evening, took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach. Here he left behind him an officer named Truc, with a very small part of the French and several of the Irish recruits. Humbert was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigor, and a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the natives to his standard. At Ballina many hundred peasants repaired to the French standard, and with eagerness received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and less than fifteen hundred Irish.

There was then in Castlebar an army of six thousand men, under command of General Lake, including some fine militia regiments, with the Marquis of Ormond, General Lord Hutchinson, the Earls of Longford and Granard, and Lord Roden, with his boasted regiment of cavalry, called the "Foxhunters," who had shown themselves capable of at least riding down flying and disarmed peasants in Meath and Kildare. It was a force with which General Lake reasonably enough thought he should give a good account of eight hundred French and some raw levies of Connaught men. The English commander expected the French to advance by the high road leading to Castlebar ; but Humbert, having good guides, took the way over the pass of Barnagee, westward, and so appeared, early in the morning, not precisely at the point where he was looked for.

General Lake with his staff had just arrived and taken command, (as an elder officer,) as Lord Hutchinson had determined to march the ensuing day and end the question, by a capture of the French detachment. The change of commanders had occasioned discontent and demoralization amongst the troops ; at least that is one of the reasons or excuses which loyalist writers have been

fain to allege for the shameful conduct of the British force in the action which followed. Plowden says, on this subject :—

"There is no question but that a very serious difference happened previous to the disgraceful action at Castlebar, between General (now Lord) Hutchinson and General Lake ; and that the army in general was strongly affected by the former's having been superseded in his command by the latter. General Hutchinson was acquainted with every inch of the country, and had prepared an able and efficient plan for stopping the progress of the enemy ; he commanded alike the confidence of the army and the affections of the natives. As cruelty and cowardice are ever inseparable, it was unlikely that troops, which had debased themselves by massacring the fugitive, surrendered or unoffending, by burning their houses and destroying their property, by torturing, strangling, and flogging the suspected to extort confessions, should, when left to themselves, or under the command of the promoter of that savage warfare, bravely face an enemy, upon whom they dared not exercise their wonted atrocities."

However that might be, on the appearance of the French and Irish deploying from the pass of Barnagee, Sir Jonah Barrington describes thus the singular action that followed :—

"The troops were moved to a position, about a mile from Castlebar, which, to an unskilled person, seemed unassailable. They had scarcely been posted, with nine pieces of cannon, when the French appeared on the opposite side of a small lake, descending the hill in columns, directly in front of the English. Our artillery played on them with effect. The French kept up a scattered fire of musketry, and took up the attention of our army by irregular movements. In half an hour, however, our troops were alarmed by a movement of small bodies to turn their left, which, being covered by walls, they had never apprehended. The orders given were either mistaken or misbelieved ; the line wavered, and, in a few minutes, the whole of the royal army was completely routed ; the flight of the infantry was as that of a mob, all the royal artillery was taken, our army fled to Castlebar, the heavy cavalry galloped amongst the infantry and Lord Jocelyn's Light Dragoons, and made the best of their way, through thick and thin, to Castlebar, and towards Tuam, pursued by such of the French as could get horses to carry them.

"About nine hundred French and some peasants took possession of Castlebar, without resistance, except from a few Highlanders, stationed in the town, who were soon destroyed."

So violent was the panic of the British, that they never halted till they reached Tuam, forty miles from the field of battle. They lost the whole of their artillery—fourteen pieces—five stand of colors, and in killed, wounded, and prisoners, eighteen officers and three hundred and fifty men—but the French calculated the loss of the enemy at six hundred. The fugitives renewed their march, or rather flight, from Tuam on the same night, and proceeded to Athlone, where an officer of Carbineers with sixty of his men arrived at one o'clock, on Tuesday, the 29th, having performed a march of above seventy English miles—the distance of Athlone from Castlebar — in twenty-seven hours. The whole battle and rout are familiarly known to this day in Connaught, as the "*Races of Castlebar*."

The French having thus easily possessed themselves of the county town of Mayo, immediately gave a ball and supper. Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"The native character of the French never showed itself more strongly than after this action. When in full possession of the large town of Castlebar, they immediately set about putting their persons in the best order, and the officers advertised a ball and supper that night, for the ladies of the town ; this, it is said, was well attended ; decorum in all points was strictly preserved ; they paid ready money for everything ; in fact, the French army established the French character wherever they occupied."

But they thought of something else besides amusement. With that love of order which is a distinguishing trait of their nation, they established districts, each under its own elected magistrate ; they repressed any disposition which showed itself on the part of the people to maltreat the loyalist inhabitants, if, indeed, such disposition ex-

isted, as the bishop affirms. A provincial government was at once established, with Mr. Moore, of Moore Hall, as President, and proclamations were issued in the name of the "Irish Republic."

From the terror which this handful of French troops inspired, we may form some idea of the effects which might have followed the landing of even Humbert's little force anywhere in the south of Ireland, while the Wexford men were gallantly holding their own county; or we may conjecture what might have been the result if Humbert had brought with him ten thousand men instead of one thousand, even, in that month of August, crushed as the people had been by the savage suppression of their insurrection;—or, if Grouchy had marched inland with his six thousand men, at the moment when the people were eager to begin the rising, and the English had but three thousand regular troops in the island. It seemed as if England were destined to have all the luck, and either by favor of the elements or the miscalculations of her enemies, to escape, one after another, the deadly perilst hat forever beset her empire.

As it was, this arrival of Humbert, even followed by so brilliant a victory, was really so much profit to the British Government. Barrington truly remarks:—

"The defeat of Castlebar, however, was a victory to the Viceroy; it revived all the horrors of the rebellion which had been subsiding, and the desertion of the militia regiments tended to impress the gentry with an idea that England alone could protect the country."

The Marquis Cornwallis determined to collect a great army, and march in imposing force; but he did not hasten his movements so much as it was thought he might have done; and, in the meantime, the French and insurgents were profiting by the delay. It was said that forty thousand of the Westmeath people were preparing to assemble at the Crooked Wood, in that county, so as to join the French on their passage, and march on the metropolis.

At length, the Marquis was ready; and having assured himself of the presence of twenty thousand men on his line of march, he thought himself strong enough to encounter the eight hundred audacious Frenchmen and their Irish allies. These latter were by no means increasing, but rather diminishing since the day of Castlebar; and in deed, at no time exceeded two thousand men —a circumstance which greatly surprised and disgusted the French.

The Marquis proceeded on the 30th of August on the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles distant from Castlebar; in the evening of that day he received intelligence, that the enemy had abandoned his post, and marched to Foxford.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony, was opposed on the 5th by Colonel Vereker, of the city of Limerick militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose, with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Light Dragoons, and two curricle guns. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo.

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French General to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drumnahair towards Manorhamilton, in the County of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders dismounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drumnahair, into the river. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumkerin, perhaps with design of attempting, if possible, to reach Granard, in the County of Longford, where an insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops hung so close on the rearguard of the French, as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulsed with some loss, and admonished to observe more caution in the pursuit.

The French army passing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hours in the night at Claone, arrived at Ballinamuck, County Longford, on the 8th of September, so closely followed by the troops of Colonel Crawford and General Lake, that its rearguard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit; while

Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the County of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, on his way to Granard; or, should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honor of the French arms The rear-guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they also surrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a prisoner. His lordship had precipitately advanced into the French lines to obtain their surrender. The Irish insurgents who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter of about five hundred men, which seems much less to exceed the truth than the returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of the island. About one thousand five hundred insurgents were with the French army at Ballinamuck, at the time of the surrender of Humbert. The loss of the King's troops was officially stated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded. The troops of General Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of seven hundred and forty-six privates, and ninety-six officers, having sustained a loss of about two hundred men since their landing at Killala on the 22d of August.

Vengeful executions began on the field of battle. It appears that, on the day of the "Races of Castlebar," a considerable part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments, not finding it convenient to retreat, thought the next best thing they could do would be to join the victors, which they immediately did, and in one hour were completely equipped as French riflemen. About ninety of those men were hung by Lord Cornwallis at Ballinamuck. One of them defended himself by insisting "that it was the army, and not he, who were deserters; that whilst he was fighting hard they all ran away, and left him to be murdered."

A Mr. Blake, who had been an officer in the British army, was also executed on the field. Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone (brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone) were among the prisoners, and were both executed within a few days in Dublin. Mr. Moore, President of the Provincial Government, which had been instituted at Castlebar, was one of the prisoners at Ballinamuck, and was sentenced to banishment. Roger Maguire, one of the leaders of the Irish insurgents, was transported, and his father, a brewer, was hung.

The small French garrison which had been left in Killala still occupied that place, and great part of North Connaught continued in insurrection.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of Major-General Trench, who would have been still some days later in his arrival, had he not been hastened by a message from the bishop, to announce the fearful apprehensions his lordship's family and the other loyalists were under.

The bishop's narrative of what followed indicates that the recovery of this place by the British forces was a scene rather of indiscriminate massacre than of combat. He describes how "a troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children, tumbled over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army."

There was, however, a momentary resistance.

The insurgents quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, and posted themselves under the low stone-walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the King's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench

had divided his forces at Crosmolina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, their Colonel, the Earl of Glandore, attending the General.

The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the insurgents could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these people fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears.

The attempt at resistance lasted twenty minutes, when the insurgents scattered in two directions, some into the town where they were shot down in the streets, some along the shore of the bay, where they were enfiladed by a gun placed in position for that purpose.

The court-martial began the day after, and sat in the house of Mr. Morrison. They had to try not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke. The trial of these two gentlemen was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hung the next morning in the park behind the castle.

So ended the last of the series of partial insurrections in Ireland in the year 1798. Little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the several engagements and encounters. According to the most probable accounts to be had from the War Office, the number of the army lost in this rebellion amounts in the whole to nineteen thousand seven hundred men; and according to the general Government accounts of the total loss of the insurgents, it exceeded fifty thousand, without including women and children, great numbers of whom were shot down by the yeomanry, or burned in their own houses. The mere loss of life, too, gives but a faint idea of the sufferings endured by the poor people. Many hundreds had been put to the torture, and lacerated by cruel scourging to extort information. Never, perhaps, was any national insurrection in the world so savagely crushed; never was insurrection so thoroughly justified by the oppression which provoked it; and never were chiefs of any insurrection more pure in their motives, more gallant, honorable, and self-sacrificing, than those whose bodies were now swinging upon gibbets, whose heads were grinning upon spikes, or who were languishing in various prisons, to expiate the crime of loving their country and hating its oppressors.

The policy of Mr. Pitt was now in full operation; and the "impression of horror" was strong and deep; indeed, the plans of the Minister were rather aided by the driftless and helpless French expeditions, which the imbecile government of the Directory sent to help the insurgents, but which came too late, and arrived at the wrong places. Before narrating the measures of the Government with a view to the Legislative Union, it is necessary to tell how it fared with Theobald Wolfe Tone. The founder of the United Irish Society was not a man to evade the consequences and responsibilities of his own acts, nor to take his ease in France, where he held a high commission in the army, while his comrades were perishing on the field or on the gallows. He never for one moment relaxed his efforts to effect the great task of his life; which was to bring an adequate force of Frenchmen into Ireland, and so to stop and to punish the shocking atrocities, of which every new report tortured his soul.

The news of Humbert's attempt, as may well be imagined, threw the Directory into the greatest perplexity. They instantly de-

termined, however, to hurry all their preparations, and send off at least the division of General Hardy, to second his efforts, as soon as possible. The report of his first advantages, which shortly reached them, augmented their ardor and accelerated their movements. But such was the state of the French navy and arsenals, that it was not until the 20th of September that this small expedition, consisting of one sail of the line and eight frigates, under Commodore Bompart, and three thousand men, under General Hardy, was ready for sailing. The news of Humbert's defeat had not yet reached France.

Paris was then crowded with Irish emigrants, eager for action. Some Irishmen embarked before Bompart, in a small and fast-sailing vessel, with Napper Tandy at their head. They reached, on the 16th of September, the Isle of Raghlin, on the north coast of Ireland, where they heard of Humbert's disaster; they merely spread some proclamations, and escaped to Norway. Three Irishmen only accompanied Tone in Hardy's flotilla; he alone was embarked in the Admiral's vessel, the Hoche, the others were on board the frigates. These were Mr. T. Corbett, and MacGuire, two brave officers, who afterwards died in the French service, and a third gentleman, connected by marriage with his friend Russell.

At the period of this expedition, Tone was hopeless of its success, and in the deepest despondency at the prospect of Irish affairs. Such was the wretched indiscretion of the Government, that before his departure, he read himself, in the *Bien Informé*, a Paris newspaper, a detailed account of the whole armament, where his own name was mentioned in full letters, with the circumstance of his being on board the Hoche. There was, therefore, no hope of secresy. He had all along deprecated the idea of those attempts on a small scale. But he had also declared, repeatedly, that, if the Government sent only a corporal's guard, he felt it his duty to go along with them; he saw no chance of Kilmaine's large expedition being ready in any reasonable time, and, therefore, determined to accompany Hardy. His resolution was, however, deliberately taken, in case he fell into the hands of the enemy, never to suffer the indignity of a public execution. And his son, William Theobald Wolfe Tone, informs us that he had expressed himself to this effect "at dinner, in our own house, and in my mother's presence, a little before leaving Paris." *

At length, about the 20th of September, 1798, that fatal expedition set sail from the Bay de Camaret. It consisted of the Hoche, seventy-four; Loire, Resolue, Bellone, Coquille, Embuscade, Immortalité, Romaine, and Semillante, frigates; and Biche, schooner, and aviso. To avoid the British fleets, Bompart, an excellent seaman, took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the northeast, in order to bear down on the northern coast of Ireland, from the quarter whence a French force would be least expected. He met, however, with contrary winds, and it appears that his flotilla was scattered; for, on the 10th of October, after twenty days' cruise, he arrived off the entry of Loch Swilly, with the Hoche, the Loire, the Resolue, and the Biche. He was instantly signalled, and, on the break of day, next morning, 11th of October, before he could enter the bay or land his troops, he perceived the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren, consisting of six sail of the line, one razee of sixty guns, and two frigates, bearing down upon him. There was no chance of escape for the large and heavy man-of-war. Bompart gave instant signals to the frigates and schooner to retreat through shallow water, and prepared alone to honor the flag of his country and liberty, by a desperate but hopeless defence. At that moment, a boat came from the Biche for his last orders. That ship had the best chance to get off. The French officers all supplicated Tone to embark on board of her. "Our contest is hopeless," they observed, "we will be prisoners of war, but what will become of you?" "Shall it be said," replied he, "that I fled, whilst the French were fighting the battles of my country?" He refused their offers, and determined to stand and fall with the ship. The Biche accomplished her escape.

The British Admiral dispatched two men-

* *Memoirs of Wolfe Tone;* by his son. Published in Washington. The English edition is much mutilated.

HUGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

of-war, the razee and a frigate, after the Loire and Resolue, and the Hoche was soon surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, and began one of the most obstinate and desperate engagements which have ever been fought on the ocean. During six hours, she sustained the fire of a whole fleet, till her masts and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke, and let in five feet of water in the hold, her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the waters; her sails and cordage hung in shreds, nor could she reply with a single gun from her dismounted batteries to the unabating cannonade of the enemy. At length, she struck. The Resolue and Loire were soon reached by the English fleet; the former was in a sinking condition; she made, however, an honorable defence; the Loire sustained three attacks, drove off the English frigates, and had almost effected her escape; at length, engaged by the Anson, razee of sixty guns, he struck, after an action of three hours, entirely dismasted. Of the other frigates, pursued in all directions the Bellone, Immortalité, Coquille, and Embuscade were taken, and the Romaine and Semillante, through a thousand dangers, reached separate ports in France.

During the action, Tone commanded one of the batteries, and, according to the report of the officers who returned to France, fought with the utmost desperation, and as if he was courting death. When the ship struck, confounded with the other officers, he was not recognized for some time; for he had completely acquired the language and appearance of a Frenchman. The two fleets were dispersed in every direction, nor was it till some days later that the Hoche was brought into Loch Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny. Yet rumors of his being on board must have been circulated, for the fact was public at Paris. But it was thought he had been killed in the action. It was, at length, a gentleman well-known in the County Derry as a leader of the Orange party, and one of the chief magistrates in that neighborhood, Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student in Trinity College, and knew his person, who undertook the task of discovering him. It is known that in Spain, grandees and noblemen of the first rank pride themselves in the functions of familiars, spies, and informers of the Holy Inquisition; it remained for Ireland to offer a similar example. The French officers were invited to breakfast with the Earl of Cavan, who commanded in that district. Tone sat undistinguished amongst them, when Sir George Hill entered the room, followed by police officers. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out the object of his search, and, stepping up to him, said, "Mr. Tone, I am *very happy* to see you." Instantly rising, with the utmost composure, he replied, "Sir George, I am happy to see you; how is Lady Hill and your family?" * Beckoned into the next room by the police officers, an unexpected indignity awaited him. It was filled with military, and one General Lavau, who commanded them, ordered him to be ironed, declaring that, as on leaving Ireland, to enter the French service, he had not renounced his oath of allegiance, he remained a subject of Britain, and should be punished as a traitor. Seized with a momentary burst of indignation at such unworthy treatment and cowardly cruelty to a prisoner of war, he flung off his uniform, and cried, "These fetters shall never degrade the revered insignia of the free nation which I have served." Resuming then his usual calm, he offered his limbs to the irons, and 'when they were fixed, he exclaimed, "For the cause which I have embraced, I feel prouder to wear these chains than if I were decorated with the star and garter of England."

From Letterkenny he was hurried to Dublin wthout delay. Contrary to usual custom, he was conveyed, during the whole route, fettered and on horseback, under an escort of dragoons. The escort was composed of Cambridgeshire yeomanry cavalry, and commanded by a Captain Thackeray, af-

* Dr. Madden points out that this Sir George Hill was a regular secret agent of the Government, and quotes several payments made to him—and through him to other agents — out of the Secret Service money. See accounts of Secret Service money in Madden's work.

terwards a clergyman and Rector of Dundalk. He often, long afterwards, described this journey, and said that Tone was the most delightful companion he ever traveled with.

Though the reign of terror was drawing to a close, and Lord Cornwallis had restored some appearance of legal order and regular administration in the kingdom, a prisoner of such importance to the Irish Protestant Ascendancy party, as the founder and leader of the United Irish Society, and the most formidable of their adversaries, was not to be trusted to the delays and common forms of law. Though the Court of King's Bench was then sitting, preparations were instantly made for trying him summarily before a court-martial. It has been erroneously stated that Tone imagined his French commission would be a protection to him, and that he pleaded it on his trial. He never, indeed, was legally condemned; for, though a subject of the Crown, (not of Britain, but of Ireland,) he was not a military man in that kingdom; he had taken no military oath, and, of course, the court-martial which tried him had no power to pronounce on his case, which belonged to the regular criminal tribunals. But his heart was sunk in despair at the total failure of his hopes, and he did not wish to survive them. To die with honor was his only wish, and his only request to be shot like a soldier. For this purpose he preferred himself to be tried by a court-martial, and proffered his French commission, not to defend his life, but as a proof of his rank, as he stated himself on his trial.

If further proof were required that he was perfectly aware of his fate, according to the English law, his own journals, written during the Bantry Bay expedition, afford an incontestible one. (*See Journal of December* 26, 1796.) "If we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as an *emigré rentré*, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for, most assuredly, if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor, and emboweled, &c. As to the emboweling, '*Je m'en fiche.*' If ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me if they please. These are pleasant prospects! Nothing on earth could sustain me now but the consciousness that I am engaged in a just and righteous cause."

Tone appeared before this Court in the uniform of a *Chef de Brigade* (Colonel.) The firmness and cool serenity of his whole deportment gave to the awe-struck assembly the measure of his soul. Nor could his bitterest enemies, whatever they deemed of his political principles, and of the necessity of striking a great example, deny him the praise of determination and magnanimity.

The members of the Court having taken the usual oath, the Judge Advocate proceeded to inform the prisoner that the court-martial, before which he stood, was appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant of the kingdom, to try whether he had or had not acted traitorously against His Majesty, to whom, as a natural-born subject, he owed all allegiance, from the very fact of his being born in the kingdom. And, according to the usual form, he called upon him to plead guilty or not guilty.

The prisoner admitted all the facts, "stripping the charge of its technical word *traitorously*." He would make no defence, and give no trouble, but asked leave to read an address, giving his own account of his conduct. This address is given at full length in his son's memoir, and is in these words:—

"*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Court-martial*—I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing judicial proof to convict me legally of having acted in hostility to the Government of His Britannic Majesty in Ireland. I admit the fact. From my earliest youth, I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation; and felt convinced that, whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy. My mind has been confirmed in this opinion by the experience of every succeeding year, and the conclusions which I have drawn from every fact before my eyes. In consequence, I determined to apply all the powers which my individual efforts could move, in order to separate the two countries.

"That Ireland was not able, of herself, to throw off the yoke, I knew I, therefore, sought for aid wherever it was to be found. In honorable poverty I rejected offers, which, to a man in my circumstances, might be considered highly advantageous. I remained faithful to what I thought the cause of my country, and sought in the French Republic an ally to rescue three millions of my countrymen, from—" . . . . . .

The President here interrupted the prisoner, observing, that this language was neither relevant to the charge, nor such as ought to be delivered in a public court. One member said, it seemed calculated only to inflame the minds of a certain description of people, (the United Irishmen,) many of whom might probably be present; and that, therefore, the Court ought not to suffer it. The Judge Advocate said, he thought, that if Mr. Tone meant this paper to be laid before His Excellency, in way of *extenuation*, it must have quite a contrary effect, if any of the foregoing part was suffered to remain.

Tone—"I shall urge this topic no further, since it seems disagreeable to the Court; but shall proceed to read the few words which remain."

General Loftus—"If the remainder of your address, Mr. Tone, is of the same complexion with what you have already read, will you not hesitate for a moment in proceeding, since you have learned the opinion of the Court?"

Tone—"I believe there is nothing in what remains for me to say, which can give any offence. I mean to express my feelings and gratitude towards the Catholic body, in whose cause I was engaged."

General Loftus—"That seems to have nothing to say to the charge against you, to which only you are to speak. If you have anything to offer in defence or extenuation of that charge, the Court will hear you; but they beg that you will confine yourself to that subject."

Tone—"I shall, then, confine myself to some points relative to my connection with the French army. Attached to no party in the French Republic, without interest, without money, without intrigue, the openness and integrity of my views raised me to a high and confidential rank in its armies. I obtained the confidence of the Executive Directory, the approbation of my generals, and, I venture to add, the esteem and affection of my brave comrades. When I review these circumstances, I feel a secret and internal consolation which no reverse of fortune, no sentence in the power of this Court to inflict can ever deprive me of, or weaken in, any degree. Under the flag of the French Republic I originally engaged, with a view to save and liberate my own country. For that purpose, I have encountered the chances of war amongst strangers; for that purpose, I have repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered, as I knew it to be, with the triumphant fleets of that power, which it was my glory and my duty to oppose. I have sacrificed all my views in life; I have courted poverty; I have left a beloved wife unprotected, and children, whom I adored, fatherless. After such sacrifices, in a cause which I have always conscientiously considered as the cause of justice and freedom—it is no great effort at this day, to add, 'the sacrifice of my life.'

"But I hear it said, that this unfortunate country has been a prey to all sorts of horrors. I sincerely lament it. I beg, however, it may be remembered, that I have been absent four years from Ireland. To me, these sufferings can never be attributed. I designed, by fair and open war, to procure the separation of the two countries. For open war I was prepared; but if, instead of that, a system of private assassination has taken place, I repeat, while I deplore it, that it is not chargeable on me. Atrocities, it seems, have been committed on both sides. I do not less deplore them; I detest them from my heart; and to those who know my character and sentiments, I may safely appeal for the truth of this assertion. With them, I need no justification.

"In a cause like this, success is everything. Success, in the eyes of the vulgar, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed.

"After a combat nobly sustained, a combat which would have excited the respect and sympathy of a generous enemy, my fate was to become a prisoner. To the eternal

disgrace of those who gave the order, I was brought hither in irons, like a felon. I mention this for the sake of others; for me, I am indifferent to it; I am aware of the fate which awaits me, and scorn equally the tone of complaint and that of supplication.

"As to the connection between this country and Great Britain, I repeat it, all that has been imputed to me, words, writings, and actions, I here deliberately avow. I have spoken and acted with reflection, and on principle, and am ready to meet the consequences. Whatever be the sentence of this Court, I am prepared for it. Its members will surely discharge their duty; I shall take care not to be wanting to mine."

This speech was pronounced in a tone so magnanimous, so full of noble and calm serenity, as seemed deeply and visibly to affect all its hearers, the members of the Court not excepted. A pause ensued of some continuance, and silence reigned in the hall, till interrupted by Tone himself, who inquired, whether it was not usual to assign an interval between the sentence and execution? The Judge Advocate answered, that the voices of the Court would be collected without delay, and the result transmitted forthwith to the Lord-Lieutenant. If the prisoner, therefore, had any observations to make, now was the moment.

Tone—"I wish to offer a few words relative to one single point—to the mode of punishment. In France, our *Emigrés*, who stand nearly in the same situation in which I suppose I now stand before you, are condemned to be shot. I ask, that the Court should adjudge me the death of a soldier, and let me be shot by a platoon of grenadiers. I request this indulgence, rather in consideration of the uniform which I wear, the uniform of a *Chef de Brigade* in the French army, than from any personal regard to myself. In order to evince my claim to this favor, I beg that the Court may take the trouble to peruse my commission and letters of service in the French army. It will appear from these papers, that I have not received them as a mask to cover me, but that I have been long and *bona fide* an officer in the French service.

Judge Advocate—"You must feel that the papers you allude to, will serve as undeniable proofs against you."

Tone—"Oh!—*I know it well*—I have already admitted the facts, and I now admit the papers as full proofs of conviction."

The papers were then examined; they consisted of a brevet of *Chef de Brigade*, from the Directory, signed by the Minister of War; of a letter of service, granting him the rank of Adjutant-General; and of a passport.

General Loftus—"In these papers you are designated as serving in the Army of England."

Tone—"I did serve in that army, when it was commanded by Buonaparte, by Desaix, and by Kilmaine, who is, as I am, an Irishman. But I have served elsewhere."

General Loftus observed, that the Court would, undoubtedly, submit to the Lord-Lieutenant the address which he had read to them, and, also, the subject of his last demand. In transmitting the address, he, however, took care to efface all that part of it which he would not allow to be read. Lord Cornwallis refused the last demand of the prisoner, and he was sentenced to die the death of a traitor, in forty-eight hours, on the 12th of November. This cruelty he had foreseen; for England, from the days of Llewellyn of Wales, and Wallace of Scotland, to those of Tone and Napoleon, has never shown mercy or generosity to a fallen enemy. He, then, in perfect coolness and self-possession, determined to execute his purpose, and anticipate their sentence.

The sentence upon Tone, pronounced by a court-martial, was obviously illegal; and so every lawyer knew it to be. But the people looked on as if in stupor. The son of Tone has truly described the condition of Dublin at that moment:—

"No man dared to trust his next neighbor, nor one of the pale citizens to betray, by look or word, his feelings or sympathy. The terror which prevailed in Paris, under the rule of the Jacobins, or in Rome, during the proscriptions of Marius, Sylla, and the Triumviri, and under the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, was never deeper or more universal than that of Ireland, at this fatal and shameful period. It was, in short, the feeling which made the people, soon after, passively acquiesce in the Union, and in the extinction of their

name as a nation. Of the numerous friends of my father, and of those who had shared in his political principles and career, some had perished on the scaffold, others rotted in dungeons, and the remainder dreaded, by the slightest mark of recognition, to be involved in his fate."

But there was one friend of the gallant prisoner who was determined that the law of the land should at least be invoked, and one effort made to rescue this noble Irishman from the jaws of death. The friend was John Philpot Curran. He believed that by moving the Court of King's Bench to assert its jurisdiction some delay might be interposed — the French Government might threaten to retaliate upon some important prisoner of war—the case might thus become a political and not a criminal one, and, in the end, either through threats of retaliation, or by an arrangement with the British Government, Tone might be saved.

On the next day, November 12th, (the day fixed for his execution,) the scene in the Court of King's Bench was awful and impressive to the highest degree. As soon as it opened, Curran advanced, leading the aged father of Tone, who produced his affidavit that his son had been brought before a bench of officers, calling itself a court-martial, and sentenced to death. "I do not pretend," said Curran, "that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of which he is accused. I presume the officers were honorable men. But it is stated in this affidavit, as a solemn fact, that Mr. Tone had no commission under His Majesty; and, therefore, no court-martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him whilst the Court of King's Bench sat in the capacity of the great Criminal Court of the land. In times when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured; but every law authority is with me whilst I stand upon this sacred and immutable principle of the Constitution—that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and that the former must cease with the existence of the latter. This is not, however, the time for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this Court. He is cast for death this very day. He may be ordered for execution whilst I address you. I call on the Court to support the law, and move for a *habeas corpus*, to be directed to the Provost Marshal of the barracks of Dublin and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Tone."

Chief-Justice—"Have a writ instantly prepared."

Curran—"My client may die whilst the writ is preparing."

Chief-Justice—"Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the barracks and acquaint the Provost-Marshal that a writ is preparing to suspend Mr. Tone's execution, and see that he be not executed."

The Court awaited, in a state of the utmost agitation and suspense, the return of the Sheriff. He speedily appeared, and said: "My lord, I have been to the barracks, in pursuance of your order. The Provost-Marshal says he must obey Major Sandys. Major Sandys says he must obey Lord Cornwallis." Mr. Curran announced, at the same time, that Mr. Tone (the father) was just returned, after serving the *habeas corpus*, and that General Craig would not obey it. The Chief-Justice exclaimed: "Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody; take the Provost-Marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and show the order of the Court to General Craig."

The general impression was now that the prisoner would be led out to execution, in defiance of the Court. This apprehension was legible in the countenance of Lord Kilwarden, a man who, in the worst of times, preserved a religious respect for the laws, and who, besides, I may add, felt every personal feeling of pity and respect for the prisoner, whom he had formerly contributed to shield from the vengeance of Government on an occasion almost as perilous. His agitation, according to the expression of an eye-witness, was magnificent.

The Sheriff returned at length with the fatal news. He had been refused admittance in the barracks; but was informed that Mr. Tone, who had wounded himself dangerously in the neck the night before, was not in a condition to be removed. In short, on the night before, after writing a letter to the French Directory, and a touch

ing adieu to his wife, while the soldiers were erecting a gibbet for him in the yard before his window, he cut his throat with a knife. But it was not effectually done, and he lingered in that dungeon, stretched on his bloody pallet, in the extremity of agony, seven days and nights. No friend was allowed access to him; and nobody saw him but the prison surgeon, a French emigrant, and, therefore, his natural enemy. At length he died.*

The Government allowed the body to be carried away by a relative named Dunbavin, and it was buried in the little churchyard of Bodenstown, County Kildare, where Thomas Davis caused a monumental slab to be erected in his memory.

"Thus passed away," says Madden, "one of the master spirits of his time. The curse of Swift was upon this man—he was an Irishman. Had he been a native of any other European country, his noble qualities, his brilliant talents, would have raised him to the first honors in the state, and to the highest place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. His name lives, however, and his memory is probably destined to survive as long as his country has a history. Peace be to his ashes!"

The expenses incurred in first exciting the insurrection, next in suppressing it, and afterwards in carrying out its real object—a Legislative Union, are estimated moderately by Dr. Madden, as follows:—

From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland, estimated at £4,000,000 per annum	£16,000,000
Purchase of the Irish Parliament	1,500,000
Payment of claims of suffering loyalists	1,500,000
secret Service money, from 1797 to 1804, (from official reports,)	53,547
Secret Service money previous to August 21, 1797, date of first entry in preceding account—say from date of Jackson's mission in 1794, estimated at	20,000
Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion and the promotion of the Union, to the present time	1,200,000
Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals	500,000
Additional expenditure in public offices, consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of Parliamentary archives, and compensation of officers, servants, &c.	800,000
Total	£21,573,547

* Madden states that one friend of Tone, a Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Capel street, was admitted to see him once. This is a matter on which Tone's son, who was then far away, might easily have been misinformed. Madden further testifies that the surgeon, Dr. Lentaigne, was a very good and humane man.

The whole of which was the next year, in the arrangement of the terms of "Union," carried to the account of Ireland, and made part of *her* national debt—as if it were Ireland that profited by these transactions.

The military force, in Ireland during and immediately after, the insurrection, was:—

FROM PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

The Regulars	32,281
The Militia	26,634
The Yeomanry	51,274
The English Militia	24,201
Artillery	1,500
Commissariat	1,700
Total	137,590

These figures are taken from a report of the Parliamentary proceedings of the 18th of February, 1799. They are introduced in a speech of Lord Castlereagh, prefacing a motion on military estimates. He did not think that one man could be then spared of the 137,590, though the rebellion was completely over, and though he had to deal with a population only *one-half* of the present. We have not at hand the means of ascertaining the force of 1800, but there is ground for concluding that it was over that of 1799, though the time of the rebellion was still further off by a year.

But, in fact, Ministers had in reserve still another ordeal which our country had to pass through—the *Union;* and this immense military force was still thought needful, "as good lookers-on"—to use Lord Strafford's phrase of a century and a half earlier.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1798—1799.

Examination of O'Connor, Emmet, and MacNeven—Lord Enniskillen and his Court-Martial—Project of Union—Bar Meeting—Speech from the Throne—Union Proposed—Reception in the Lords—In the Commons—Ponsonby—Fitzgerald—Sir Jonah Barrington—Castlereagh's Explanation—Speech of Plunket—First Division on the Union—Majority of One—Mr. Trench and Mr. Fox—Methods of Conversion to Unionism—First Contest a drawn Battle—Excitement in Dublin.

Parliament continued sitting. In August and September, 1798, the examination of Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, and Dr. MacNeven, proceeded before the secret committees. While the report of these examinations was still secret, the Dublin newspapers under the control of the Government, published some very garbled and falsified accounts of them, calculated not only to criminate and degrade those gentlemen themselves, but to hold them forth as betraying their comrades and associates. The object of this was very plain. They thought it necessary to protest against it by a published card. Thereupon, they were examined again; were asked whether they meant to retract anything; were shown the minutes of their evidence as taken down, and interrogated as to its correctness and fidelity. They answered that they found it correct, so far as it went; but Emmet declared that very much of their evidence was *omitted*. On the whole, they admitted that the report *shown to them* was substantially correct, (except the omissions,) and that they had only meant to protest against the false newspaper accounts. Their new examination was triumphantly paraded as a complete exculpation of the committees from all charge of garbling; but, in fact, the newspapers could not have come by even their partial and carefully-distorted accounts of this evidence, except through some one connected with the Government or secret committees; and so the intended effect was in part produced, without the Government seeming to be a party to it. This affair is obscure; but, in justice to the unfortunate gentlemen then in the hands of most unscrupulous enemies, it is right to throw all the light possible upon it. Arthur O'Connor, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, gives this account of the misunderstanding:—

"At the instance of Government, Emmet, MacNeven, and I, drew up a memoir containing thirty-six pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and views of the Union, which we signed and delivered to you on the 4th of August last. On the 6th, Mr. Cook came to our prison, and after acknowledging that the memoir was a perfect performance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it, but, as it was a vindication of the Union, and a condemnation of the Ministers, the Government, and Legislature of Ireland, he could not receive it; and, therefore, he wished we would alter it. We declared we would not change one letter—it was all true, and it was the truth we stood pledged to deliver. He then asked us if Government should publish such parts only as might suit them, whether we would refrain from publishing the memoir entire. We answered that, having stipulated for the liberty of publication, we would use that right when and as we should feel ourselves called on. To which he added that, if we published, he would have to hire persons to answer us; that then he supposed we would reply, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and the Government. Finding that we would not suffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary contest between us and these hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined to examine us before the secret committees, whereby a more complete selection might be made out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths—with which it was observed it abounded—might be suppressed. For the present I shall only remark that, of one hundred pages, to which the whole of the information I gave to the Government and to the secret committees amounts, only one page has been published."

On the 6th of October, Parliament was prorogued with a highly congratulatory speech from the Throne, on the suppression of the "dangerous and wicked rebellion," and on the glorious victory obtained by "Sir Horatio Nelson over the French fleet in the Mediterranean."

About the same time occurred a certain sham court-martial, under the presidency of the Earl of Enniskillen, a Colonel in the army—a great favorite with the Orangemen, and probably an Orangeman himself. A man named Wollaghan, a yeoman, had brutally shot a poor, peaceable man in his own house. The affair is not otherwise deserving of notice than that the evidence on this trial shows the horrid state of the country. A corporal of the corps deposed that a certain Captain Armstrong, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after the murder, had given orders "that any body of yeomanry going out, (he would not wish them less than nine or ten for their own safety,) and, if they should meet with any rebels, whom they knew or suspected to be such, they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but were to shoot them on the spot; that he (the witness) communicated this to the corps, and, is very certain, in the hearing of the prisoner Wollaghan, who was a sober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and not degrading the rest of the corps—one of the best in it; that it was the practice of the corps to go out upon scouring parties without orders," &c.

The affair, however, made a noise—became notorious; and Lord Cornwallis thought himself obliged to disapprove the judgment of the court-martial, (which acquitted Wollaghan,) and to rebuke Lord Enniskillen. The murderer, however, was only dismissed the service. The Orangemen were highly disgusted with Lord Cornwallis, and called him "Croppy Corny." But the cases of local tyranny and brutality exercised upon the people were very seldom, indeed, brought into any court. Seldomer still were they punished. The juryman who should have ventured to hesitate about acquitting an Orangeman would have been himself hunted down as a "croppy." The moment was come to propose the *Union* as the only way of putting a stop to these horrors, and to all the other woes of Ireland.

Even before the fury of rebellion had subsided, had the British Ministry recommended preparatory steps to enable the Irish Government to introduce the proposal of a Legislative Union with plausibility and effect upon the first favorable opening. In pursuance of this recommendation, a pamphlet was written, or procured to be written, by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under-Secretary of the Civil Department. It was published anonymously, but was well understood to speak the sentiments of the British Administration, and the Chief-Governor, and those of the Irish Administration who went with his excellency upon the question of union. It was circulated with incredible industry and profusion throughout every part of the nation, and certainly was productive of many conversations on the question under the then existing circumstances of that nation; the most prominent of which were—the still unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, the excessive cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Irish yeomanry towards their countrymen, compared with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the English militia, of which about eighteen regiments were still in the country, and, above all, the confidence which the conciliatory conduct of the Chief-Governor inspired. This pamphlet was considered as a kind of official proclamation of the sentiments of Government upon the question, and had no sooner appeared than it produced a general warfare of the press, and threw the whole nation into a new division of parties.

No sooner was the intention of Government unequivocally known, than most of the leading characters took their ranks according to their respective views and sentiments, the Earl of Clare at the head of the Unionists, and the Right Honorable Mr. Foster, his late zealous colleague in the extorted system of cöercion and terror, put himself at the head of the Anti-Unionists. Amongst the first dismissals for opposing the Union were those of Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the Prime-Sergeant. The most interesting public meeting upon the subject of the Union was that of the gentlemen of the Irish bar. It has before been observed, that in Ireland the bar was the great road that led to preferment, and few were the families in the nation which looked up to it that did not furnish one member or more to that profession. The bar, consequently, commanded a very pow-

erful influence over the public mind, even independently of the weight of respectability attending the opinions of that learned body. In pursuance of a requisition signed by twenty-seven lawyers of the first respectability and character in the profession, a meeting of the Irish bar took place on the 9th of December, at the Exhibition House in William street, to deliberate on the question of Legislative Union. The meeting was very numerous.

It must be observed that the bar of Ireland was the only great body in the state or in society that Lords Clare and Castlereagh feared, as a serious obstruction to their plans. In its ranks were the most accomplished statesmen and most formidable debaters of the country, and the most earnest opponents of Union to the last were barristers. Lord Clare, therefore, had taken measures to corrupt the bar, by creating a great many new legal offices, which they were expected to solicit, and for which they would sell themselves to the Castle. He doubled the number of the bankrupt commissioners; he revived some offices, created others, and, under pretence of furnishing each county with a local judge, in two months he established thirty-two new offices, of about six or seven hundred pounds per annum each. His arrogance in court intimidated many whom his patronage could not corrupt; and he had no doubt of overpowering the whole profession.

There was much interest, therefore, felt in the result of this preliminary meeting of the bar. Among those who had called the meeting were fourteen of the King's counsel: E. Mayne, W. Saurin, W. C. Plunket, C. Bushe, W. Saukey, B. Burton, J. Barrington, A. M'Cartney, G. O'Farrell, J. O'Driscoll, J. Lloyd, P. Burrowes, R. Jebb, and H. Joy, Esquires,—a very distinguished list of names; some of which will be met with again and again, before the final catastrophe of the nation. Saurin spoke against the Union project. "He was a moderate Huguenot," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "and grandson of the great preacher at The Hague—an excellent lawyer and a steadfast and pious Christian." Sir Jonah goes on to describe this important meeting:—

"Mr Saint George Daly, a briefless barrister, was the first supporter of the Union. Of all men he was the least thought of for preferment; but it was wittily observed, 'that the Union was the first brief Mr. Daly had spoken from.' He moved an adjournment.

"Mr. Thomas Grady was the Fitzgibbon spokesman—a gentleman of independent property, a tolerable lawyer, an amatory poet, a severe satirist, and an indefatigable quality-hunter. He had written the '*Flesh Brush*,' for Lady Clare; the 'West Briton,' for the Union; the 'Barrister,' for the bar; and the 'Nosegay,' for a banker at Limerick—who sued him successfully for a libel.

"'The Irish,' said Mr. Grady, 'are only the *rump of an aristocracy*. Shall I visit posterity with a system of *war*, *pestilence*, and *famine*?* No! no! give me a Union. Unite me to that country where all is peace, and order, and prosperity. Without a Union we shall see embryo chief judges, attorney-generals in perspective, and *animalcula sergeants*. *All* the *cities* of the south and west are on the *Atlantic Ocean*, between the rest of the world and Great Britain; *they* are all for *it*—they must all become warehouses; the people are Catholics, and they are all for it,' &c., &c., &c. Such an oration as Mr. Grady's had never before been heard at a meeting of lawyers in Europe.

"Mr. John Beresford, Lord Clare's nephew and purse-bearer, followed, as if for the charitable purpose of taking the laugh from Mr. Grady, in which he perfectly succeeded, by turning it on himself. Mr. Beresford afterwards became a parson, and is now Lord Decies.

"Mr. Goold said: 'There are forty thousand British troops in Ireland, and with forty thousand bayonets at my breast the Minister shall not plant another Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic. I want not the assistance of divine inspiration to foretell, for I am enabled by the visible and unerr-

* Nothing could be more unfortunate than this crude observation of Mr. Grady, as the very three evils—war, pestilence, and famine,—which he declared a union would avert, have since visited, and are still visiting, the unioned country; which has since the connection with England, been depopulated by the *famine* which that Union caused; and, inoculated with the late plague from Great Britain, they are now declared in a state of *war* by the British Legislature.

ing demonstrations of nature to assert, that Ireland was destined to be a free and independent nation. Our patent to be a state, not a shire, comes direct from heaven. The Almighty has, in majestic characters, signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be a province, and, *by G——, she never shall!'*

"The assembly burst into a tumult of applause. A repetition of the words came from many mouths, and many an able lawyer swore hard upon the subject. The division was—

Against the Union	166
In favor of it	32
Majority	134

"Thirty-two," continues Sir Jonah Barrington, "was the precise number of the county judges, and of this minority the following persons were afterwards rewarded for their adherence to Lord Clare :—

"*List of Barristers who Supported the Union, and their Respective Rewards.*

	Per Annum.
1. Charles Osborn, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	£3,300
2. Saint John Daly, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	3,300
3. William Smith, appointed Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
4. Mr. M'Cleland, appointed Baron of the Exchequer	3,300
5. Robert Johnson, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
6. William Johnson, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
7. Mr. Torrens, appointed Judge of the Common Pleas	3,300
8. Mr. Vandeleur, appointed a Judge of the King's Bench	3,300
9. Thomas Maunsell, a County Judge	600
10. William Turner, a County Judge	600
11. John Scholes, a County Judge	600
12. Thomas Vickers, a County Judge	600
13. J. Homan, a County Judge	600
14. Thomas Grady, a County Judge	600
15. John Dwyer, a County Judge	600
16. George Leslie, a County Judge	600
17. Thomas Scott, a County Judge	600
18. Henry Brook, a County Judge	600
19. James Geraghty, a County Judge	600
20. Richard Sharkey, a County Judge	600
21. William Stokes, a County Judge	600
22. William Roper, a County Judge	600
23. C. Garnet, a County Judge	600
24. Mr. Jenison, a Commissioner for the distribution of one million and a half Union compensation	1,200
25. Mr. Fitzgibbon Henchy, Commissioner of Bankrupts	£400
26. J. Keller, Officer in the Court of Chancery	500
27. P. W. Fortescue, M. P., a *secret* pension	400
28. W. Longfield, an officer in the Custom House	500
29. Arthur Brown, Commission of Inspector	800
30. Edmund Stanley, Commission of Inspector	800
31. Charles Ormsby, Counsel to Commissioners Value	5,000
32. William Knott, M. P., Commission of Appeals	800
33. Henry Deane Grady, Counsel to Commissmissioners Value	5,000
34. John Beresford, his father a title."	

It was already so notorious, during this winter, that a Union was to be immediately proposed that the measure was already warmly discussed, in anticipation of the approaching meeting of Parliament. Mr. Cooke's pamphlet called forth scores of other pamphlets, for and against. Before the end of December no less than thirty appeared, of which Plowden records the titles.

The city of Dublin, which it was natural to suppose would be more prejudiced by the Union than any other part of the kingdom, inasmuch as it would lose much of the advantages of a metropolis by the abolition of the Parliament, was also prominently forward in its opposition to that measure. A post-assembly of the Lord-Mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin was convened on the 17th of December; who, referring to a variety of rumors that were then in circulation, of an intended union of Ireland with Great Britain, came to resolutions strongly denouncing any such project; which certainly, whatever it might be supposed to do for other parts of the kingdom, was sure to ruin Dublin at all events.

Next came a very numerous and respectable meeting of the merchants and bankers of the city, who resolved—"That they looked with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right, and immediate power to legislate for themselves. That, impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to their King, and affectionate attachment to British connection, they conceived that to agitate in Parliament a question of the Legislative Union between that kingdom

and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic."

Even the fellows and scholars of Trinity College held their meeting, and passed a resolution calling on their representatives in Parliament to oppose the Union. Similar resolutions of county and borough meetings appeared nearly every day; so that when Lord Cornwallis, on the 22d of January, 1799, came down, along with his trusty counselors, Lords Clare and Castlereagh, to open the session of Parliament, it was very evident that there was a considerable mass of opposition to be broken down.

On that day there was a great concourse in Dublin streets; and College Green was filled with anxious multitudes; not gay and jubilant, as they had been when once before they had crowded those avenues to witness the parade of the volunteers, but with a gloomy feeling of the miseries then actually upon the country, and foreboding of something worse to come. The Viceroy came from the Castle to the House with a strong guard, and duly delivered his speech from the throne; of which these two portentous paragraphs were listened to with breathless attention:—

"The zeal of His Majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honorable cöoperation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill, and valor of His Majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other those divisions, which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavoring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and His Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

Here, then, was the dreaded *Union* distinctly enough raised up before Parliament and the country, and avowed as the policy of the Administration. At once began the tumult of debate on the address. In the Lords, an address was proposed which was almost an echo of the speech, promising to "give the fullest attention to measures of such importance."

Upon which it was proposed by Lord Powerscourt to amend the said motion, by inserting after the word importance, the following words:—"That it is our most earnest desire to strengthen the connection between the two countries by every possible means, but the measure of a Legislative Union we apprehend is not within the limit of our power; we beg leave also to represent to your Majesty, that although this House were competent to adopt such a measure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic so to do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation of this kingdom from that of Great Britain."

A motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate arose thereupon, and the question being put, the House divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the contents below the bar were nineteen, and the non-contents in the House were forty-six.

A motion was then made, that after the word "security," in the same paragraph, the following words be expunged, "and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire," which also passed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the said word "importance," the following words be inserted: "so far as may be consistent with the permanent enjoyment, exercise, and tutelary vigilance of our resident and independent Parliament, as established, acknowledged, and recog-

nized." This motion was also negatived by a division of forty-nine against sixteen. Fourteen of the lords in the minority protested.*

In the House of Commons were many anxious faces and gloomy brows. It had already been sufficiently indicated that Government, to carry this measure, would stop at nothing. Immediately after the bar meeting the Right Honorable James Fitzgerald, Prime Sergeant, was dismissed from office, and deprived of his precedency at the bar. It was known, also, that unlimited funds would be used by Government, without scruple, both in buying up boroughs (which were then treated as the private property of their patrons,) and in direct bribery, to pay for votes. The innumerable methods which a powerful government has at its disposal both to reward and to punish—all these considerations rose up before the anxious minds of the members occupying those benches. It must be confessed, too, that the previous history of the Irish Parliament, as recorded in these pages, was not calculated to make the country expect any exhibition of stern patriotism. "I have now seen," said Theobald Wolfe Tone, "the Parliament of Ireland, the Parliament of England, the Congress of the United States of America, the Corps Legislatif of France, and the Convention of Batavia; I have likewise seen our shabby Volunteer Convention in 1783, and the General Committee of the Catholics in 1793; so that I have seen, in the way of deliberate bodies, as many I believe as most men, and of all those I have mentioned, beyond all comparison the most shamelessly profligate and abandoned by all sense of virtue, principle, or even common decency, was the Legislature of my own unfortunate country; the scoundrels!"

But when we read so harsh a judgment upon the Legislature of our country, it must not be forgotten that it did not represent the country; did not even represent the Protestant minority of the country; represented nothing (as to its vast majority,) save a few noble families, great proprietors, and the enormous "interest" of place and pension. Considering all this, it is rather surprising, and was, indeed, very surprising to Lord Castlereagh, that on the present vital occasion, the policy of the Castle met with so hearty an opposition.

The address in the Commons was moved by Lord Tyrone, eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford. The address, he said, did not pledge him in any manner to support the measure of an union; let that question of policy stand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the interests of Ireland and the prosperity of the empire should dictate.

Colonel Fitzgerald, (member for the County of Cork,) seconded the address, expressing a zealous desire that any step likely to cement and strengthen the connection between the two countries should be adopted.

After several speeches, opposing the measure of a union, in a vague and hypothetical sort of way, as if there were really no such question before the House, Lord Castlereagh, whose fault was certainly not lack of boldness, rose to say, that although there were not in the address any specific pledge to a measure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire; for he had no difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connection with Britain, were to be found in a Legislative Union; and on that subject he did intend at an early day to submit a specific motion to the House.*

Mr. G. Ponsonby entered on an able attack and exposure of the general principle of an union, by boldly avowing the principle, that neither the Legislature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to

* Viz., Leinster, Granard, Belvidere, Arran, Charlemont, Bellamont, Mountcashel, Kilkenny, Belmore, Powerscourt, De Vesci, Dunsany, Lismore, Wm. Down and Connor,

* On occasion of this first and most remarkable of the debates on the Union, it has been judged expedient to go somewhat further into detail than usual. It was now that Members of Parliament took their positions on that great question; from which positions many of them afterwards retreated and changed sides; from motives, unhappily, too well known, as will soon appear.

annihilate the Irish Parliament, and deprive people forever of their rights to the benefits of the Constitution, and civil liberty.

The Minister had told them they ought to discuss this measure with coolness; but when the Minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the Crown, because they would not prostitute their conscience, when the terror of dismissal was thus holden out to deter men in office from a fair exercise of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool discussion? He concluded by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman, who did not wish to pledge himself to a surrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of speaking his mind. The amendment was — that after the passage which declared the willingness of the House to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the empire, should be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognized by the British Legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

Sir L. Parsons seconded the amendment.

Many gentlemen warmly supported Ponsonby's amendment; amongst others, Mr. Fitzgerald, ex-Prime-Sergeant, who raised the vital Constitutional question—"It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of Parliament, to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. The constituent parts of a state are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive any serious interest under their engagements; such a compact may, with respect to Great Britain, be an union; but with respect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a most alarming nature."

Mr. Fitzgerald also quoted Dr. Johnson's remark to an Irishman, on the subject of an union: "Don't unite with us," said he, "we shall unite with you only to rob you; we should have robbed the Scots, if they had anything to be robbed of."

The debate proceeded, warming as it went. Sir Boyle Roche, in his blundering way, stumbled upon a most accurate description of the real Castle policy. He said "he was for an union to put an end to uniting between Presbyterians, Protestants, and Catholics, to overturn the Constitution."

One of the most patriotic speeches made in the course of this historic argument was by Sir Jonah Barrington, then a Judge of the Admiralty Court. He strongly deprecated this plan to subject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a Minister already stronger than the Crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important usurpation stolen into Parliament through the fulsome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the House to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of convalescence calling on it to commit suicide. Ireland (he said) had not fair play; her Parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he believed, had been used to intimidate and corrupt it, and either to force or to seduce a suffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He had good reason to believe, that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish Parliament. Some of those means were open and avowed; two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved officers of the Crown had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates, on a subject where their country was at stake; their removals crowned them with glory, and the Minister with contempt. He asserted, that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced, against their will, to vote against their country; he had good reason to believe, that unconstitutional interference had been used with the executive power with the legislative body; one gentleman refused the instructions of his constitu-

ents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumored) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of Parliament; if this were true, it encroached on the Constitution, and if the executive power overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amazement how the same people could have been wise enough to frame the best constitution on earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland.

Sir John Blaquiere, on the side of the Government, remonstrated against "the charges of undue influence and corruption;" and then proceeded to use an argument in behalf of the Union, which may serve as a sample of the means by which so many of the Catholics were induced to favor that measure. Sir John said, "the honorable member who proposed amendment, with a flow of such transcendant eloquence as had seldom been heard in that House, had expressly stated, that the Roman Catholics must oppose the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the subject; but he should speak his own—that the Roman Catholics, under the present order of things, *could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they asked,* without imminent danger to the Protestant establishment, both in church and state; but *if once an union should be adopted, all those difficulties would vanish, and he should see none in granting them everything they desired.*"

Mr. Knox and Mr. Hans Hamilton made violent attacks upon the Union and upon the Government.

Mr. Knox (member for Philipstown) lamented that that accursed measure had long been the favorite object of that Minister of England, whose wild ambition had already led to the destruction of empires; and which then sought to annihilate that nation. In order to forward that wicked scheme, great pains had been taken by those who managed the affairs of Government under his guidance, to promote and keep alive among the people every distinction of party and religion, all differences of opinion, whether in politics or religion, had been industriously fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to distract and divide the inhabitants of that land. If that fatal measure should ever be carried, henceforth that insulted, degraded, debased country would be made a barrack, a depôt from whence to draw the means of enslaving Great Britain, and no resource left to save either country but a revolution.

Mr. Hans Hamilton declared that an union was a measure he should very firmly oppose within those walls with his vote, without them with his life; but he foresaw that the hour was at hand which would prove this to be the most glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and enable the members to go forth to their constituents, and assure them they were represented by an Irish Parliament, and never would betray their independence.

Lord Castlereagh felt that the day was going against him. He rose to state his reasons for favoring the measure of a Legislative Union; and spoke, as he well knew how, with a noble air of candor. It is almost incredible, however, that in the abstract of his speech which has come down to us, actually appear the following words:—

"His lordship trusted, that no man would decide on a measure of such importance as that in part before the House, *on private or personal motives;* for if a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could ever affect the country."

His reasons for supporting the measure were, of course, of the purest description; if the means he used to support it had been as free from taint as his personal conduct, his lordship's name and fame would now be much higher than they are. "Dissensions" and "divisions" unhappily existing in Ireland (which Mr. Knox said the Government had "industriously fomented,") formed the chief motive, in his mind, for our country to fling itself into the arms of the English, who had carefully created and kept alive those dissensions and divisions in Ireland for centuries! One passage in his lordship's argument reads strangely in the light of subsequent history:—

"Absentees (he said) formed another objection. They would be somewhat increased,

no doubt, by an union ; but the evil would be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of *an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant* ; *a class of men whose loss was felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower class.* These an union would bring over *from England.* They would also have *capital from thence.* At all events, these inconveniences would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages which would be derived from internal security, and their growing together in habits of amity and affection."

The next powerful speech on the debate was that of William Conyngham Plunket, then in the prime of life ; he had been the warm friend of Tone and of Emmet, and was now fast rising into high eminence, both as a barrister and a member of Parliament. It is his famous *Hamilcar* speech, in which he assails the Government, as he had promised to do, more daringly than Sir Jonah Barrington. He spoke of the apparently bluff, downright old soldier (Cornwallis) " who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth (*Puer ingenui vultûs ingenuique pudoris*) whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence ; yet, was he bold to say, that during the Vice-royalty of that unspotted veteran, and during the adminstration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks, a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the Castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Did they choose to take down his words ? He needed to call no witnesses to their bar to prove them. He saw two right honorable gentlemen sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the Crown, and who had been dismissed, because they dared to express a sentiment in favor of the freedom of their country. He saw another honorable gentleman, who had been forced to resign his place, as Commissioner of the Revenue, because he refused to cöoperate in that dirty job of a dirty Administration ; did they dare to deny this? I say, (he continued,) that at this moment, the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members who now sit around me, in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving everything that can be sacred or dear to man ; do you desire to take down my words ? Utter the desire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that I see the necessary defeat of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means excites ; I see the protection against the wickedness of the plan in the imbecility of its execution, and I congratulate my country that when a design was formed against their liberties, the prosecution of it was entrusted to such hands as it is now placed in."

Mr. Plunket then dealt with the Constitutional grounds of opposition to a union, and especially to the *time* of its being proposed. It is impossible, within our limits, to give more than a mere abstract of such a speech :—

" At a moment," he said, " when Ireland was filled with British troops, when the loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue rebellion—efforts in which they had succeeded before those troops arrived ; whilst their *habeas corpus* act was suspended, whilst trials by court-martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears and worn down by their exertions that even the vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy; at a moment when they were distracted by domestic dissensions —dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thraldom. He thanked Administration for the measure. They were, without intending it, putting an end to Irish dissensions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country. They had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion ; not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic and the Catholic against the Pro-

testant; not by committing the North against the South; not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices. No! but by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her Constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure. For his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence, and with the last drop of his blood; and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar, *and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.*"

This gallant speech was often cited afterwards against Plunket; and it was remarked that Hamilcar, after that swearing scene, never helped the Romans to govern Carthage as a province.

Strange to say, of all the Beresfords, John Claudius Beresford (of the Riding-House and the pitch-caps) opposed the Government measure, and supported Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. Some of the strongest Irish nationalists of that day were Orangemen, and bitter persecutors of Catholics.

At length, after twenty-two hours' debate, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th, the House divided, and the vote stood —for Mr. Ponsonby's amendment, 105; against it, 106. Majority for the Government, 1.

It was held by both sides of the House to be substantially a defeat for the Government, and the multitudes who had been thronging the corridors, the porticos, and the streets all around, burst into acclamations of joy. The mob waited for members as they came out, and hooted or cheered, as they heard each member had voted for the Castle or the nation.

As to the method by which Castlereagh had gained even that apparent and most unsatisfactory victory, Sir Jonah Barrington, an eye-witness, gives us this detail, which illustrates the whole mode and machinery whereby the Union was finally carried:—

"A very remarkable incident," says Sir Jonah, "during the first night's debate occurred in the conduct of Mr. Luke Fox and Mr. Trench, of Woodlawn, afterwards created Lord Ashtown. These were the most palpable, undisguised acts of public tergiversation and seduction ever exhibited in a popular assembly. They afterwards became the subject of many speeches and of many publications; and their consequences turned the majority of one in favor of the Minister.

"It was suspected that Mr. Trench had been long in negotiation with Lord Castlereagh; but it did not, in the early part of that night, appear to have been brought to any conclusion—his conditions were *supposed* to be too extravagant. Mr. Trench, after some preliminary observations, declared, in a speech, that he would vote against the Minister, and support Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. This appeared a stunning blow to Mr. Cooke, who had been previously in conversation with Mr. Trench. He was immediately observed sideling from his seat nearer to Lord Castlereagh. They whispered earnestly, and, as if restless and undecided, both looked wistfully towards Mr. Trench. At length, the matter seemed to be determined on. Mr. Cooke retired to a back seat, and was obviously endeavoring to count the House, probably to guess if they could that night dispense with Mr. Trench's services. He returned to Lord Castlereagh—they whispered, again looked most affectionately at Mr. Trench, who seemed unconscious that he was the subject of their consideration. But there was no time to lose—the question was approaching—all shame was banished—they decided on the terms; and a significant and certain glance, obvious to everybody, convinced Mr. Trench that his conditions were agreed to. Mr. Cooke then went and sat down by his side; an earnest but very short conversation took place; a parting smile completely told the House that Mr. Trench was that moment satisfied. These surmises were soon verified. Mr. Cooke went back to Lord Castlereagh; a congratulatory nod announced his satisfaction. But could any man for one moment suppose that a member of Parliament, a man

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of very large fortune, of respectable family, and good character, could be publicly, and without shame or compunction, actually seduced by Lord Castlereagh, in the very body of the House, and under the eye of two hundred and twenty gentlemen? Yet this was the fact. In a few minutes Mr. Trench rose, to apologize for having indiscreetly declared he would support the amendment. He added, that he had thought better of the subject since he had *unguardedly* expressed himself; that he had been *convinced* he was wrong, and would support the Minister.

"Scarcely was there a member of any party who was not disgusted. It had, however, the effect intended by the desperate purchaser, of proving that ministers would stop at *nothing* to effect their objects, however shameless or corrupt. This purchase of Mr. Trench had a much more fatal effect upon the destinies of Ireland. His change of sides, and the majority of *one* to which it contributed, were probably the remote causes of persevering in a Union. Mr. Trench's venality excited indignation in every friend of Ireland.*

"Another circumstance that night proved by what means Lord Castlereagh's majority of even *one* was acquired.

"The Place Bill, so long and so pertinaciously sought for, and so indiscreetly framed by Mr. Grattan and the Whigs of Ireland, now, for the first time, proved the very engine by which the Minister upset the opposition, and annihilated the Constitution.

"That bill enacted, that members accepting offices, places, or pensions, during the pleasure of the Crown, should not sit in Parliament unless reëlected; but, unfortunately, the bill made no distinction between valuable offices which might influence, and nominal offices, which might job; and the Chiltern Hundreds of England were, under the title of the Escheatorships of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, &c., transferred to Ireland, with salaries of forty shillings, to be used at pleasure by the Secretary. Occasional and temporary seats were thus bartered for by Government, and by the ensuing session made the complete and fatal instrument of packing the Parliament, and effecting a union.

"Mr. Luke Fox, a barrister of very humble origin, of vulgar manners, and of a coarse, harsh appearance, was indued with a clear, strong, and acute mind, and was possessed of much cunning. He had acquired very considerable legal information, and was an obstinate and persevering advocate. He had been the usher of a school, and a sizer in Dublin University; but neither politics nor the *belles-lettres* were his pursuit. On acquiring eminence at the bar, he married an obscure niece of the Earl of Ely's. He had originally professed what was called whiggism, merely, as people supposed, because his name was Fox. His progress was impeded by no political principles; but he kept his own secrets well, and, being a man of no importance, it was perfectly indifferent to everybody what side he took. Lord Ely, perceiving he was manageable, returned him to Parliament as one of his automata; and Mr. Fox played his part very much to the satisfaction of his manager.

"When the Union was announced, Lord Ely had not made his terms, and remained long in abeyance;* and, as his lordship had not issued his orders to Mr. Fox, he was very unwilling to commit himself until he could dive deeper into probabilities; but rather believing the Opposition would have the majority, he remained in the body of the House, with the Anti-Unionists, when the division took place. The doors were scarcely locked, when he became alarmed, and slunk, unperceived, into one of the dark corridors, where he concealed himself. He was, however, discovered, and the Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to bring him forth, to be counted amongst the Anti-Unionists. His confusion was very great, and he seemed at his wit's end. At length, he declared he had taken advantage of the Place Bill; had *actually accepted the Escheatorship of Munster*, and had thereby vacated his seat, and could not vote.

* No fewer than three Trenches are found in the "Black List," as voting for the Union. They were all appointed to valuable offices for it, and one was made a peer and an ambassador.

* He "made his terms," however, in due time. We afterwards find him in receipt of a sum of £45,000, the price of his three boroughs, which he sold to Government that it might put its own creatures into the representation.

"The fact was doubted; but, after much discussion, his excuse, *upon his honor*, was admitted, and he was allowed to return into the corridor. On the numbers being counted, there was a majority of ONE for Lord Castlereagh, and exclusive of Mr. Trench's conduct; but for that of Mr. Fox the numbers would have been equal. The measure would have been negatived by the Speaker's vote, and the renewal of it the next day would have been prevented. This would have been a most important victory.

"The mischief of the Place Bill now stared its framers in the face, and gave the Secretary a code of instruction how to arrange a Parliament against the ensuing session.

"To render the circumstance still more extraordinary and unfortunate for Mr. Fox's reputation, it was subsequently discovered, by the public records, that Mr. Fox's assertion was false. But the following day, Lord Castlereagh purchased him outright; and then, *and not before*, appointed him to the nominal office of Escheator of Munster, and left the seat of Lord Ely for another of his creatures.* This is mentioned, not only as one of the most reprehensible public acts committed during the discussion, but because it was the primary cause of the measure being persisted in."

Thus the preliminary contest on the very threshold of the Union question may be said to have ended in a drawn battle. It was known, however, that it was to be renewed on that very evening. It was an exciting day for the people of Dublin; and to those who know into what a dismal condition the Union has since dragged down the once proud metropolis of our island, there is something pathetic in the passionate anxiety with which its thronging people then crowded round their Parliament House, hanging on the momentous vote; watching with beating hearts, the progress of a struggle which was to decide the destinies of their city and their nation.

* This did not conclude the remarkable acts of Mr. Fox. After his seat had been so vacated, he got himself reëlected for a borough under the influence of the Earl of Granard, a zealous Anti-Unionist; here he once more betrayed the country, and was appointed a Judge when the subject was decided.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1799

Second Debate on Union—Sir Lawrence Parsons—Mr. Smith—Ponsonby and Plunket—Division—Majority against Government—Posonby's Resolution for Perpetual Independence—Defection of Fortescue and Others—Resolution Lost—"Possible Circumstances"—Tumult—Danger of Lord Clare—Second Debate in the Lords—Lord Clare Triumphant—"Loyalists' Claim-Bill"—"Rebels Disqualification Bill"—"Flogging Fitzgerald"—Asks Indemnity—Regency Act—Opposed by Castlereagh.

IT was naturally supposed that if the Minister was left in a minority on the second debate upon the reception of the address, he would, according to all precedents, resign his situation; whilst an increased majority, however small, in favor of his measure might give plausible grounds for pressing it forward at all hazards. No wonder, then, that the excitement and anxiety were intense on that day. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene:—

"The people collected in vast multitudes around the House; a strong sensation was everywhere perceptible; immense numbers of ladies of distinction crowded at an early hour, into the galleries, and by their presence and their gestures animated that patriotic spirit, upon the prompt energy of which alone depended the fate of Ireland.

"Secret messengers were dispatched in every direction, to bring in loitering or reluctant members—every emissary that Government could rely upon was busily employed the entire morning; and five and thirty minutes after four o'clock, in the afternoon of the 24th of January, 1799, the House met to decide, by the adoption or rejection of the address—the question of national independence or annihilation. Within the corridors of the House, a shameless and unprecedented alacrity appeared among the friends of the Government.

"Mr. Cooke, the under-Secretary, who, throughout all the subsequent stages of the question, was the private and efficient actuary of the Parliamentary seduction, on this night exceeded even himself, both in his public and private exertions to gain over the wavering members. Admiral Pakenham, a naturally friendly and good-natured gentleman, that night acted like the captain of a press-gang, and actually *hauled* in some

members who were desirous of retiring. He had declared that he would act in *any* capacity, according to the exigencies of his party; and he did not shrink from his task.

"This debate, in point of warmth, much exceeded the former. Lord Castlereagh sat long silent; his eye ran round the assembly, as if to ascertain his situation, and was often withdrawn, with a look of uncertainty and disappointment. The members had a little increased since the last division, principally by members who had not declared themselves, and of whose opinions the Secretary was ignorant."

When the address was reported, on the reading of that part of it which related to the Union, Sir Lawrence Parsons offered an amendment, objecting to the paragraph which "pledged the House, under a metaphorical expression ('maintaining and imploring a connection,' &c.,) to admit the principle of the Legislative Union." Two short passages of his long speech are enough to show its spirit:—

"Were the Union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength there, and their own internal weakness? It was always in times of division and disaster that a nation availed itself of the infirmities of its neighbor, to obtain an unjust dominion. That Great Britain should desire to do so, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not desire to rule another? Nor was he surprised that there should be some among them base enough to conspire with her in doing so; for no country could expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and parricides among its citizens." . . . . . .

"Annihilate the Parliament of Ireland; that is the cry that came across the water. Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops, martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland forever—now strike the blow. *Who?*—is it you? Will you obey that voice? Will you betray your country?"

On the second debate, the most important speech in favor of union (though Castlereagh spoke strongly,) was that of Mr. William Smith, a barrister — afterwards rewarded with the place of a Baron of the Exchequer. He addressed himself principally to the refutation of the main Constitutional objection to an union, decreed by Parliament—namely, the objection that Parliament had been "elected to make laws, and not legislatures,"—that it had no powers to divest itself of its legislative capacity to give itself away to another people, still less to sell itself, and sell its constituents along with itself. Mr. Smith said:—

"Of the competency of Parliament to the enactment of such reform he had never heard any doubts expressed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered against the alleged right were inconclusive, yet, perhaps, as plausible as any that could be urged against the competency of the Legislature to a decree of union. That the authority of the Parliament had this extent, he had not the slightest doubt. His opinion, he said, was founded on precedent, on the mischiefs which would result from a contrary doctrine, on the express authority of Constitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the Constitution itself. By enacting an union, Parliament would do no more than change (it would not surrender or subvert) the Constitution. Ireland, after a Legislative incorporation, would still be governed by three estates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the Legislature could new-model the succession of the Crown, or change the established religion, it might certainly ordain those alterations which an union would involve. To controvert its right, would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. But (he added) that, if he conceived that the measure would be a surrender of national independence, he would by no means agree to it; but it would merely be an incorporation of national distinctions; nor would he promote the scheme, if he thought that it would not insure an identity or community of iterests."

Between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Ponsonby, the debate took a very bitter personal turn. The Secretary was provoked out of his usual cool indifference. To the

bar he applied the term "pettifoggers;" to the Opposition, "cabal—combinators—desperate faction;" and to the nation itself, "barbarism—ignorance," and "insensibility to *protection and paternal regards* she had ever experienced from the British nation." His speech was severe beyond anything he had ever uttered within the walls of Parliament, and far exceeded the powers he was supposed to possess.

After many speeches on each side, Mr. Plunket arose; and, in what Sir Jonah Barrington calls "the ablest speech ever heard from any member in that Parliament," went at once to the grand and decisive point, the incompetence of Parliament; he could go no further on principle than Mr. Ponsonby, but his language was irresistible, and he left nothing to be urged. It was perfect in eloquence, and unanswerable in reasoning. Its effect was indescribable; and, for the first time, Lord Castlereagh, whom he personally assailed, seemed to shrink from the encounter. That speech was of great weight, and it proved the eloquence, and the fortitude of the speaker.

But a short speech, on that night, which gave a new sensation, and excited novel observations, was a maiden speech by Colonel O'Donnell, of Mayo County, the eldest son of Sir Neil O'Donnell, a man of very large fortune in that county; he was Colonel of a Mayo regiment. He was a brave officer, and a well-bred gentleman; and in all the situations of life he showed excellent qualities. On this night, roused by Lord Castlereagh's invectives, he could not contain his indignation; and by anticipation, "disclaimed all future allegiance; if a union were effected, he held it as a vicious revolution, and avowed that he would take the field at the head of his regiment to oppose its execution, and would resist rebels in rich clothes as he had done the rebels in rags." And for this speech in Parliament, he was dismissed his regiment without further notice.

On a division being called for, there appeared a majority of *six* against the Union. The gratification of the Anti-Unionists was unbounded; and as they walked in one by one to be counted, "the eager spectators," says Sir Jonah, "ladies as well as gentlemen, leaning over the galleries, ignorant of the result, were panting with expectation. Lady Castlereagh, then one of the finest women of the Court, appeared in the Sergeant's box, palpitating for her husband's fate. The desponding appearance and fallen crests of the Ministerial benches, and the exulting air of the Opposition members, as they entered, were intelligible. Mr. Egan, Chairman of Dublin County, a large, bluff, red-faced gentleman, was the last who entered. As No. 110 was announced, he stopped a moment at the bar, flourished a stick which he held in his hand over his head, and, with the voice of a stentor, cried out: '*And I'm a hundred and eleven!*'"

The same writer has thus analyzed for us this celebrated division:—

For Mr. Ponsonby's amendment	111
For Lord Tyrone's address	105
Majority against Government	6

On this debate, the members who voted were circumstanced as follows:—

Members holding offices during pleasure	69
Members rewarded by offices for their votes	19
Member openly seduced in the body of the House	1
Commoners created peers, or their wives peeresses, for their votes	18
Total	102
Supposed to be uninfluenced	3
The House composed of	300
Voted that night	216
Absent members	84

Of these eighty-four absent members, twenty-four were kept away by absolute necessity, and of the residue there can be no doubt they were not friends to the Union, from this plain reason, that the Government had the power of enforcing the attendance of all dependent members. Thus the moral effect of this victory—to those who knew the composition of the House—was much greater than was indicated by the mere numerical majority. It was hoped that "Union" was defeated forever.

But now, in the very moment of triumph, and even by the means taken to make that triumph definitive and irreversible, the tide was turned.

The members assembled in the lobby were preparing to separate, when Mr. Ponsonby

requested they would return into the House and continue a very few minutes, as he had business of the utmost importance for their consideration. This produced a profound silence. Mr. Ponsonby then, in a few words, "congratulated the House and the country on the honest and patriotic assertion of their liberties; but declared that he considered there would be no security against future attempts to overthrow their independence but by a direct and absolute declaration of the rights of Irishmen, recorded upon their journals, as the decided sense of the people, through their Parliament; and he, therefore, without further preface, moved—'*That this House will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by preserving an independent Parliament of Lords and Commons residing in this kingdom*, as stated and approved by His Majesty and the British Parliament in 1782.'"

Lord Castlereagh, conceiving that further resistance was unavailing, only said, "that he considered such a motion of the most dangerous tendency; however, if the House were determined on it, he begged to declare his entire dissent, and on their own heads be the consequences of so wrong and inconsiderate a measure." No further opposition was made by Government; and the Speaker putting the question, a loud cry of approbation followed, with but two negatives—those of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Toler (Lord Norbury); the motion was carried, and the members were rising to withdraw, when the Speaker, wishing to be strictly correct, called to Mr. Ponsonby to *write* down his motion accurately. He, accordingly, walked to the table to write it down.

During this short delay, the Ministerialists and Opposition regarded one another in silence. Some members who had voted with Mr. Ponsonby did not wish the Government to be finally defeated. They had heard of the determination of the Castle to buy a majority, and that at very high prices; and these patriots, though they would not give themselves away, desired to sell themselves. Accordingly, when Mr. Ponsonby's absolute resolution was put in writing, and the Speaker had read it, and put the question and a loud cry of "*Aye*" burst forth, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, of Louth County, desired to be heard before the resolution should finally pass He said he was "adverse to the Union—had voted against it,—but did not wish to bind himself *forever; possible* circumstances might occur which should render that measure expedient for the empire," &c. This was caught at by some moderate and hesitating members of Parliament—by some from honest and by others from dishonest motives—amongst others by John Claudius Beresford (of the Riding-House); and the motion was not pressed by Mr. Ponsonby, for fear of a defeat.*

This created great despondency and alarm amongst the honest Anti-Unionists. But for this incident Cornwallis and Castlereagh must probably have resigned; but now chagrin and disappointment had changed sides, and the friends of the Union, who a moment before had considered their measure as nearly extinguished, rose upon their success, retorted in their turn, and opposed its being withdrawn. It was, however, too tender a ground for either party to insist upon a division; a debate was equally to be avoided and the motion was suffered to be withdrawn. Sir Henry Cavendish keenly and sarcastically remarked, that "it was a retreat after a victory." After a day's and a night's debate, without intermission, the House adjourned at eleven o'clock the ensuing morning.

Upon the rising of the House, the populace became tumultuous, and a violent disposition against those who had supported the Union was manifest, not only amongst the common people, but amongst those of a much higher class, who had been mingling with them.

On the Speaker's coming out of the House, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn in triumph through the streets by the people, who conceived the whimsical idea of tackling the Lord-Chancellor to the coach, and (as a captive general in a Roman triumph) forcing him to tug at the chariot of his conqueror.

The populace closely pursued his lordship

* Those "possible circumstances" did occur—and very soon. Both Mr. Fortescue and others who had voted with Ponsonby voted for the Union on its passage in the next session.

for that extraordinary purpose; he escaped with great difficulty, and fled, with a pistol in his hand, to a receding doorway in Clarendon street. But the people, who pursued him in sport, set up a loud laugh at him, as he stood terrified against the door. They offered him no personal violence, and returned in high glee to their more innocent amusement of drawing the Speaker.

Formally, however, and for the moment, the division of that day was a triumph. A scene of joy and triumph appeared universal—every countenance had a smile, throughout all ranks and classes of the people—men shook their neighbors heartily by the hand, as if the Minister's defeat was an event of individual good fortune, the mob seemed as well disposed to joy as mischief, and that was saying much for a Dublin assemblage. But a view of their enemies, as they came skulking from behind the corridors, occasionally roused them to no very tranquil temperature. Some members had to try their speed, and others their intrepidity.

Sir Jonah Barrington, who looked on at all these proceedings with the eye rather of a humorist than of a statesman, tells us that Mr. Richard Martin, unable to get clear, turned on his hunters, and boldly faced a mob of many thousands, with a small pocket pistol in his hand. He swore most vehemently that, if they advanced six inches on him, he would immediately "shoot *every mother's babe* of them as dead as that paving stone" (kicking one). The united spirit and fun of his declaration, and his little pocket pistol, aimed at ten thousand men, women, and children, were so entirely to the taste of our Irish populace, that all symptoms of hostility ceased. They gave him three cheers, and he regained his home without further molestation.

In the House of Lords, on the same question, upon the reception of this address, Lord Clare carried everything with a high hand The same handful of spirited peers who had voted against Union on the former division again opposed it; and it is remarked that Dr. Dickson, Bishop of Down, and Marlay, Bishop of Limerick, were the only two spiritual peers who ventured to stand up against the stern and haughty Chancellor. The Bishop of Limerick was Grattan's uncle, and the Bishop of Down was an intimate friend of Mr Fox. That degraded assemblage, the Irish House of Peers, many of whom had bought their titles within the past few years for money, or for the Castle-votes of their borough members, and others of whom were promised a noble price for those boroughs to promote the Union, lay helplessly prostrate at the feet of Government, and the low-born but audacious Chancellor cracked his whip over the coronetted slaves.

Not much business of great national importance was transacted in the remainder of that session; the Government had resolved to employ all its resources in favor of union during the recess. The Loyalist Claim bill, however, was passed; under which bill the country was afterwards charged more than a million sterling, to compensate "loyalists" who had suffered loss by the insurrection. An attempt was made to pass also a "Rebel Disqualification bill;" the title was "A Bill for preventing persons who have ever taken the Oath of the United Irishmen from voting for members to serve in Parliament." On the second reading this bill of disfranchisement was opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, supported vehemently, of course, by Dr. Duigenan, John Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Ogle; but was defeated.

A very singular discussion took place in the House of Commons this session, on the presentation of a petition from Mr. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, known as the "flogging sheriff" of Tipperary. It seems that he had been so wanton and indiscriminate in his flagellations, that he thought even the "Indemnity act" not sufficient to screen him from the legal consequences of such a raging loyalty; and this petition was to ask a special indemnity for himself. "Many actions," the petition said, "had been brought, and many more threatened." Several members of Parliament from Munster, bore the warmest testimony to the zeal and activity of this monster in dealing with rebels. The Attorney-General "bore testimony from official information, as well as from local knowledge, to the very spirited and meritorious conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald, and he

trusted the House would cheerfully accede to the prayer of the petition." Mr. Yelverton then read to the House the sworn testimony of witnesses in one case—that of Mr. Wright, (which has been already mentioned.)

"The action (he said) brought by Mr. Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighborhood.

"Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial; he went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being shown into his presence, explained the purpose of his coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald drawing his sword, said, 'down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence.' In vain did the poor man protest his innocence; in vain did he implore trial, on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald sentenced him first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys to have his papers searched, and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify; but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction; his mode was first to sentence, then punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was, 'What, you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?' and then struck him, and ordered him to prison.

"Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmel street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him, and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.

"Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr. F. the cause. Mr. F. handed the major a note, written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish, but he (Major Rial) would find in that letter, what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.

"Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed for the victim, translated in these words:—

"'SIR,—*I am* extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Lawrence Parsons. Yours,

"'BARON DE CLUES.'

"Notwithstanding this translation, which Major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed and working through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of his cat-o'nine-tails on that part without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark, small room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days, without medical assistance!*

* Mr. Plowden records another case, almost precisely alike, in which Fitzgerald's victim was a young man, named Doyle, a respectable tradesman of Carrick. The action was tried at Clonmel Spring Assizes, in 1801. Mr, Plowden says: "The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was seized in the street by the defendant in order to be flagellated. In vain did he protest his innocence, which was also supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephson sent for, the commander

The Attorney-General, in reply, said: "The petitioner, whose exertions had been productive of the happiest consequences, only complained of the persecutions to which he was exposed. His property, and what was of infinitely more important to an honorable man, his character, was at stake." He also censured Mr Yelverton, and said that gentleman would have acted more becomingly by awaiting in discreet patience the testimony offered by the petitioner, &c. The petition was at length referred to a committee, then to a *secret* committee. Nothing seems to have been done upon it; but Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a considerable pension, "for his active services in quelling the rebellion." *

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the Anti-Unionists conceived they might preclude the possibility of any conflict between the two Parliaments—and thus take one main argument away from the Unionists—by the simple measure of a *Regency act*, enacting that the Regency in Ireland should forever be exercised by the same person who should be Regent of England. Lord Castlereagh opposed the measure, being unwilling to lose any of his arguments, and maintained that such an act would not meet the difficulty.

His lordship's opinion was, that it would not prove a remedy for the inconvenience complained of. It went, in his mind, only to a part of the evil, namely, the effect—but left the cause of the evil untouched. Thus the great malady still remained, and the connection between both countries would in no instance be better secured. Two Parliaments, perfectly equal in point of rights, might, at any future period, differ respecting their choice of a regent; and, therefore, the bill could not effect that unity of the executive which the measure proposed to establish.

Circumstanced as the countries were, the questions of peace and war, of treaties with foreign powers, of different religions, might, at some future period, lead to a difference of decision between their Parliaments; and such an occurrence would shake the connection, and, in consequence, the empire, to its foundations.

If questions of comparative advantage between countries might arise, how could a Regency bill operate as a remedy for the evil?

His lordship wished to be informed how a bill, which went to establish the unity of the regal powers, could identify the necessary powers of a regent for other countries. Might not the particular circumstances of one country differ so materially from the other that the Regency for both kingdoms could not conveniently be exercised by the same person? Or, did not the bill go to oblige the monarch to appoint one and the same Regent, which, in fact, went to restrict the regal authority? Thus, either the regal powers were curtailed, or the Regency bill was inefficient to remove the inconvenience it went to remedy. The Regent was, to all intents and purposes, a deputy; and could a Regent in that case appoint a Lord-Lieutenant? Could a deputy appoint a deputy? He presumed he could not; and should a Regent send over a Lord-Lieutenant to that country, he was satisfied that the Council could object to his authority.

His lordship read part of a speech of Mr. Fox, to show that the adjustment of 1782 was not considered as a final one; that it went merely to quiet the political struggle which then existed; and that it was indispensably necessary to give up something for that imperial purpose.

His lordship concluded by saying that the measure was inefficient to the purpose it held forth; calculated to blind the country, and disgrace the Legislature.

It must be acknowledged that these arguments of Lord Castlereagh have considerable weight, and that the only possibility of Ireland's real and effective independence lies in complete separation from England. It was on the discussion of the Regency bill

of the Yeomanry, of which he was a member; that was refused. He offered to go to instant execution if the least trace of guilt appeared against him on inquiry; that was also refused. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance. 'No,' says the sheriff, 'I know by his face that he is a traitor—a Carmelite scoundrel.' The plaintiff was tied to the whipping-post; he received one hundred lashes, till his ribs appeared. The young man's innocence was afterwards fully established. He applied to a court of law for redress; the action was tried at Clonmel Assizes; these facts fully proved; an Orange jury acquitted the defendant."

* Plowden's *Hist. Review*, 5th vol.

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that Mr. Foster, the Speaker, took occasion to express his sentiments with great weight and earnestness against the project of Union; contending that the settlement of 1782 was a final settlement, and that the pending Regency bill would remove the last remaining difficulty in the way of harmonious action between the two independent countries. The Regency bill, however, was not acted upon. That, with all other legislation having reference to the Union, was thrown over till the next session; by which time, Lord Castlereagh hoped to have his votes ready to carry his grand measure. He violently opposed the Regency bill, and got rid of it by moving an adjournment of the House, which was carried.

In the meantime, the English Lords and Commons were also busy upon the Union; and we must now turn from College Green to Westminster for a time.

CHAPTER XL.

1799.

Union Proposed in British Parliament—Opposed by Sheridan—Supported by Canning—Great Speech of Mr. Pitt—Ireland to be Assured of English Protection—Of English Capital—Promises to the Catholics—Mr. Pitt's Resolutions for Union—Sheridan—Dundas—Resolutions Passed—In the House of Lords—Labors of Cornwallis and Castlereagh—Corruption—Intimidation—Onslaught of Troops in Dublin—Lord Cornwallis Makes a Tour—Lord Downshire Disgraced—Handcock of Athlone—His Song and Palinode—Opposition Inorganic—The Orangemen—The Catholics—Arts to Delude Them—Dublin Catholics Against Union—O'Connell—System of Terror—County Meeting Dispersed by Troops—Castlereagh's Announcement of "Compensation."

On the same day, (January 22, 1799,) on which the Union was proposed to the Irish Parliament in the speech of Lord Cornwallis, the same business was brought before both Houses in England. Mr. Pitt was so confident of his power to carry that measure that he did not think it advisable to await the result of the deliberations of the Irish Senate upon it; but, presuming on his strength in the Irish as much as in the British Houses of Parliament, he opened his plan of operations in both on the same day. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the Sovereign was delivered to the British Peers by Lord Grenville, recommending a Union in the following terms:

"His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament; and His Majesty recommends it to this House to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances which have recently occurred (joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common interests) will dispose the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection."

The same day a similar message was presented to the Commons by Mr. Dundas, who moved that it should be taken into consideration on the morrow. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, though a member for an English borough, did not forget that he was an Irishman. He immediately rose, and while he declared his concurrence in the general sentiments which the message conveyed, he thought it but fair thus to give early notice that he viewed the bringing forward of that question at that time as a measure replete with so much mischief, that he held it his duty to take the first opportunity to do everything in his power to arrest the further progress of it.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, said he was at a loss to guess on what grounds the honorable gentleman would attempt to satisfy the House they ought not to proceed to the consideration of the important measure, which His Majesty, from his paternal regard to the interests of the empire, had thought proper to recommend to their consideration; at the same time, he informed the House that his intention was only to propose an address to His Majesty on the next day; and then, after a sufficient interval, (about ten days,) to proceed to the further discussion of the subject.

When the address, accordingly, was proposed the next day, Mr. Sheridan made a long and able speech against the whole project. "He thought it incumbent," he said,

"upon Ministers to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the last solemn adjustment between the countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish Parliament in 1782 * was recollected. The British Legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connection ought to be adopted."

He then spoke of the injustice of attempting to consummate this union by intimidation and corruption. He contended that the adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would still be distinct; and that eventually it might lead to separation.

"Let no suspicion," he continued, "be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption. Let our Union be an union of affection and attachment, of plain-dealing and free-will. Let it be an union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power. Let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when, by tenderness of behavior, we may have her the willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage. Her bans ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of forty thousand men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population."

Sheridan was answered by George Canning; who spoke earnestly in favor of an Union. Canning is sometimes claimed as an Irishman, but he was born in London, and never in all his life allowed the claim, no more than Swift, who said it was too hard if he was to be considered an Irishman, although he had the misfortune to be "dropped" in that island. At any rate, Mr. Canning, never, in his whole career, showed the slightest Irish feeling; and on this occasion he viewed the question wholly as an Englishman, as he was. Here is an extract from his speech:—

"It had been said, that for the space of three hundred years we had oppressed Ireland; but for the last twenty years, the conduct of England had been a *series of concessions*. The Irish wanted an octennial parliament—it was granted. They wished for an independent legislature—they had their wish. They desired a free trade—it was given to them. A very large body of the people of Ireland desired a repeal of a part of the Penal Code which they deemed oppressive—the repeal was granted. The honorable gentleman had spoken as if nothing had been done for Ireland but what she extorted, and what she had a right to demand—he seemed to think that past favors were no proofs of kindness. It was, undoubtedly, expedient that these advantages should be given to Ireland, because her prosperity was the prosperity of England; but *they were not privileges which she could claim as matters of right*."

It was on the 31st, after the message had been again read, that Mr. Pitt made his great speech, fully developing the view which the British Ministry desired to be received on the question of Union. In justice to the Unionists it is necessary to give an abstract of what this able statesman urged on his own part:—

"The nature of the existing connection," he said, "evidently did not afford that degree of security, which, even in times less dangerous and less critical, was necessary to enable the empire to avail itself of its strength and resources.

"The settlement of 1782, far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That settlement consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together. A system unworthy of

* "We beg leave to represent to His Majesty that the subjects of Ireland are entitled to a free Constitution; that the Imperial Crown of Ireland is inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connection the happiness of both nations essentially depends; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct dominion, having a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof; that there is no power whatsoever competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. Upon which exclusive right of legislation we consider the very essence of our liberties to depend—a right which we claim as the birthright of the people of Ireland, and which we are determined, in every situation of life, to assert and maintain."

the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. But to call that a system in itself—to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system—was a perversion of terms."

Mr, Pitt then quoted the Parliamentary journals, to prove that the repeal of the Declaratory act was not considered by the Minister of the day as precluding endeavours for the formation of an ulterior settlement between the kingdoms.

Mr Pitt was good enough to add, that Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the *safety* of Ireland ; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack upon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connection with Britain, and to substitute in lieu of it the new government of the French Republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was opened for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England.

To those who know how Ireland has been drained of her wealth and crushed in her industry since the Union, and by the Union, the following paragraph of Mr. Pitt's speech will seem strange :—

"Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the most prominent features was its want of industry and of capital. How were those wants to be supplied, but by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of Great Britain ?"

The Minister enlarged very much upon the benefit which Ireland would derive from the certainty of being defended by England against foreign enemies, and upon her inability to protect herself. Of course, he did not advert to the fact (which he well knew) that the great majority of the Irish people, Protestants as well as Catholics, knew of no other foreign enemy than England ; that in resisting French invasions of Ireland, England was defending not Ireland but herself ; and that in capturing Frenchmen at Ballinamuck, or in Lough Swilly, the English forces were not capturing Ireland's enemies, but Ireland's friends. He drew a glowing picture of the great advantages which the lesser country would draw from her union with the greater, the protection which she would secure to herself in the hour of danger ; the most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition, to accelerate the progress of internal civilization, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions, which distracted the country, and which she did not possess within herself the power either to control or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honors, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those, whose abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honorable and laudable ambition.

He did not forget to make his bid for the Catholics ; and without giving, in this speech, any distinct pledge of emancipation by the Imperial Parliament, he intimated very clearly that the principal difficulty in the way of that measure would be removed by the Union. "No man could say," he remarked, "that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the State, and shaking the Constitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the Government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times should be favorable to such a measure, it was obvious that this question might be agitated in an United Imperial Parliament, with much greater safety than it could be in a separate Legislature."

The Minister dwelt much upon the weakness of Ireland, which was not, he said, able to protect herself—he had not said so in the days of the volunteers ; upon the confusions and atrocities which prevailed at that moment throughout the country—but he did not say that it was *he* who had ordered and organized those horrors ; upon "the hostile division of sects in Ireland, and the animosities between ancient settlers and original inhabitants"—but without saying that Eng-

lish policy had created and perpetuated those evils; upon the "ignorance and want of civilization which," he was pleased to say, "marked that country more than any in Europe"—but he forgot to say that for a century it had been a penal offence for any Catholic to go to school, or to teach a school. For all this, he insisted there was no cure but in the formation of a General Imperial Legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Ireland, Mr. Pitt admitted, might suffer somewhat "by the absence of the chief nobility and gentry who would flock to the imperial metropolis;" but this disadvantage would be far more than counterbalanced by the beneficial results of the system in other respects. And as to the idea that the project of union with England meant subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke, Mr. Pitt met that with a quotation from Virgil—

"——— Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto: paribus se legibus amboe
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant."

All this looks to-day like cruel and deadly irony. It was with the most severe gravity, however, that Mr. Pitt enumerated all the great blessings which would flow from the Union to Ireland;—if England was to benefit by it, he did not seem to be aware of that circumstance, did not think of it apparently at all; so much absorbed was he by the generons thought of binding up the bleeding wounds of Ireland, and whispering peace to her distracted spirit. He ended by moving his eight resolutions, to serve as a basis for the proposed Union. As these preliminary resolutions were greatly enlarged in the subsequent "Articles" and "Act of Union," they need not be here given at length. They were to the effect that it was fit to propose an union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. That the succession to the Crown should remain settled as it was. That the United Kingdom should be represented in one Parliament, in proportions afterwards to be agreed upon. That the two Churches of England and Ireland should be preserved. That the people of the two kingdoms should stand on the same footing, as to trade and navigation, and no duties should be imposed on export or import between the two islands That the charge for the debts of the two kingdoms should be separately defrayed; the proportions of future expenses to be settled by the two Parliaments previous to the Union. That all laws and courts should remain as they were then established, subject to future modifications by the United Parliament. Mr. Sheridan opposed these resolutions from first to last.

"If the condition of Ireland," he said, "were really as deplorable as it was stated to be, the House ought to be informed from what misconceptions such evils had arisen, amidst the advantages which God and nature had bestowed upon her. It might be concluded, indeed, that her poverty was chiefly occasioned by the narrow, unwise policy of Britain, a policy which, he was glad to find, the Minister now disapproved. Her weakness, perhaps, was not so great as it was supposed to be; and, if it were, it was ungenerous to insult her. Such an insult would not have been offered to her while her volunteers were in arms."

In the course of the several debates which took place, Sheridan was supported by several eminent members of the House; by Mr. Grey, (afterwards Lord Grey,) by General Fitzpatrick, (who had been Irish Secretary under Lord Portland,) Mr. Tierney, the Honorable Mr. St. John, Mr. Hobhouse, and others; most of whom opposed the measure on account of the time being improper for its discussion. Of those who supported it may be named Sir John Mitford, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Dudley Ryder, Mr. Secretary Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, (a Scotchman,) spoke warmly for the Union; and in his speech took occasion to throw out again the bait which was to catch the Catholics; and as he was a member of the administration, his words were supposed to have weight. He said "that, after union, the Protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger their establishment the whole strength of the United Legislature would be exerted; and, on the other hand, the Catholics would expect that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered

by a general Parliament, the great body of which would be relieved from the apprehensions and animosities interwoven with the Constitution of the existing Legislature."

Mr. Dundas further vaunted the excellent effects which, he said, had followed the union of Scotland with England, and referred to a letter of Queen Anne to the Northern Parliament, predicting the various blessings, with respect to religion, liberty, and property, which would result from the scheme of incorporation; and, he said, that not one syllable of her predictions had failed.

It is observable that, throughout the whole of these debates in the English Parliament, not one of the advocates of Union ever seems to have thought of the interest or honor of his own country. It was for Ireland they were all concerned. At length, on the 12th of February, came the division on bringing up the report. The *ayes* were 120; *nays*, 16. This was followed by a conference between the Lords and Commons; and the House of Peers ordered a month's interval before entering upon the discussion in their House.

On the 19th of March, the matter was brought before the British House of Peers by Lord Grenville. He went through all the common arguments for the Union, and repeated the usual carefully-calculated phrases intended to win the Irish Catholics without any distinct ministerial pledge for emancipation. He said:—

"The good consequences of union would quickly appear, in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian Protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a Protestant Imperial Parliament; and the anxiety of the Catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a Parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature."

The Union was opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, advocated by the Marquis of Townshend, Lord Clifton, Lord Minto, the Bishop of Llandaff, and many others. Lord Moira opposed it. Lord Camden (the rebellion Viceroy) supported it. This nobleman took occasion to enter on a defence of his own administration in Ireland, which seemed indeed to need defence. He denied that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was productive of disorder or disaffection, and affirmed that the rigorous proceedings of the Government were rendered necessary by that seditious spirit which existed independently of the Catholic question. He declared that all the severities imputed to his administration were *preceded* by acts of outrage, of insurrection, or of rebellion. He allowed that his conduct, in adopting active and vigorous measures, and apprehending some of the leaders, did accelerate the rebellion; but, as the same steps facilitated its suppression, he did not think that he could justly be blamed.

Lord Minto advised the insertion of a distinct clause in the articles or act of Union, providing for the "just claims of the Catholic Irish;" but he did not insist on this, and Ministers took care that no such clause should be inserted. Their policy at that moment, with regard to Catholics, was only to whisper hopes and private promises into the ear of bishops and peers of that persuasion, as will be seen more fully hereafter. At the end of a long debate the address was finally adopted, embracing Mr. Pitt's proposals; and so the matter rested until the next session.

The remainder of the year 1799 was a busy time for Lord Cornwallis, Lord Clare, Lord Castlereagh, and under-Secretary Cooke. They were all excessively mortified at the temporary failure of this measure; but if certain too credulous and generous Irishmen fondly imagined that the danger was over, they were signally mistaken. Neither Clare nor Castlereagh was the man to be so easily discouraged at a crisis on which their own future political honors and existence depended. They had it in command from London to carry the Union through. Mr Pitt, by a *private* dispatch to Lord Cornwallis, desired that the measure should not be pressed unless he could be *certain* of a majority of fifty;* and his lordship knew what that meant, coming from Mr. Pitt. Lord Cornwallis seems to have been quite a willing agent in the system of corruption and

* "This original dispatch I saw and read."—*Sir J. Barrington.*

intimidation now to be inaugurated on a grander scale than ever before; and, indeed, to an extent never witnessed, either before or since, in any country of the globe. And never had a government two more efficient officers for such a purpose than Clare, the Lord-Chancellor, and Castlereagh, the Secretary. The Chancellor, in fact, was too violent and arrogant to be politic. He called that a pusillanimous idea; and could have been well content for his part to carry the Union with a majority of one, and then dragoon the island into submission. In his rage at the first check in Parliament, and at the somewhat tumultuous rejoicings of the Dublin mob, (who, however, hurt nobody,) he hastily had the Privy Council called together, and urged the necessity of making what in Ireland is called a salutary example. Accordingly, about nine at night, a party of the military stationed in the old Custom House, near Essex Bridge, silently sallied out, with trailed arms, without any civil magistrate, and only a sergeant to command them; arriving at Capel street, the populace were in the act of violently huzzaing for their friends, and, of course, with equal vehemence execrating their enemies; but no riot act was read, no magistrate appeared, and no disturbance or tumult existed to warrant military interference.

The soldiers, however, having taken a position a short way down the street, without being in any way assailed, fired a volley of balls amongst the people. Of course, a few were killed and some wounded; amongst the former, were a woman and a boy. A man fell dead at the feet of Mr. P. Hamilton, the King's Proctor of the Admiralty, who, as a mere spectator, was viewing the illumination. This is only mentioned to evince the violent spirit which guided the Government of that day, and the tyrannic means which were employed to terrify the people from testifying their joy at their deliverance, as they fancied, from the proposed annexation.*

Lord Castlereagh, however, knew a better way of going to work: The session had scarcely closed, when his lordship recommenced his warfare against his country. The treasury was in his hands, patronage in his note-book, and all the influence which the scourge or the pardon, reward or punishment, could possibly produce on the trembling rebels, was openly resorted to. Lord Cornwallis determined to put Irish honesty to the test, and set out upon an experimental tour through those parts of the country where the nobility and gentry were most likely to entertain him. He artfully selected those places where he could best make his way with corporations at public dinners, and with the aristocracy, country-gentlemen, and farmers, by visiting their mansions and cottages. Ireland was thus canvassed, and every jail was converted to a hustings, at which prisoners of various grades of crime were asked to sign petitions for the Union, by the promise of pardon.† Lord Castlereagh's ulterior efforts were extensive and indefatigable, his spirit revived and every hour gained ground on his opponents. He clearly perceived that the ranks of the Opposition were too open to be strong, and too mixed to be unanimous. The extraordinary fate of Mr. Ponsonby's declaration of rights, and the debate on a similar motion by Lord Corry, which so shortly afterwards met a more serious negative, proved the truth of these observations, and identified the persons through whom that truth was to be afterwards exemplified.

It was soon perceived by the Anti-Unionists, that Government was recruiting and marshalling its forces to carry its measure with a high hand in the next session; and that they also must do somewhat on their side, to maintain the high national spirit in resistance to the hated measure. The Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Charlemont, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, member for the county of Kilkenny, sent circular letters to the Irish gentry and yeomanry, to the following effect. They were authorized, they said, by a number of gentlemen of both houses of Parliament—thirty eight of whom were representatives of counties—to intimate their opinion, that petitions to Parliament, declaring the real sense of the freeholders on the subject of a Legislative Union, would at that time be highly expedient.

* Sir J. Barrington.

† This fact, that felons in the jails were thus induced to sign Union petitions, was mentioned in Parliamentary debate, and not contradicted. *Sir J. Barrington.*

The Marquis of Downshire was at once dismissed from the government of his county—the colonelcy of the Royal Downshire regiment of twelve hundred men, and his name was erased from the list of Privy Councillors.* All the resources of Government, either for reward or punishment, were to be used, and that without reserve. The management of Mr. Handcock, member for Athlone, is an example of the system of treatment opposite to that pursued towards Lord Downshire. Immediately after the close of the session of 1799, a public dinner of the patriotic members was had in Dublin, to commemorate the rescue of their country from so imminent a danger. One hundred and ten members of Parliament sat down to that splendid and triumphant entertainment.

Never was a more cordial, happy assemblage of men of rank, consideration, and *proven* integrity, collected in one chamber, than upon that remarkable occasion. Every man's tried and avowed principles were supposed to be untaintable, and pledged to his own honor and his country's safety; and amongst others, Mr. Handcock, member for Athlone, appeared to be conspicuous. He spoke strongly, gave numerous Anti-Union toasts, vowed his eternal hostility to so infamous a measure, pledged himself to God and man to resist it to the utmost, and, to finish and record his sentiments, he had composed an Anti-Union song of many stanzas, which he sung himself with a general chorus. In short, he was the life of the party. Lord Castlereagh marked him as a man to be won upon any terms. Before Parliament assembled in the next session, Mr. Handcock was composing and singing *Union* songs. He received a large bribe in money; "but," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "still he held out until title was added to the bribe, his own conscience was not strong enough to resist the charge, the vanity of his family lusted for nobility. He wavered, but he yielded; his vows, his declaration, his song, all vanished before vanity, and the year 1800, saw Mr. Handcock of Athlone, Lord Castlemaine." It is unnecessary to say that he voted for the Union.

The very heterogeneous nature of the Opposition which had rejected the Union in the last session, gave Lord Castlereagh great facilities in breaking it down. In that fortuitous concourse of members, were to be found old reformers, and those who had always opposed reform, Catholic Emancipators, as well as the most violent and bitter of the Orangemen. Indeed, the most fatal cause of division amongst them, was their radical difference of opinion on the Catholic question. Those who had determined to support the Catholic cause, as the surest mode of preventing any future attempts to attain a Union, were obliged to dissemble their intentions of proposing emancipation, lest they should disgust the Ascendancy party who acted with them solely against the Union. Those who were enemies to Catholic relaxation, were also obliged to conceal their wishes, lest their determination to resist that measure should disgust the advocates of emancipation, who had united with them on the present occasion.

The *talent* of Parliament principally existed amongst the members who had formed the general opposition to the Union. Some habitual friends of administration, therefore who had on this single question seceded from the Court, and who wished to resume their old habits on the Union being disposed of, obviously felt a portion of narrow jealousy at being *led* by those they had been accustomed to *oppose*, and reluctantly joined in any *liberal* opposition to a Court which they had been in the habit of supporting. They desired to vote against the Union in the abstract, but to commit themselves no further against the Minister. Many, upon this temporizing and ineffective principle, cautiously avoided any discussion, save upon the *direct* proposition; and this was remarkable, and felt to be ruinous in the succeeding session.

In the meetings and discussions which took place during that anxious interval between the two sessions, and in the first days of the new one, the Orange body held aloof from the question *as* Orangemen; and in the first days of the new session, a circular was issued signed by the "Grand Master," and "Grand Secretary," and dated "Grand Orange Lodge," exhorting Orangemen "to avoid, as injurious to the institution, all controversy upon subjects not connected with

* Plowden.

their principles." There is no doubt, however, that most of the Orangemen were for the Union ; and both the Grand Master and Grand Secretary, being members of Parliament, voted for it in 1800.

To the countless petitions which were poured in, almost all *against* the Union, were signed the names of Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately ; but the Catholic Bishops certainly used their influence in many cases to dissuade the people of their flocks from coming forward against the measure. "It may, indeed, be said with truth," says Mr. Plowden, "that a very great preponderancy in favor of the Union existed in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy." The same authority accounts for this by "the severities and indignities practiced upon them after the rebellion by many of the Orange party, and the offensive, affected confusion, in the use of the terms, papist and rebel, producing fresh soreness in the minds of many." But this is not a satisfactory account of the indifferent or hostile position assumed at that time of peril, by many leading Catholics towards the Legislature of their country. If they did see some Orangemen sitting upon the Opposition benches, they also saw there *all* their own old and tried friends and advocates ; and their attitude is rather to be ascribed to the impression produced by the underhand half-promises made by people connected with the Government. Sir Jonah Barrington says :—

"The Viceroy knew mankind too well to dismiss the Catholics without a comfortable conviction of their certain emancipation ; he turned to them the honest side of his countenance ; the priests bowed before the soldierly condescensions of a starred veteran. The titular archbishop was led to believe he would instantly become a real prelate ; and before the negotiation concluded, Dr. Troy was consecrated a decided Unionist, and was directed to send pastoral letters to his colleagues to promote t."

Sir Jonah tells us, further, that "some of the persons, assuming to themselves the title of *Catholic leaders*, sought an audience, in order to inquire from Marquis Cornwallis, 'What would be the advantage to the Catholics, if a union should happen to be effected in Ireland ?'

"Mr. Bellew, (brother to Sir Patrick Bellew,) Mr. Lynch, and some others, had several audiences with the Viceroy ; the Catholic Bishops were generally deceived into the most disgusting subservience, rewards were not withheld, Mr. Bellew was to be appointed a County Judge, but that being found impracticable, he got a secret pension, which he has now enjoyed for thirty-two years."

But, undoubtedly, the main motive of the anti-national conduct of leading Catholics is to be sought in those uniform declarations of Ministers, both in England and in Ireland, that the Union, and the Union alone, would remove all impediments to a fair settlement of the demands of the Catholics.

There were, however, some Catholics not to be so easily deluded. The trading and commercial class of Catholics in Dublin was vehemently opposed to union ; and, immediately before the opening of the session, a meeting of these people was held at the Royal Exchange, to deliver their opinions upon it. It was proposed to prevent this meeting from assembling, by military force — such was always Lord Clare's first thought ; but better counsels prevailed, and the meeting was held, Mr. Ambrose Moore in the chair.

No less a person than *Daniel O'Connell*, then a rising young barrister, took the leading part at this meeting ; and it is interesting to see with what patriotic earnestness he then protested against the perpetration of that Union which, near half a century later, he laid down his life in the effort to repeal. He said :—

"That under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung at the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from all political discussion, at the same time that they were ready, as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects. This resolution, which they had entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of

Union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of Union, and silent allies to that conspiracy formed against the name, the interests, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and, unfortunately, it was received with a too general credulity. Every Union pamphlet, every Union speech imprudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning a measure which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of Anti-Unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and, at length, the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them, as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favorably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile; a libel the most false, scandalous, and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people.

"Sir," continued Mr. O'Connell, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages *may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic*, to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages, as a *sect*, which would debase and destroy them as a *people*."

After which Mr. O'Connell moved certain resolutions which were unanimously agreed to.

The first of these resolutions was—

"*Resolved*, That we are of opinion that the proposed incorporate Union of the Legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, is, in fact, an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be reduced to the abject condition of a province, surrendered to the mercy of the Minister and Legislature of another country, to be bound by their absolute will, and taxed at their pleasure by laws, in the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatever."

As the decisive moment approached for the trial of this great issue, men's minds became more and more excited on both sides of the question. The patriotic leaders did what was possible to evoke a respectable body of public opinion by way of meetings, petitions, and resolutions; but this was a service of danger, as Lord Downshire had found. A far more extraordinary example of the determination of Government to crush down all legitimate expression of public feeling occurred at a proposed county meeting in Kings County. The circumstances were thus related by Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his place in Parliament, and were never denied:—

"Some time ago, Major Rogers, who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of assembling the freeholders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a Legislative Union, the Major replied that he would disperse them by force if they attempted any such thing; that the Major, however, applied to Government for direction. What answer or directions he received could only be judged of by his immediate conduct. On Sunday last, several magistrates and respectable inhabitants assembled in the session house, when the High-Sheriff (Mr. Derby) went to them and ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them. They were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching. The As-

sembly had but just time to vote the resolutions, but not to sign them. They broke up, and as they went out of the session house they saw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every disposition for an attack upon the session house—a building so constructed that if a cannon had been fired it must have fallen on the magistrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman spoke to Major Rogers on the subject of his approaching in that hostile manner. His answer was that he waited but for one word from the Sheriff that he might blow them to atoms! These were the dreadful measures, Sir Lawrence said, by which Government endeavored to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission."

Sir Jonah Barrington states positively that many other meetings throughout the counties were thus prevented by simple "dread of grape-shot." English generals then quartered in various parts of the island, at a moment when either martial law still existed or the horrible memory of it was fresh, could not fail to have their own influence over proclaimed districts and a bleeding peasantry. To them nothing could be easier than to prevent any political meetings, under pretence that they might endanger the public peace.

The Anti-Union addresses, innumerable and ardent, in their very nature voluntary, and with signatures of high consideration, were stigmatized by Government journals as seditious and disloyal; "while those of the compelled, the bribed, and the culprit, were printed and circulated by every means that the Treasury or the influence of the Government could effect."*

There were a good many new elections held this summer; because members were persuaded to resign their seats "upon terms," says Mr. Plowden; but he does not tell us what those terms were. In fact, they simply accepted one of the "Escheatorships," a species of "Chiltern Hundreds," to vacate their seats, that those seats might be filled by creatures of the Castle. In this way a small majority had already been secured before the opening of the session.

Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, having made so good progress during the recess, now discarded all secrecy and reserve. Many of the peers and several of the commoners had the patronage of boroughs, the control of which was essential to the success of the Minister's project. These patrons Lord Castlereagh assailed by every means which his power and situation afforded. Lord Cornwallis was the remote, Lord Castlereagh the intermediate, and Mr. Secretary Cooke, the immediate agents on many of these bargains. Lord Shannon, the Marquis of Ely, and several other peers commanding votes, after much coquetry had been secured during the first session; but the defeat of Government rendered their future support uncertain. The Parliamentary patrons had breathing time after the preceding session, and began to tremble for their patronage and importance; and some desperate step became necessary to Government, to insure a continuance of the support of these personages.

Accordingly, Lord Castlereagh boldly announced his intention to turn the scale, by bribes to all who would accept them, under the name of *compensation* for the loss of patronage and interest. He publicly declared, *first*, that every nobleman who returned members to Parliament should be paid, in cash, £15,000 for every member so returned; *secondly*, that every member who had *purchased* a seat in Parliament should have his purchase-money repaid to him out of the Treasury of Ireland; *thirdly*, that all members of Parliament, or others, who were *losers* by the Union should be fully recompensed for their losses, and that £1,500,000 should be devoted to this service. In other words, all who should affectionately support his measure were, under some pretext or other, to share in this "bank of corruption."

A declaration so desperately and recklessly flagitious was never made in any country on earth by the Minister of any Sovereign. It was treating the elective franchise of the country as the private property of those pro-

* Sir Jonah Barrington. He states, and O'Connell has affirmed the same, that, notwithstanding all obstacles and intimidations, seven hundred thousand persons petitioned against union; and, notwithstanding all inducements, only three thousand petitioned or it—the most of these being Government officials and prisoners in the jails.

prietors who returned the members by means of their unconstitutional influence. It was acknowledging and consecrating the practice of those members themselves in treating their seats also as a property, from which, during their tenure, they drew profit in bribes, or place, or some substantial Court favor. And it was charging the whole expense of this nefarious transaction to the Irish tax-payers themselves, the very people who were thus to be sold by their representatives, and purchased with their own money by their enemies.

But the declaration had a powerful effect in favor of the Castle; and before the meeting of Parliament in January he found, through the infallible information of the under-Secretary, Mr. Cooke, that he could count upon a small majority of about eight. This he hoped to increase.

CHAPTER XLI.

1799—1800.

Progress of Union Conspiracy—Grand Scale of Bribery—Castlereagh Organizes "Fighting Men"—Dinner at his House—Last Session of the Irish Parliament—Warm Debate the First Day—Daly Attacks Bushe and Plunket—Reappearance of Grattan—His Speech—Corry Attacks Him—Division—Majority for Government—Castlereagh Proposes "Articles" of Union—His Speech—Promises Great Gain to Ireland from Union—Ireland to "Save a Million a Year"—Proposed Constitution of United Parliament—Irish Peerage—Ponsonby—Grattan—Again a Majority for the Castle—Lord Clare's Famous Speech—Duel of Grattan and Corry—Torpor and Gloom in Dublin—The Catholics—"Articles" finally Adopted—By Commons—By Lords.

In the cool, calculating head of the Irish Secretary, the whole project was now matured, and its accomplishment provided for Things were, he thought, in a good train. County meetings of freeholders were prevented by "dread of grape-shot;" the Catholic Bishops and gentry were lulled asleep by what Mr. O'Connell had well described as "hopes of advantage ambiguously held forth;" the people were crushed, disarmed, bleeding; there were one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in the country, one-third regular troops, the other two-thirds officered and controlled by Government; and above all, and beyond all, Mr. Cooke was successfully driving his bargains with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of the Parliament of Ireland. Yet his lordship evidently dreaded the meeting of Parliament. He loved not that inevitable encounter with so many honest, ardent, and able men, who all knew and would proclaim the villanies he was practising. In fact, he felt, with uneasiness, that the genius and eloquence of the land, as well as its integrity, were full against him; and no legislative body ever yet sitting in one house has possessed so large a proportion of grand orators, learned lawyers, and accomplished gentlemen. It may be fearlessly added, that no Parliament has ever had so large a proportion of honorable men. Had it not been so, the splendid bribes then ready to be thrust into every man's hand would have insured to the Castle a much greater majority, and we should not have seen the noble ranks of unpurchasable patriots thronging so thick on the Opposition benches to the last. What Parliament or Congress has ever been tempted so?* There is no need to make invidious or disparaging reflections; but Englishmen, and Frenchmen, and Americans, should pray that their respective Legislatures may never be subjected to such an ordeal.

But still, Castlereagh disliked this meeting with the Irish Parliament; and, as his party fell so far short of their opponents in point of talent and oratory, he bethought him of a singular expedient to make sure of an effective corps of fighting men amongst his supporters in the House. He was himself a man of most reckless courage; but he saw the necessity of infusing a little of that spirit into his party. Sir Jonah Barrington describes his system of procedure in this

* It must be remembered that the *compensation* fund of £1,500,000 represents a small part of the bribery. Vast sums were also paid for votes out of the Secret Service money. O'Connell, in his Corporation Speech, estimates these latter bribes at "more than a million." Then there were about forty new peerages created, and conferred as bribes. The tariff of prices for Union votes was familiarly known—£8,000, or an office worth £2,000 a year if the member did not like to touch the ready-money. Ten bishoprics, one chief-justiceship, six puisne-judgeships, besides regiments and ships given to officers of the army and navy. On the whole, the amount of all this in money must have been, at least, *five millions* sterling—$25,000,000. If bribery upon the same scale, say, $100,000,000, were now judiciously administered in the English Parliament, a majority could be obtained which would annex the Three Kingdoms to the United States.

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matter, which is too characteristic of the time and of the country to be here omitted:

"He invited to dinner, at his house in Merrion Square, about twenty of his most staunch supporters, consisting of 'tried men,' and men of 'fighting families,' who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the Opposition, and in identifying their own honor with the cause of Government. This dinner was sumptuous; the champagne and Madeira had their full effect; no man could be more condescending than the noble host. After due preparation, the point was skillfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere, (since created Lord de Blaquiere,) who, of all men, was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial, fighting conspiracy; he was of the old school, an able diplomatist, and with the most polished manners and imposing address, he combined a friendly heart, and decided spirit; in polite conviviality he was unrivaled.

"Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating, toasts, he stated that he understood the Opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities, towards His Majesty's best friends—the Unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him by degrading the party he had adopted, and the measures he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity, the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel a zeal for '*actual service.*'

"Lord Castlereagh affected some coquetry, lest this idea should appear to have originated with him; but, when he perceived that many had made up their minds to act even on the offensive, he calmly observed, that some mode should, at all events, be taken to secure the constant presence of a sufficient number of the Government friends during the discussion, as subjects of the utmost importance were often totally lost for want of due attendance. Never did a sleight-of-hand man juggle more expertly.

"One of his lordship's prepared accessories (as if it were a new thought) proposed, humorously, to have a dinner for twenty or thirty every day, in one of the committee-chambers, where they could be always at hand to make up a House, or for any *emergency* which should call for an unexpected reinforcement, during any part of the discussion.

"The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators, was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. Wit and puns began to accompany the bottle. Mr. Cooke, the Secretary, then, with significant nods and smirking inuendos, began to circulate his official rewards to the company. The hints and the claret, united to raise visions of the most gratifying nature, every man became in a prosperous state of official pregnancy—embryo judges, counsel to boards, envoys to foreign courts, compensation pensioners, placemen and commissioners in assortments, all revelled in the anticipation of something *substantial* to be given to every member who would do the Secretary the honor of accepting it.

"The scheme was unanimously adopted, Sir John Blaquiere pleasantly observed that, at all events, they would be sure of a good *cook* at their dinners. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and *fight* for Lord Castlereagh."

It was not long before one of these gentlemen found an opportunity of proving his mettle.

On the 15th of January, the last session of the Parliament of Ireland assembled. Every member expected that the speech from the Throne would have again introduced the subject of an Union, the basis for which, was now firmly laid by the action of the British Parliament in adopting the *Articles of Union.* There was deep and expectant attention, as the Viceroy congratulated Parliament upon "victories of the combined imperial armies" over France; upon good understanding with Naples; upon the failure of the plans of "the enemy" in India; upon the check given to Buonaparte's Egyptian successes; and he went on to demand supplies as usual, and to promise economy;—and earnestly recommended to their care and patronage agriculture, manufactures, and the "Protestant Charter Schools;"—but he ended without saying one word of *Union.*

Lord Viscount Loftus (afterwards Marquis of Ely) moved the address, which was as vague as the speech was empty. It was this gentleman's father, Marquis of Ely, who had been promised £45,000 for his three boroughs. Sir Jonah Barrington says this young nobleman "had been christened *Lee-boo*, by the humorous party of the House, and was only selected to show the Commons that his father had been purchased"—in other words, *pour encouràger les autres*.

There was not a point in the Viceroy's speech intended to be debated. Lord Castlereagh, having judiciously collected his flock, was better enabled to decide on numbers, and to count with sufficient certainty on the result of his labors since the preceding session, without any hasty or premature disclosure of his definitive measure.

This negative and insidious mode of proceeding, however, could not be permitted by the Opposition, and Sir Lawrence Parsons, after one of the most able and luminous speeches he had ever uttered, moved an amendment, declaratory of the resolution of Parliament, to preserve the Constitution as established in 1782, and to support the freedom and independence of the nation. This motion occasioned a warm debate on the very first day of the session. Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of the bullying policy which had been agreed upon, spoke contemptuously of the arguments of Sir Lawrence. The silence of the Lord-Lieutenant on the subject, did not arise from any conviction of the impolicy of prosecuting the scheme. The question had been withdrawn, when the House of Commons seemed unwilling to entertain it, but, *as a great majority of the people now approved the measure*, and as there was reason to believe, that many of its late Parliamentary opponents had renounced their ideas of its demerits, His Majesty's counselors had resolved to give it a new chance of regular investigation. The reason of its not having been mentioned in the Viceroy's speech, was merely that it was to be made a subject of distinct communication to Parliament.

There ensued a vehement debate on the whole question of Union. Many members now ventured to show their hands. After Mr. Ponsonby had spoken strongly and earnestly in favor of Sir L. Parsons' amendment up rose Dr. Brown, member for the University, who had voted against the Union in the preceding session. He said "he had become more inclined to the Union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from *intermediate circumstances*." Unhappily, we know what those circumstances were. He had been promised the place of Prime-Sergeant, and got it for his vote, and for that alone, as he had no other merit.*

Charles Kendal Bushe made a vigorous speech in this debate. He said :—

"You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The Treasury Bench startles at the assertion—*Non meus hic sermo est*. If the Treasury Bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them, it is his assertion in so many words in his speech. *Ireland*, says he, *has always been treated with injustice and illiberality*. Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, or the candor of Mr. Pitt, it is history. For centuries has the British nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralyzed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favor which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England."

Mr. Plunket also had spoken with his usual force against the project of Union, when Mr. St. George Daly, a very third-rate barrister, who had been appointed Prime-Sergeant on the dismissal of Mr. Fitzgerald, rose and began to put in practice the bullying policy which had been settled upon at

* This gentleman was by birth an American.

Lord Castlereagh's. "He was a gentleman," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "of excellent family, and, what was formerly highly esteemed in Ireland, of a 'fighting family.' He was proud enough for his pretensions, and sufficiently conceited for his capacity, and a private gentleman he would have remained, had not Lord Castlereagh and the Union placed him in public situations where he had himself too much sense not to feel that he certainly was over-elevated." This Mr. Daly ventured upon the system of personal insolence. Barrington describes the scene: "Mr. Daly's attack on Mr. Bushe, was of a clever description, and had Mr. Bushe had one vulnerable point, his assailant might have prevailed. He next attacked Mr. Plunket, who sat immediately before him, but the materials of his vocabulary had been nearly exhausted; however, he was making some progress, when the keen visage of Mr. Plunket was seen to assume a curled sneer, which, like a legion offensive and defensive, was prepared for an enemy. No speech could equal his glance of contempt and ridicule. Mr. Daly received it like an arrow, it pierced him, he faltered like a wounded man, his vocal infirmity became more manifest, and after an embarrassed pause, he yielded, changed his ground, and attacked by wholesale every member of his own profession who had opposed an Union, and termed them a disaffected and dangerous faction"

But the House had nearly wearied itself out, and exhausted the subject, when, about seven o'clock in the morning, a sudden apparition broke upon the House, which caused men to hold their breath for a time. It was the entrance of Henry Grattan. Since his "secession" from Parliament, more than two years before, along with Curran, Fitzgerald and others, Grattan had been an invalid, trying to recruit his shattered constitution, by change of scene and climate. He had spent some time in the mild air of the Isle of Wight, then among the mountains of Wales, and had but lately returned to his house of Tinnehinch, near Bray, when this momentous session of Parliament opened.

At that time, Mr. Tighe returned the members for the close borough of Wicklow, and a vacancy having occurred, it was tendered to Mr. Grattan, who would willingly have declined it but for the importunities of his friends.

The Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed, and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion. It was not until the day of the meeting of Parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and, perhaps, by following the example of Government in overstraining the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ, a sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight. By one o'clock, the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to Parliament before seven in the morning, when the House was in warm debate on the Union. A whisper ran through every party that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The Ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the Opposition thought the news too good to be true.

Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, (afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas,) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping, Mr. Grattan, in a state of total feebleness and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced a form, never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the House, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his prëeminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and rëanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labor of his mind. The House was silent, Mr. Egan did not resume his speech, Mr. Grattan, almost breathless,

attempted to rise, but found himself unable at first to stand, and asked permission to address the House from his seat. Never was a finer illustration of the sovereignty of mind over matter. Grattan spoke two hours, with all his usual vehemence and fire, against the Union, and in favor of the amendment of Sir Lawrence Parsons. The Treasury Bench was at first disquieted; then became savage; and it was resolved to bully, or to kill Mr. Grattan. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene :—

"He had concluded, and the question was loudly called for, when Lord Castlereagh was perceived earnestly to whisper to Mr. Corry, they for an instant looked round the House, whispered again, Mr. Corry nodded assent, and, amidst the cries of 'question,' began a speech, which, as far as it regarded Mr. Grattan, few persons in the House could have prevailed upon themselves to utter. Lord Castlereagh was not clear what impression Mr. Grattan's speech might have made upon a few hesitating members; he had, in the course of the debate, moved the question of adjournment; he did not like to meet Sir Lawrence Parsons on his motion, and Mr. Corry commenced certainly an able, but, towards Mr. Grattan, an ungenerous and an unfeeling personal assault."

For that time the Castle bravo carried the matter with a high hand; the exhausted invalid was too feeble to attend to him; perhaps, did not even hear him. At ten o'clock in the morning, a division was called for. Ninety-six voted for the amendment of Sir Lawrence Parsons; one hundred and thirty-eight against it; a majority of forty-two for the Castle. This majority of forty-two exceeded the warmest expectations of Government; and the Viceroy hoped to increase it by allowing an interval of some weeks to pass, before he sent to either House a copy of the resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Anti-Unionists by a majority of forty-two, flushed the Minister with confidence. The members were now so far marshaled into their ranks, that considerable changes or conversions were not to be expected on either side. Some solitary instances of conversions did appear. A hot and open canvass was carried on in the House itself, by the friends of Government, wherever an uncertain or reluctant member was observed, or his convictions, interests and aspirations could be discovered. What effect attended this canvass is seen in the subsequent divisions, and in the Black List.

It was on the 15th of February that Lord Castlereagh, for the first time, formally brought the project of Union before the House, by reading a message from Lord Cornwallis, recommending that measure to the earnest attention of Parliament. His lordship then delivered a long speech, setting forth the several articles of Union, as agreed upon by the British Houses. He affirmed, without scruple, that public opinion was now favorable to Union. With regard to the multitudinously-signed petitions which had poured in against it, he remarked :

"That had also been the case in the Scottish Union. The table of the Parliament was day after day, for the space of three months, covered with such petitions; but the Scottish legislators acted as, he trusted the Irish Parliament would act; they considered only the public advantage; and, steadily pursuing that object, neither misled by artifices nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country, that reward which amply compensated their arduous labors in the great work so happily accomplished." *

As to the principle of the measure—the competency of the Parliament of Ireland to extinguish itself—his lordship affirmed that this had been so firmly established by a speech, (that of Mr. Smith,) which had been published, "that he considered it as placed beyond question or doubt." He then described the articles in succession. He attempted to show that the contemplated financial arrangement, making the two countries bear separately the charge of their respective debts, and requiring Ireland to pay in the proportion of one to seven and a half, towards the general expenses of the United Kingdom, for twenty years—the proportions to be afterwards modified, according to the respective abilities of the two countries—

* The reader will recollect that the Scottish Union also was accomplished by purchasing a majority with money and office.

was an arrangement by which Ireland would *save a million per annum.* The proposed commercial regulations also he discussed, most elaborately, and showed to the satisfaction of his friends, that in this article, also, Ireland would be the gainer. His lordship then spoke of the article to consolidate the Church of England and Church of Ireland. In this place he took care to introduce the regular ministerial phrase, intended to comfort the Catholics :—

"The cause of distrust must vanish with the removal of weakness ; strength and confidence would produce liberality ; and the claims of the Catholics *might be temperately discussed and impartially decided* before an Imperial Parliament, divested of those local circumstances, which would ever produce irritation and jealousy."

With respect to the composition of the United Parliament, his lordship observed that, while the population of Great Britain exceeded ten millions, that of Ireland was only three million five hundred thousand or four millions ;* and while Ireland's share in the general expenses of the empire was to be only one, against Great Britain's seven and a half, she was to have a hundred members in the Imperial Parliament.

Lord Castlereagh next approached the delicate question—what was to be done with the Irish Peerages? According to the articles of Union, Irish Peers were not to sit in any House of Lords by their own right ; yet, they were not to be altogether degraded to Commoners, (which would have been republican, and savoring of "French principles.") So the awkward compromise which was adopted caused his lordship some trouble to explain, in a plausible manner. They were to be *represented* in the Imperial House of Lords by four spiritual Peers, elected by their order, and twenty-eight temporal Peers, elected by theirs, and holding their seats for life. Peers of Ireland were to be capable of holding seats in the House of Commons, but not for an Irish constituency ; only for a county or borough in England.

In describing the apportionment of the representation between counties and boroughs, giving sixty-four to the former and thirty-six to the latter, his lordship said this would necessarily disfranchise many boroughs ; and here he took occasion formally to promise "compensation"—not to the disfranchised electors, but to the landed proprietors who were the "patrons" of those boroughs, and were supposed to own the franchise of those electors. This intended purchase of the "pocket boroughs," and the immense prices to be paid for them, had been known before ; but this was the first time the stupendous bribe had been mentioned in Parliament. Lord Castlereagh coolly said :—

"As the disfranchisement of many boroughs would diminish the influence and privileges of those gentlemen whose property was connected with such places of election, he endeavored to obviate their complaints by promising that, if the plan submitted to the House should be finally approved, he would offer some measure of compensation to those individuals whose peculiar interests should suffer in the arrangement.

"Much and deep objection might be stated to such a measure ; but it surely was consonant with the privileges of private justice ; it was calculated to meet the feelings of the moderate ; and it was better to resort to such a measure, however objectionable, than adhere to the present system, and keep afloat, forever, the dangerous question of Parliamentary reform. If this were a measure of purchase, it should be recollected that it would be the purchase of peace, and the expense of it would be redeemed *by one year's saving of the Union.*"

Lord Castlereagh did not feel it necessary to mention any of the other classes of bribes which were to reward those patriots who would consent to enrich Ireland by all these gains and savings. He knew that the faithful Mr. Cooke was arranging those matters of business in the lobbies, in the corriders, on the very floor of the House.

Mr. George Ponsonby made a violent at-

* It was at least five millions. Mr. Plowden, though he does not like to contradict Lord Castlereagh, says, "there are many strong reasons for believing that it amounted to near five millions. Six years later, it was five million three hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and-fifty-six, according to the estimate for that year, (1805,) given in the official Irish Directory. But as there was then no census, Lord Castlereagh felt himself at liberty to give his own estimate.

tack upon the Minister and his whole scheme. He treated as visionary all the proffered advantages of Union. In the ecclesiastical establishment, Union would produce but one solid effect, which would be to translate the Irish into English bishops.

He then summed up the effects of the Union in these terms: "Your peerage is to be disgraced; your Commons purchased; no additional advantage in commerce; for twenty years a little saving in contributions, but if the Cabinet of England think that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now? If anything should be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now? Are any of those benefits incompatible with our present state? No! but the Minister wants to carry his union, and no favor, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of Parliament and the liberties of the country."

Sir John Parnell, Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Saurin, Mr. Peter Burrowes, all attacked the measure, and exposed the fallacies of Lord Castlereagh; and amongst the opponents of the Minister, we still find the name of John Claudius Beresford, of the "Riding-House," Grand Secretary of the Orangemen. His time for being converted had not yet come.

Mr. Grattan spoke at considerable length. He said: "In this proposition, the Minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century; to apologize for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, for a system which had counteracted the kindness of providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thraldom and misery; to prove that the British Parliament had undergone a great change of disposition; to disprove two consequences, which were portended by the odium of the Union, and the increased expenses of the empire, namely, a military government for a considerable time, and at no very distant period, an augmentation of taxes; to deny or dispute the growth of the prosperity of Ireland, under the maternal wing of her own Parliament; to controvert the sufficiency of that Legislature for imperial purposes or commercial objects, though facts were against him; and to explode or recall his repeated declarations in its favor. In short, he had to prove many points, which he could by no means demonstrate; and to disprove many, which might be forcibly maintained against him. It was, moreover, singular to behold the man, who denied the right of France to alter her government, maintaining the omnipotence of the Parliament of Ireland to annul her Constitution."

He then urged the very serious importance of the question. It was not such as had formerly occupied their attention; not old Poynings, not peculation, nor an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a Reform bill—it was their being—it was more, it was their life to come—whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph, or whether their children should go to their graves, saying, "A venal, a military court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honorable men who saved their country." Such an epitaph, was a nobility which the King could not give to his slaves; it was a glory which the Crown could not give to the King.

On a division, there appeared for the printing of the articles, one hundred and fifty-eight; against it, one hundred and fifteen; giving the Minister a majority of forty-three.*

Even the staunch Unionist, Mr. Plowden, is honest enough to say on this occsion:—

"When the number of the placemen, pensioners, and other influenced members, who had voted on the late division is considered, the Minister had but slender grounds for triumphing in his majority of forty-three, if from them were to be collected the genuine sense of the independent part of that House, and of the people of Ireland, whom they represented."

And he adds in a note:—

"Many, it is to be feared, in both Houses, sacrificed their convictions. Twenty-seven new titles were added to the Peerage; promotions, grants, concessions, arrangements, promises were lavished with a profusion never before known in that country. Pity for both sides, that so great and important a political measure should owe any part

* For the Articles of Union at full length, see appendix, No. I.

of its success, to other than the means of temperate reason and persuasion."

Triumphantly Lord Castlereagh sent up his articles to the Lords; where Lord Clare was ready for his part of the work. It was on this occasion, that he made that long and able discourse, which has been so often reprinted; and from which many extracts have been already given in these pages. Great part of it consists of a historical disquisition upon the whole career of the English colony, its connection on one hand with the mass of the Irish nation, and on the other, with the English Crown and Parliament; and whilst it contains many truths, powerfully expressed, the general effect of the whole is to traduce all the classes, sects, and parties of Ireland for several centuries. Grattan afterwards wrote an answer to this speech, charging the Chancellor with many deliberate misrepresentations and falsehoods. "His idea," said Mr. Grattan, was to make the Irish history a calumny against their ancestors, in order to disfranchise their posterity."

The measure was opposed in the House of Peers by the Earl of Charlemont, the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Bellamont, Lord Powerscourt, Lord Dillon, and others, supported by Lord Glentworth, Lord Glendore, and the Archbishop of Cashel. However, on the first division there was a large majority for the Government—75 for, and 26 against. The general principles of the Union were thus propounded and accepted in both Houses of the Irish Legislature.

In the next debate in the House of Commons, the Honorable Isaac Corry, who seemed to have taken special charge of replying to Mr. Grattan, again made a coarse personal attack on that gentleman. Grattan replied with such studied and contemptuous insult as to throw upon Mr. Corry the *onus* of resentment.

The House saw the inevitable consequences. The Speaker (the House was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition for an amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, he saw, and had been for some time aware of, a set made at him, to *pistol him off* on that question; therefore, it was as well that the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties instantly left the House upon Mr. Grattan's finishing his philippic They met without delay in a field on the Ball's Bridge road; and, after an exchange of two shots, Mr. Corry received a wound in the hand. So the affair ended. The populace, amongst whom the certainty of a duel was noised abroad, followed the parties to the ground; and there was reason to fear that if Mr. Grattan had fallen his antagonist would have been sacrificed on the spot.

On the 21st of February, Lord Castlereagh took his next step. This was to move the adoption in the Commons of the articles, one by one. It is unnecessary to analyze the speeches made at the various debates which intervened before the final scene of the Irish Parliament. They generally dealt with the same facts and the same principles; but on one of these occasions there were two efforts to obtain at least some delay in the remorseless progress of the Minister. On the 4th of March, Mr. G. Ponsonby alleging that the Sovereign would not have persisted in recommending the present measure unless he had firmly believed that the sentiments of the public on the subject had undergone a great change, urged the House to remove so injurious a delusion by an intimation of the truth. A knowledge of the number of Anti-Union petitions would, he said, correct that error; and he, therefore, proposed an address, stating that, in conformity with the constitutional rights of the people, petitions against a Legislative Union had been presented to the Parliament from twenty-six counties, and from various cities and towns.

The reply of Lord Castlereagh to this moderate proposal was highly characteristic. He contented himself with *affirming* that the public opinion had really undergone a change friendly to the measure, and that seventy-four declarations, nineteen of which were of those counties, had been presented in its favor. *Even if this were not the case*, he would oppose a motion which derogated from the deliberative power of Parliament, and *tended to encourage a popular interference* pregnant, in these critical times, with danger and alarm.

In another debate, Mr. Speaker Foster took occasion to point out and denounce the manifest object of the Government in their

article relating to the Irish peerage. He said it created a sort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. It would depress the spirit and enervate the exertions of all the rising nobility of the land. Further, by a strange sort of absurdity, the measure, in suffering a peer, as a commoner, to take a British seat, and refusing to allow him an Irish one, admitted this monstrous position, that in the country where his property, his connections, and residence were, he should not be chosen a legislator, but where he was wholly a stranger he might. The certain consequence of which was, that it would induce a residence of the Irish nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and must, of course, solicit interest; thereby increasing the number of Irish absentees, and gradually weaning the men of largest fortune from an acquaintance or a connection with their native country.

Mr. Saurin and Sir John Parnell then severally proposed an appeal to the people, by a dissolution of Parliament; but this project was scouted by the triumphant Castle party. If that present Parliament, they argued, had no power to do the deed—neither would any other; besides, that very Parliament was already bought up by the Castle; and the Castle would have value for its money, or rather the nation's money—for the peculiar and exquisite villany of this transaction was, that the people of Ireland were to pay the purchase-money of their own sale to their enemies.

While these last struggles of a perishing nation were taking place within the walls of Parliament, there was deep gloom hanging over Dublin and the country. The Houses were now always surrounded by military judiciously posted in College Green, Dame and Westmoreland streets, ostensibly to keep the peace, but really to strike terror, and prevent any manifestation of popular feeling by the fear of a sudden onslaught. Lord Castlereagh also threatened to remove the Parliament to Cork, if its proceedings were at all troubled by the populace. Unfortunately, the Anti-Unionists had no efficient organization, and no acknowledged leader. "Conversions" to Unionism were every day taking place, through the earnest persuasions of Mr. Cooke. Some of the cheated and deluded Catholic Bishops began to send addresses to the Castle favorable to the Union. Bishop Lanigan, of Kilkenny, and his clergy, addressed Lord Cornwallis in this sense; a proceeding which bitterly hurt and grieved the mass of the Catholic laity, although in the address itself occurred a ludicrous application of a phrase, which made the people laugh, as they are at all times willing to do. One of his excellency's eyes, by some natural defect, appeared considerably diminished, and, like the pendulum of a clock, was generally in a state of *motion*. The Right Reverend Bishop and clergy having never before seen the Marquis, unfortunately commenced their address with the most *mal à propos* exordium of—"Your excellency has always kept a *steady eye* on the interests of Ireland." The address was presented at levee. His excellency, however, was graciously pleased not to return any answer to that part of their compliment.

It must be admitted, in justice to the Catholic Bishops, that they were really deceived by the continual representations of Ministers; and, indeed, we may be sure that in private conference with Archbishop Troy, Lord Cornwallis did not confine himself to the stereotyped formula always repeated in Parliament, with regard to the claims of the Catholics, but plainly promised that Catholic Emancipation would be immediately made a Cabinet question.* However that may

* Mr. Plowden, who could not think of supposing that British Ministers did not mean what they said, gives what he considers a clear proof of their sincerity and devotion to the cause of the Catholics:—

"That the British Ministers were *sincere in their intentions* of bringing forward, and confident in their expectations of carrying, the question of Catholic Emancipation in an Imperial Parliamennt, is manifest from certain written communications made by them to some of the leading persons of the Catholic body, about the time of their retiring from office, which were to the following effect:—

"The leading part of His Majesty's Ministers finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from His Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their

be, it is certain that the friends of independence, while they were struggling against the Union in Parliament were discouraged on finding their efforts not only not appreciated, but actually thwarted by certain of the Catholic prelates who exercised necessarily so large an influence in the country.

Thus, all was gloom and despondency, while the several "articles" were separately argued and assented to. This was finished on the 22d of March.

A message was then sent to the House of Lords, importing that the Commons had agreed to the articles of the Union; and on the 27th, the Peers intimated to the other House, that they had adopted them with some alterations and additions. Two amendments had been proposed by the Earl of Clare, and adopted, importing that on the extinction of three Irish peerages one might be created, till the number should be reduced to one hundred, and afterwards one for every failure; and that the qualifications of the Irish for the Imperial Parliament should be the same in point of property with those of the British members. These amendments were readily approved by the Commons; and Lord Castlereagh immediately proposed an address to His Majesty, in which both Houses concurred. In this address they declared that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, by a complete and entire union of their Legislatures; that they considered the resolutions of the British Parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established forever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments.

At this stage of the business, the matter rested in Ireland; and the British Parliament had next to do its part, a matter which might be supposed somewhat doubtful, if all the advantages of the proposed Union were to be, as Lord Castlereagh said, on the side of Ireland; but we shall find that this consideration did not act upon the Lords and Commons of England.

cause by good conduct in the meantime. They will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter. They may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. they may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects; and the Catholics will feel that, as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

"Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanor they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.

"*The Sentiments of a Sincere Friend (i. e., Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.*

"'If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must, of course, lose the support and aid of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would, at the same time, feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose everything tending to confusion.

"'On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped that, on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description.'

"The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy, and afterwards to Lord Fingall on the same day, by Marquis Cornwallis, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales, in the beginning of May, 1801, shortly before his departure from the Government of Ireland, and before the arrival of Lord Hardwicke, his successor. His excellency desired they should be *discreetly communicated to the Bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers.*"

CHAPTER XLII.

1800.

The Union in English Parliament—Opposed by Lord Holland—Mr. Grey—Sheridan—Irish Act for Electors—Distribution of Seats—Castlereagh brings in Bill for the Union—Warm Debates—Union denounced by Plunket, Bushe, Saurin, Grattan—Their Earnest Language—Last Days of the Parliament—Last Scene—Passes the Lords—The Protesting Peers—The Compensation Act—The King Congratulates the British Parliament—Lord Cornwallis—The Irish—Union to date from January 1, 1801—Irish Debt—History of it.

In the Parliament of England, there was no danger that any time would be lost. The articles of Union passed through the Irish Parliament as they had been originally framed by the British Ministry, having received no other alterations in their progress than such as were dictated by the Court. They were now brought forward as terms proposed by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, in the form of resolutions. And on April 2, 1800, the Duke of Portland communicated to the House of Lords a message from the King, and at the same time presented to them, as documents, a copy of the Irish address, with the resolutions.

Lord Holland in vain opposed the appointment of a committee; he objected to the whole project of Union. "It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish; and, if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connection between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief. He should oppose the motion for a committee."

All remonstrance was useless. Ministers felt that their arrangements were perfect, and the result sure; they would never, perhaps, hold Ireland so thoroughly in hand as they held her now—thanks to Lord Castlereagh.

On a division, only three Peers (the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Holland and King,) voted against, and eighty-two supported the motion for going into a committee. The three first articles were then proposed to the committee, and received the assent of the Peers.

The motion for a committee was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt. On the House resolving itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt entered at great length into the whole question, going in general over the same well-beaten ground. In closing his speech, this Minister, (knowing well the system of management of the Irish Parliament—and knowing, also, that everybody else knew it,) was not ashamed to say:—

"The ample discussion which every part of this subject has met with, (so ample that nothing like its deliberation was ever known before in any legislature) has silenced clamor, has rooted out prejudice, has *overruled objections*, has *answered all arguments*, has *refuted all cavils*, and *caused the plan to be entirely esteemed*. Both branches of the Legislature, after long discussion, mature deliberation, and laborious inquiry, have expressed themselves clearly and decidedly in its favor. The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were most likely, because best enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly in its favor."

Mr Grey, (afterwards Lord Grey,) still opposed the Union. Referring to Mr. Pitt's last assertions, he permitted himself to doubt their accuracy:—

"It was said that the public voice was in its favor, after a fair appeal to the unbiassed sense of the nation. Nineteen counties were said to have signified a wish for its adoption; and he believed that addresses had really been presented from that number of shires; but by whom they were signed he did not exactly know, though it had been understood they were procured at meetings not regularly convened, and promoted by the personal exertions of a governor, who, to the powerful influence of the Crown, added the terrors of martial law. To speak of the uncontrolled opinion of the community, in such a case, reminded him of the Duke of Buckingham's account to Richard III. of the manner in which the citizens of London had agreed to his claim of the Crown—

"Some followers of mine own
At lowest end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, God save King Richard.
And thus I took the 'vantage of those few——
Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, quoth I;
This general applause and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard"

Mr. Grey proceeded further. He indignantly exposed a portion of the infamies then perpetrated in Ireland; and in such a manner as to show that he had fully informed himself. He said :—

"He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the Irish Parliament. But the facts were notorious. There are three hundred members in all, and one hundred and twenty of these strenuously opposed the measure; among whom were two-thirds of the county members, the representatives of the city of Dublin, and almost all the towns which it is proposed shall send members to the Imperial Parliament. One hundred and sixty-two voted in favor of the Union—of those, one hundred and sixteen were placemen, some of them were English Generals on the Staff, without one foot of ground in Ireland, and completely dependent upon Government. Is there any ground, then, to presume that even the Parliament of Ireland thinks as the right honorable gentleman supposes; or that, acting only from a regard to the good of their country, the members would not have reprobated the measure as strongly and unanimously as the rest of the people? But this is not all; let us reflect upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish Parliament, to pack a majority in the House of Commons. All holding offices under Government, even the most intimate friends of the Minister, who had uniformly supported his administration till the present occasion, if they hesitated to vote as directed, were dismissed from office, and stripped of their employments. Even this step was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, *which I cannot name in this place;* all will easily conjecture. A bill for preserving the purity of Parliament was likewise abused, and no less than sixty-three seats were vacated by their holders having received nominal offices. I will not press this subject further upon the attention of the committee. I defy any man to lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes the Parliament of Ireland was sincerely in favor of the measure." Mr. Grey then moved an address to His Majesty, praying him to direct his Ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure should have been ascertained.

Mr. Sheridan, of course, was at his post and supported the motion of Mr. Grey. He deprecated the prosecution of a measure, which, if it should be carried into effect by corruption or violence, would become the fatal source of discontent and rebellion. That the Union had the general approbation and independent assent of the Irish nation, a number of addresses and declarations were mentioned as a proof; *but where were these addresses?* The addresses against it were easy to be found. Twenty-seven of the counties had openly declared against it; and with these would have united Antrim and Sligo, if martial law had not been proclaimed, and prevented the intended meetings. If the measure were thus to be carried, he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression, and must become the fatal source of new discontents and future rebellions; and the only standard round which the pride, the passions, and the prejudices of Irishmen would rally, would be that which would lead them to the recovery of a constitution that would have been thus foully and oppressively wrested from them. *No attempt had been made to deny the notorious fact,* that sixty-five seats had been vacated to make places for men, whose obsequiousness would not permit them to oppose the measure; and it was equally notorious, that no art or influence which the policy of corruption and intimidation could put in play, had been left untried to gain over partizans to the Union.

It is, indeed, singular, that in the course of these debates, no Minister was hardy enough to deny the system of intimidation and bribery. Mr. Secretary Dundas contented himself on this occasion with saying, "he would not admit" that the Irish in general dissented from the scheme. Lord Carysfort boldly propounded a strange argument; he affirmed, that the Unionists in the Irish Parliament, had a much greater extent of property than their adversaries, in the Lords ten to one, and that the judging portion of the people approved the project. Mr. Pitt, however, indignantly scouted the idea of appealing to a community so influenced by factious leaders; he was satisfied with the constitutional assent of Parliament.

In short, Mr. Grey's motion to "suspend proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland should be ascertained," was negatived by a vote of two hundred and thirty-six, against thirty. And the three first articles were adopted by the committee.

Other debates upon various parts of the articles, had uniformly the same result, vast majorities for the Minister. Two incidents only of these discussions, merit notice.

On the 30th of April, a debate arose upon a motion of Lord Holland, tending to give the Catholics a pledge or prospect of the abolition of the disabilities, to which they were still subject both in Ireland and Great Britain. This was opposed on the part of Government as "unseasonable." Ministers, in fact, intended that the Catholic Bishops and influential leaders, should content themselves with the vague promises already so often mentioned. The Government was practically receiving support for their measure, from many of those prelates and gentlemen, on the faith of the treacherous promises of Lord Cornwallis and his underlings; and had no idea of pledging the British Parliament to emancipation. Lord Grenville "was of opinion that these questions would be best determined by an United Parliament." So the subject dropped.

The other incident arose from the alarm of the woollen-manufacturers. It will be remembered how this class of manufacturers, in the reign of William III, had been able to procure express acts of the English Parliament for the destruction of that kind of industry in Ireland, and to ensure to themselves the full monopoly of Irish wool in fleece. They were now very naturally of opinion that the Commercial "Article," in the articles of Union permitting the free mutual import and export between the two islands, was a gross infringement upon their vested rights. They, accordingly, petitioned the House of Commons against the "Article." Their demand was too monstrous, but it was sustained in the House by Mr. Peel and Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Pitt, however, who knew that the English monopoly of the woollen manufacture was now practically safe enough, maintained, that, if any transfer of manufacture should result from the permission of exporting wool, it would be gradual and inconsiderable; that any void, which it might occasion, would be much more than filled up by the great increase of our trade in this article; that we had no reason to apprehend a scarcity of the commodity, or dread the rivalry of the Irish in the manufacture; and that his friend's proposal would be an unnecessary deviation from that liberal principle of a free intercourse, which was the intended basis of the Union. The article, therefore, was adopted as it stood, to the deep indignation of the good people of Leeds and all Yorkshire.

All the articles had been adopted before the 9th of May. A joint address was on that day presented to the King, importing that they were now ready to conclude an Union with the Irish Parliament upon the basis of the articles. This address, in a tone which resembles a cold and solemn sneer, expresses the "unspeakable satisfaction" of Parliament at "the general conformity of the articles transmitted from Ireland with those which they had voted in the preceding year."

The next thing in order, was that each Parliament was to frame the articles into a bill, and so pass the *Act of Union*.

As an Irish act for regulating elections was to be incorporated in the general bill of Union, Lord Castlereagh at once, in the Irish House of Commons, brought in that parliamentary measure. It passed the House of Commons on the 20th of May. This measure arranged the representation as it remained from the Union until the "Reform act." It gave one member of Parliament to each of the following towns:—

Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Newry, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Galway, Clonmell, Wexford, Armagh, Youghall, Bandon, Dundalk, Kinsale, Lisburne, Sligo, Catherlogh, Ennis, Dungarvan, Down-Patrick, Coleraine, Mallow, Athlone, New-Ross, Tralee, Cashel, Dungannon, Portarlington, and Enniskillen. One member for each of these towns, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the University, and sixty-four representatives of the thirty-two counties.

The act then made its singular provision to allow present Irish members of Parliament, to sit in a Parliament they had never been elected to serve in. It provided, that if the King should authorize the present lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first Imperial Legislature, the sitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that Parliament; that the written names of the members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, should be put into a glass, and successively drawn out by the clerk of the Crown, and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn, should serve for the same place in the first United Legislature; and that, when a new Parliament should be convoked, writs should be sent to the Irish counties, to the University, and to the cities and boroughs above specified, for the election of members in the usual mode, according to the number then adjusted.

The act also arranged the rotation in which the four Irish bishops should sit in the House of Peers, and also the election of the twenty-eight Irish Peers by their own order.

On the very next day—for Ministers were in hot haste—Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in his bill for the Legislative Union. Leave was given by a vote of one hundred and sixty, against one hundred. It was at once presented, read, and ordered to be printed. On the 25th, it was read again. The uncorrupted members of the House looked on with impotent indignation. Mr. Grattan proposed a delay until the first of August, to allow the measure to be more fully canvassed. He proceeded also to argue very warmly against the whole principle of it. He said it was "a breach of a solemn covenant, an innovation promoted by martial law, an unauthorized assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehensions, that popular discontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might result from its enforcement."

Lord Castlereagh defended the bill, and censured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. "But he defied," he said, "their incentives to treason, and had no doubt of the energy of the Government in defending the Constitution against every attack." Such was the insolent and half-menacing tone adopted upon system by the administration.

Several earnest debates followed. The faithful representatives of the people, whom money, and place, and title, could not buy, did their sad duty to the end. The ablest lawyers in the country, and some of the purest patriots of whom history makes mention, could at least protest against this parricide and suicide, and their solemn and well-weighed words of warning and expostulation, if they could not save the country, for that time remain on record as a protest, as a continual claim, and perpetual muniment of title, on behalf of the independence of the Irish nation. As several passages of these Anti-Union pleadings have been often cited by Mr. O'Connell, and others, who have never ceased to demand the repeal of that evil act, they have become classical, and must always be held an essential part of any history of Ireland.

William Conyngham Plunket, afterwards Lord-Chancellor, said:—

"Sir, I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands upon the Constitution. I tell you, that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately. I repeat it. I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures. You are appointed to exercise the function of legislators, and not to transfer them.

"You are appointed to act under the Constitution, and not to alter it; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the

government — you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines that are not merely founded on the immutable laws of truth and reason; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of government; but I state the practice of our Constitution, as settled at the era of the revolution; and I state the doctrine under which the House of Hanover derives its title to the Throne.

"For me, I do not hesitate to declare, that if the madness of the revolutionists were to tell me, 'You must sacrifice British connection,' I would adhere to that connection in preference to the independence of my country. *But I have as little hesitation in saying, that if the wanton ambition of a Minister should assail the freedom of Ireland, and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connection to the winds, and clasp the independence of my country to my heart.*"

Mr. Bushe, (subsequently Chief Justice of Ireland,) spoke these words:—

"I strip this formidable measure of all its pretensions and all its aggravations; I look on it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—will you give up the country? I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which it has been promoted; I pass by for a moment the unseasonable time at which it has been introduced, and the contempt of Parliament upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming in a moment of your weakness that dominion which you extorted from her in a moment of your virtue—a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which *you date all your prosperity*. . . . . .

"Odious as this measure is in my eyes, and disgusting to my feelings, if I see it is carried by the free and uninfluenced sense of the Irish Parliament, I shall not only defer and submit, but I will cheerfully obey. It will be the first duty of every good subject. *But fraud, and oppression, and unconstitutional practice may, possibly, be another question.* If this be factious language, Lord Somers was factious, the founders of the revolution were factious, William III. was an usurper, and the revolution was a rebellion."

Mr. Saurin, (subsequently a Privy Councillor and an Attorney-General,) spoke these words:—

"You make the Union binding, as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed so long as England is strong—but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty; and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence."

Mr. Grattan, who was afterwards deemed worthy of a resting-place in Westminster Abbey, spoke these words in the Irish House of Commons, in one of the debates on Union:—

"Many honorable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions, but I keep my own; and I think now as I thought then, *that the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister*. . . . .

"The cry of the connection (the Union measure) will not in the end avail against the principles of liberty. . . .

"The cry of disaffection will not in the end avail against the principle of liberty.

"Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon; but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet is crimson on thy lips and in thy cheek, and death's pale flag is not advanced there." *

Eloquence and constitutional law-learning were alike vain. The bill was hurried to its third reading; and when it was seen that the evil deed was inevitable, most of the they might not witness the division by which

* It is true that several of these Anti-Union orators subsequently acted as if they had not been altogether sincere in so strongly denouncing the Union, pronouncing it a nullity, and proclaiming, as Lord Plunket and Mr. Saurin did, that no man would be bound to obey it—that is, to obey laws enacted in the Imperial Parliament. Yet the speakers were sincere at the time; and even if their own personal position afterwards seem inconsistent with the principles then laid down, yet the principles are not to suffer, nor is the law less sound on that account.

Anti-Unionists rose and left the House, that it was to be carried. This was on the 7th of June. There was, if we are to credit Sir Jonah Barrington, a certain theatrical solemnity in some of these last scenes of our national life. For example :—

"Before the third reading of the bill, when it was about to be reported, Mr. Charles Ball, member for Clogher, rose, and, without speaking one word, looked round impressively, every eye was directed to him, he only pointed his hand significantly to the bar, and immediately walked forth, casting a parting look behind him, and turning his eyes to heaven, as if to invoke vengeance on the enemies of his country. His example was contagious. Those Anti-Unionists who were in the House immediately followed his example, and never returned into that Senate, which had been the glory, the guardian, and the protection of their country. There was but one scene more, and the curtain was to drop forever."

On these last days of the Irish Parliament there was an ostentatious display of military force. Troops were drawn up under the Ionic colonnades of the superb Parliament House; and the citizens of Dublin knew that batteries of field artillery were ready at convenient spots to sweep their streets at a moment's notice—an arrangement to which they have been long accustomed. Sir Jonah, who was present and saw all, and who, though not in all respects an estimable man, at least stood by his country in this crisis to the last, describes the scene for us :—

"The day of extinguishing the liberties of Ireland had now arrived, and the sun took his last view of independent Ireland; he rose no more over a proud and prosperous nation. She was now condemned, by the British Minister, to renounce her rank amongst the states of Europe; she was sentenced to cancel her Constitution, to disband her Commons and disfranchise her nobility, to proclaim her incapacity, and register her corruption in the records of the empire.

"The Commons House of Parliament, on the last evening, afforded the most melancholy example of a fine, independent people, betrayed, divided, sold, and, as a state, annihilated. British clerks and officers were smuggled into her Parliament to vote away the Constitution of a country to which they were strangers, and in which they had neither interest nor connection. They were employed to cancel the royal charter of the Irish nation, guaranteed by the British Government, sanctioned by the British Legislature, and unequivocally confirmed by the words, the signature, and the great seal of their monarch.

"The situation of the Speaker on that night was of the most distressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence.

"It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative (resignation) would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feeling; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches; scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members; nobody seemed at ease; no cheerfulness was apparent, and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

"At length, the expected moment arrived The order of the day—for the third reading of the bill for a 'Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland'—was moved by Lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

"The Speaker, Mr. Foster, who was one of the most vehement opponents of the Union from first to last, would have risen and left the House with his friends, if he could. But this would have availed nothing. With grave dignity he presided over 'the last agony of the expiring Parliament.' He held up the bill for a moment in silence,

then asked the usual question, to which the response, '*aye*,' was languid, but unmistakable. Another momentary pause ensued. Again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, '*The ayes have it.*' For an instant he stood statue-like; then, indignantly and in disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit." *

So far, the picturesque historian of the "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation;" and, doubtless, to many readers this closing performance will appear somewhat histrionic and melodramatic. Yet in sad and bitter earnest, that scene was deep tragedy; and its catastrophe is here with us at this day—in thousands upon thousands of ruined cabins, and pining prisoners, and outlawed rebels, and the poverty and hunger that move and scandalize the world. A few details will fitly close up this subject.

The bill was carried up to the House of Peers by Lord Castlereagh, but the consideration of it was postponed. On its second reading, the Earls of Farnham and Bellamont offered some clauses, which were negatived, and the bill was committed. It passed the committee without amendment, was reported in due form, and, after an uninteresting debate, was read a third time on the 13th of June. A protest was entered by the Duke of Leinster and the other dissenting Peers. This protest is given at full length in the Lords' journals; but it will be enough in this place to record its last paragraph and summing up, with the names of the dissentient Peers. It concludes in these words:

"Because the argument made use of in favor of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favor, we know to be untrue; and as the Ministers have declared that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties, their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the Minister to enter our protest against the project of Union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonor which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expense it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite. Against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavored to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names, in solemn protest on behalf of the Parliamentary Constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connection which it preserved, and the Constitution which it supplied and fortified. This we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honor, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

LEINSTER,
ARRAN,
MOUNT CASHEL,
FARNHAM,
BELMORE, by proxy,
MASSY, by proxy,
STRANGFORD,
GRANARD,
LUDLOW, by proxy,
MOIRA, by proxy,
Rev. WATERFORD and LISMORE.
POWERSCOURT,
DE VESCI,
CHARLEMONT,
KINGSTON, by proxy,
RIVERSDALE, by proxy,
MEATH,
LISMORE, by proxy,
SUNDERLIN."

* It is well to preserve the record of those Irishmen who voted against the extinction of their country. As for the names of those persons, placemen, pensioners, and bribe-takers, who voted on the other side, it were better to forget them. But their names and crime are also a portion of history; and many readers may be interested to know the manner in which some great families in Ireland obtained their titles and laid the foundation of their fortunes. Candor also requires it to be stated that some few members did vote for the Union without either bribe or pension, without being influenced either by interest or intimidation; and, therefore, it is presumable, from a sincere conviction that this measure would benefit the two countries. There was published soon after the Union a "Red List" and a "Black List," giving the names of those who were for and against the measure. The lists have often been reprinted. They may be found in Plowden's Appendix and in Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall.* But as the latter has added some observations to many of the names, either from his own personal knowledge, or from common notoriety at the time, we adopt his edition of the lists.—*See Appendix, No. II*

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

No part of the plan now remained for the Secretary to bring forward, but the scheme of compensation. This he plausibly ushered in upon a principle of justice. He proposed a grant of £1,260,000 for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth, by the disfranchisement of eighty-four boroughs—at the rate of £15,000 to each. Mr. Saurin, Mr. J. Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Dawson, maintained that the grant of compensation to those who had no right to hold such a species of property, would be an insult to the public and an infringement of the Constitution. Mr. Prendergast defended the proposition, alleging that, though such possessions might have been vicious in their origin, yet, from prescriptive usage, and from having been the subject of contracts and family settlements, they could not be confiscated without a breach of honor and propriety. In the House of Peers, this bill was chiefly opposed by the Earl of Farnham; but it passed into law with little opposition in either House, the Anti-Unionists having now given up the question as lost.*

Soon after the Union bill had passed through both Houses of the Irish Parliament, Mr. Pitt brought a bill in the same form into the British House of Commons. It proceeded through the usual stages, without occasioning any important debate; and was sent, on the 24th of June, to the Peers. On the 30th, Lord Grenville moved for its third reading, declaring that he rose for that purpose with greater pleasure than he had ever felt before in making any proposition to their lordships. The Marquis of Downshire merely said that his opinion of the measure remained unaltered, and that he would, therefore, give the bill his decided negative. It passed without a division; and, on the 2d of July, it received the royal assent.

On the 29th of July, in proroguing the last separate Parliament of Great Britain, the King felicitated his Parliament, as he well might:—

"With peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps, which you have taken for effecting an entire Union between my kingdoms. This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign."

The royal assent was given in Ireland to the Union bill on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of these realms. The next day, the Lord-Lieutenant put an end to the session, with an appropriate speech from the Throne. Lord Cornwallis said, amongst other fine things—speaking to the legislators whom he had bribed:—

"The whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you by His Majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

"The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your Sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.

"You will regret, with His Majesty, the reverse which His Majesty's allies have experienced on the Continent; but His Majesty is persuaded that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to per-

* When the compensation statute had received the royal assent, the Viceroy appointed four commissioners to carry its provisions into execution. Three were members of Parliament, whose salaries of £1,200 a year each (with probable advantages) were a tolerable consideration for their former services. The Honorable Mr. Annesley, Secretary Hamilton, and Dr. Duigenan, were the principal commissioners of that extraordinary distribution. Unfortunately, we have not full details and accounts of this scandalous pecuniary transaction. Sir Jonah Barrington says:—

"It is to be lamented that the records of the proceedings have been *unaccountably disposed of*. A voluminous copy of claims, accepted and rejected, was published, and partially circulated; but the great and important grants, the *private* pensions, and *occult* compensations, have never been made public, further than by those who received them. It is known that—

"Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons	£45,000
"The Marquis of Ely	45,000
"Lord Clanmorris (besides a peerage)	23,000
"Lord Belvidere (besides his *douceur*)	15,000
"Sir Hercules Langrishe	15,000"

severe in the line of conduct which will best provide for the honor, and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined."

Immediately after passing the English Act of Union, early in July, the British Parliament was prorogued; and the "Union," in so far as parchment can make an union, was complete. It was to take effect from the 1st of January, 1801. Pursuant to proclamation, a new Imperial Standard was on that day displayed on the Tower of London, and on the Castles of Edinburgh and Dublin. It was the same Royal Standard now in use; being "quartered, first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland." So, since that day, the Harp of Ireland has its place in the corner of the great Banner of England.

The "Union Jack" was also ordained and described by the same proclamation—"And it is our will and pleasure that the Union flag shall be azure, the crosses, saltires of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules; the latter imbriated of the second, surmounted by the Cross of St. George of the third, as the saltire."

As for the Public Debt of Ireland, which was to remain a separate charge on the revenues of that country, that debt had been less than four millions just before the insurrection. At the Union, that debt was declared to be £26,841,219, being increased nearly *seven-fold* in three years. That is to say, the whole of the expenses incurred in provoking that insurrection—then in maintaining a great army to crush it—the cost of keeping English and Scotch militia regiments in the country—the pay of the Hessians—the bribes and pensions to spies, informers, and members of Parliament—the Compensation-fund to owners of boroughs—all was charged to Irish account.

O'Connell said, "it was strange that Ireland was not afterwards made to pay for the knife with which Lord Castlereagh, twenty-two years later, cut his own throat."

This enormous debt was to remain separate from the English Debt, according to the Act of Union,* until these two conditions should occur: *First.* That the two debts should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland, and, *Second.* That the respective circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation.

After that, they were to be consolidated. Since that day, an English Chancellor of the Exchequer has "kept the books" of the two islands; so that while the debt of England went on increasing rapidly, owing to the war, and subsidies to all enemies of France, the debt of Ireland was somehow found to increase more than twice as fast as that of England—as if Ireland had a *double* interest in crushing France.

"Woe to the land on whose judgment-seats a stranger sits—at whose gates a stranger watches!" We may add—"whose books a stranger keeps!" †

The two debts were consolidated in 1817. According to Lord Castlereagh's report to Parliament, the military force in Ireland at the time of the Union amounted to one hundred and twenty six thousand five hundred men—viz., forty-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine regulars, twenty-seven thousand one hundred and four militia, and fifty-three thousand five hundred and fifty-seven yeomanry.

* See the act in the Appendix, No. III.

† Mr. O'Neill Daunt, in his excellent paper entitled, "Financial Grievances of Ireland," extracts from *Parliamentary Paper No.* 35, *of* 1819, this table:—

YEAR.	BRITISH DEBT.	AN. CHARGE.	IRISH DEBT.	AN. CHARGE.
5th Jan. 1801.	£ 450,504,984	£ 17,718.851	£ 28,545,134	£ 1,244,463
5th Jan. 1817.	734,522,104	28,238,416	112,704,773	4,104,514

The difference between the statement of the Irish Debt given in this table, and that given in the text, (from another Parliamentary paper of the same year,) is made up by adding a small amount of *unfunded* debt.

Thus, while the Imperial Government less than doubled the British Debt, they quadrupled the Irish Debt By this management the Irish Debt, which in 1801 had been to the British as one to sixteen and a half, was forced up to bear to the British Debt the ratio of one to seven and a half This was the proportion required by the Act of Union, as a condition of subjecting Ireland to indiscriminate taxation with Great Britain Ireland was to be loaded with inordinate debt; and then this debt was to be made the pretext for raising her taxation to the high British standard, and thereby rendering her liable to the pre union debt of Great Britain!

CHAPTER XLIII.

1800—1803.

The Catholics Duped—Resignation of Pitt—Mystery of this Resignation—First Measure of United Parliament—Suspension of *Habeas Corpus*—Report of Secret Committee—Fate of Lord Clare—Lord Hardwicke Viceroy—Peace of Amiens—Treaty Violated by England—Malta—War again Declared by England—Mr. Pitt resumes Office—Coalition against France.

The Union had scarcely been accomplished, when those Irish Catholics who had supported the measure found they had been cheated, as usual, by the British Government. They had been told that Catholic Emancipation would at once be made a Ministerial measure; and in so far as the distinct pledges of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Cornwallis could avail them, they were assured of their liberties.

The first United Parliament met on the 22d of January. It immediately began to be rumored that Mr. Pitt and his Ministry were about to resign. The reason falsely alleged for the resignation was that King George III. would not tolerate the idea of Catholic Emancipation, which he imagined to be contrary to his Coronation oath; and as Mr. Pitt pretended to be pledged to that measure, he made this difference the pretext for a temporary resignation, which he found expedient at this time for other reasons.

Mr. Pitt had been the all-powerful Minister who had governed England for seventeen years. It was he who had recalled Lord Fitzwilliam from the Irish Vice-royalty, because that nobleman favored Catholic Emancipation. It was he who had sent over Lord Camden with express instructions to prevent such emancipation by the Irish Parliament; and in desiring Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh to promise Catholic relief after the Union, he intended to delude the Catholics into a support of his measure, and to deceive them afterwards. He knew the King's opinion upon that question—if anything that passed in the mind of George III can be called an opinion—and that the obstinate and stupid old man would *never* suffer any project of Catholic Emancipation to be made a Ministerial measure.

No human being acquainted with public affairs ever believed that Mr. Pitt resigned office at that time on account of the Catholic question, or any other Irish question whatever. The truth was, simply, that Mr. Pitt's continental policy had failed, and that the English people, devoured by taxes, and wearied out with the still unfulfilled predictions of the total ruin of their French enemy, were crying aloud for peace. Mr. Pitt saw that peace must be made, at least for a little while; but his sullen pride could not submit to negotiate that peace himself. Mr. Plowden* says:—

"The only transaction which furnished him with a plausible or popular ground for resignation, was the *Catholic question*, which that crafty Minister and his followers have so frequently used as a most powerful engine for the worst of political purposes. Within very few days after the meeting of Parliament, he made no secret of his resignation. Great were the surprise and consternation which attended the report. Few, indeed, gave credit to the alleged cause of resignation—namely, his inability *to carry* the Catholic question, which was imperiously necessary for the safety of the state. He was too fond of power, his influence in the country was too imposing, Ireland was too insignificant to have caused such an important change in all the departments of the state. Abstracting from the merits and justice of the question, and from the expediency, or necessity of its being then propounded and carried, neither Mr. Pitt's friends nor opponents could bring their minds to believe that an administration, which had established itself in spite of the House of Commons; which had baffled, and at last subdued, a most formidable opposition; which had maintained itself upon new courtly principles for seventeen years, and still commanded a decided majority in the Cabinet and Senate, should have been thus broken up from the Premier's inability to carry so simple and just a measure as that

* Worthy Mr. Plowden, who had rather supported the Union, as many other leading Catholics had done, when he wrote, ten years later, the second series of his Historical Collections, says, in its first page: "They (the Catholics) now beheld the baleful measure of Union in its full deformity." But they beheld it too late

of an equal participation of Constitutional rights amongst all the King's subjects."

"Simple and just a measure" as this naturally appeared to the Catholic historian, it was steadily refused and resisted, both by Mr. Pitt and by his whole party for twenty-nine years longer, and then only carried on account of the imminent danger of civil war, as its Ministerial supporters alleged.

There was an air of mystery about the retirement of Ministers at this crisis. Nobody gave credit to the ostensible motives of it; and several distinct reasons were alleged and discussed. In fact, every conceivable reason, except the true one, was assigned by the friends of Mr. Pitt. One was a serious difference which had sprung up between the Minister and the Duke of York,* partly with respect to military arrangements and operations; partly, because certain "unconstitutional influence in a high quarter counteracted and embarrassed the important duties of His Majesty's official and responsible advisers;" and partly, it was also alleged, because the Duke of York, as the special patron of the Orange Society, was resolutely opposed to the project of Catholic Emancipation. His Royal Highness might have spared his uneasiness. No Grand Master of Orangemen was ever more violently opposed to all claims and rights of Catholics than Mr. Pitt himself.

Innocent Catholics had been expecting that the King's speech, on opening this session, would have recommended a measure for their emancipation. The subject was not once alluded to. The address was moved in the House of Commons by Sir Watkin William Wynne, (commander of the Ancient Britons). Mr. Grey moved an amendment, and made some pointed observations upon Ireland and the Union. "If any good effect," he said, "could result from a measure so brought forward, and so supported, he hoped it would be the extension of the British Constitution to the Catholics of Ireland, and their restoration to all the rights of British subjects. This they had been taught to expect, and this was the least they were entitled to in return for that measure having been forced upon them by England." Mr. Pitt, in replying to Mr. Grey, studiously avoided even remote reference to Ireland. Ireland had served his turn; she was now safe under British law and government; and he desired to hear of her no more. But he had much to say in denunciation of "Jacobinism," which was the name then given to any assertion of any kind of right or liberty, concluding his speech with a warm appeal to the majority of the House, whether all the public calamities of this, and all the nations of the Continent, were not occasioned by those principles, which the gentleman opposite to him had uniformly supported, and which he and the gentlemen on his side of the House had as uniformly combated.

Before quitting the subject of Mr. Pitt's deliberate deception upon the Irish Catholics, it must be mentioned that the paper which had been delivered by Lord Cornwallis to Doctor Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Fingal, soon became public; although Lord Cornwallis had prudently stipulated that it should be "*discreetly* communicated to the Bishops, and should not find its way into the newspapers,"† When Mr. Grey, on the 25th of March, moved the House of Commons to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House to take into consideration the state of the nation, he referred to these written pledges, and roundly charged them with having been given without sincerity and without authority. "If Catholic freedom were offered to

* From the year 1797 the Orange Societies were so tenderly cherished and zealously promoted by the Duke of York, that almost every regiment, even of militia in Ireland, received from the office of the Commander-in-Chief, encouragement, authority, or orders for establishing Orange Lodges in their respective regiments. The person delegated for this mission was generally the Sergeant Major, or some other non-commissioned officer, signalized for his zeal against the Catholics. In some instances, the institution of Orange Lodges, under this high and official sanction has produced ferment and dissension, which compelled the commanding officer to investigate and punish both those who gave rise to, and those who perpetrated, the consequent outrages. When often, to the astonishment of the corps, and in defiance of military discipline and subordination, the conduct of the Sergeant has been justified by the production of the official document or warrant, most irregularly superseding that immediate authority, upon which alone the subordination and union of a regiment depend.

† This is the document which is printed in a note to the last chapter.

the Irish as the price of their support of the Union, if the faith of the Government were pledged on that occasion, it forms the highest species of criminality in Ministers, because I am confident, said he, if such were the case, it was so pledged without the authority of the King ; for I know His Majesty is superior to the idea of swerving in the slightest degree from the observance of his word. This, then, was a crime of the highest denomination in Ministers, and calls for inquiry. I ask, if such promise were made, was Lord Clare and the Protestant Ascendancy Party made acquainted with it? If so, they were a party to the delusion that was intended to be practiced on the unhappy Catholic."

Mr. Pitt, though no longer in office, sat on the Ministerial side of the House—in fact, he was virtually Prime Minister all the while ;—he replied to Mr. Grey, and touched as lightly as possible upon that part of his speech which referred to Ireland. Concerning the famous written pledge, he said, " he had no part in the *wording* of that paper. It was drawn up *by Lord Castlereagh.* To the sentiments it contained, *when properly interpreted*, he, however, subscribed—further, he would neither avow nor explain." He added : " As to the particular expressions in the paper, he knew nothing of them, having never seen it before it was published. He denied that any pledge had been given to the Catholics, either by himself, Lord Cornwallis, or the Noble Lord near him (Castlereagh). The Catholics might very naturally have conceived a hope, and he himself had always thought, that in time that measure would be a consequence of the Union, because the difficulties would be fewer than before."

Mr. Plowden wrote to Lord Cornwallis upon the subject ; and his lordship, in his reply, stated that *the paper* (which has been called the pledge to the Catholics,) " was hastily given by him to Dr. Troy to be circulated amongst his friends with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances, or other bad effects."

In short, the Catholics very soon perceived that they had been deluded, and understood very well that their cause had been turned into a convenient pretext by Mr. Pitt for abandoning office in order to throw upon other men the business of making the peace of Amiens.*

Thus within six weeks after carrying the Union, Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, (Lord Melville,) Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Castlereagh, all went out of office. Mr. Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, was the new Prime Minister ; and Lord Hardwicke was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues resigned, pledging themselves to support their successors, (who declined to accept office without that support,) in an administration avowedly placed on implacable hostility to that identical measure, which he scrupled not to declare essential to the safety of the empire.

The first measure which the Imperial Parliament bestowed upon Ireland, was not an act of emancipation, but an act for suspending the writ of *Habeas Corpus* and establishing martial law. Lord Castlereagh had for some time been preparing the materials for the fabrication of a report of a secret committee, to prove (contrary to the fact,) that rebellion still existed in Ireland, and, therefore, that there was a necessity for renewing the act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus*, which was about to expire on the 25th of March. Accordingly, he had fixed the 20th of February for moving for a bill to enable the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to put martial law in force in such parts of Ireland as he should think proper.

The first act for this purpose was passed in the beginning of April, and was to expire in three months. Shortly after its passage, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by command of His Majesty, laid before the House of Commons copies and extracts of papers, containing secret information received by His Majesty's government, relative to the state of Ireland, and proceedings of certain disaffected persons in both parts of the

* It has always been considered by English statesmen a small and easy matter to cheat the Irish. More than two hundred years before, Sir Francis Bacon, (afterwards Lord Bacon,) in his " Considerations Touching the Queen's Service in Ireland," said : " Nothing can be more fit than a treaty, or a shadow of a treaty, of a peace with Spain, which, methinks, should be in our power to fasten, at least *rumore tenus*, to the deluding of as wise a people as the Irish."

United Kingdom, which, upon his motion, were referred to a committee. This was a preconcerted plan for representing Ireland, and collaterally the whole United Kingdom, as overrun with the spirit of Jacobinism. On no occasion was Mr. Pitt more vehement in his declamation against Jacobinism, apparently with a view of drawing off the public attention from the real authors of the national disasters, by directing its indignation against the Jacobins, whose cause they essentially tended to strengthen. "It was," said he, "the inherent spirit of Jacobinism to ally itself with every disaster, to press into its service every evil of the state, to wed itself to every misfortune of the country it inhabits, and to make them forerunners of its ruin."

The report of this secret committee was well got up to effect Mr. Pitt's favorite policy—that of "exciting alarm." It represented the three kingdoms as infested with the spirit of rebellion, French principles, or "Jacobinism." It recited with great emphasis certain songs and toasts, which were alleged to be favorites with the seditious rabble.

It reported the formation of new societies of Millenarians, New Jerusalemites, Spensonians, and other fanatics, whom it traced from London into Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottingham, Scotland, and other neighboring places; but it extended them not to Ireland. Yet Ireland was not to be wholly omitted, where the report was incidentally, at least, calculated to justify the cöercive measures intended for that part of the United Kingdom; and the committee added to their own surmises of the workings of these fanatics, *that they borrowed their ideas from the Irish rebellion.* "They saw *in Ireland* the example of such a rebellion as they wished to promote here." They further produced a printed address, signed *Hybernicus*, directed to Britons and fellow-citizens. The committee said, "they had thus detailed the proceedings of the disaffected, carried on in the metropolis, and as directed principally to its disturbance, but these would afford a very inadequate representation of the extent of the confederacy, yet in proceeding to advert to the state of the other parts of the country, *and even of Ireland*, they omitted to notice the concert which in some measure pervaded the whole." In other parts of the report, they lay stress upon the exaggerated statements of some men, of the number of the confederates, all trained to military exercise, which, including Ireland, amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. They added that the principal of these emissaries were represented as delegated from London, York, Birmingham, Bristol, Sheffield, and other considerable towns, *as well as from Ireland.*

The Committee added, that a new revolutionary association had been formed in Ireland; that a "Committee of Rebellion," composed of certain Irishmen, existed in Paris, and was negotiating with the French Government on the best mode of abolishing the British Constitution.

This astounding report was received by Parliament as ample proof of all that it affirmed.

When Lord Hobart, as Secretary of State for Ireland, introduced to the Lords the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland, he observed, that he had not attempted to use any arguments to prove the necessity for passing the bill, because, "the report on the face of it proved the necessity, and he thought their lordships would be more impressed with the arguments contained in the report than by any he could add." All the restrictive and cöercive bills touching Ireland were passed under the still prevailing influence of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville; the opposition to them was numerically insignificant. During the first session of the Imperial Parliament, no question respecting Ireland caused any difference between the seceders and their successors. They both equally deprecated the very mention of Catholic Emancipation, and emulated each other in zeal for curbing and cöercing the Irish people.

The bill passed both Houses by immense majorities; and the British Constitution was suspended, so far as respected Ireland. The Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to proclaim any part, or the whole, of the island under martial law; the act professed to be only temporary, as these cöercion laws for Ireland are always said to be; but they are almost always renewed before they expire; and thus, under one name or another,

"Insurrection Act," "Crime and Outrage Act," and the like, this cöercive code has been substantially the law of Ireland from that day to the present.

Another Irish measure, passed about the same time, was an act to regulate the office of Master of the Rolls in Ireland. Before the Union, this office was a mere sinecure, holden at the pleasure of the Crown by two Peers, (Lords Glandore and Carysfort,) with considerable salaries. These had been promised a large compensation for the loss of their places, in case the Union should be carried. Henceforward it was to be an efficient legal office, to be holden for life, with a suitable salary, in order to give the Irish Chancellor an opportunity of attending his Legislative duties in the House of Peers. It was warmly contended that, as the Commissioners for the Rolls were removable at pleasure from the sinecures, they were entitled to no compensation, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime-Sergeant had been. Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh justified the compensation; because it had been promised by the Irish Parliament, and they were bounden in honor to make it good.

"In fact," as Mr. Plowden bitterly observes, "none but the *Catholic* supporters of the Union had to complain of Ministerial infidelity in the observance of previous stipulations and promises."

There was one other who thought he had reason to complain. This was Lord Clare. The Irish Chancellor had for many years made himself the instrument—and a most able and thorough-going instrument of Mr. Pitt's policy in Ireland. Scarcely had Lord Castlereagh himself been more efficient in accomplishing the Union; and his lordship, who was naturally arrogant and presumptuous, evidently imagined that he was only promoting himself from a narrow provincial stage to the wide imperial theatre, where his audacity and powerful will would soon enable him to predominate in London, as he had done in Dublin. In the discussion of this bill to complete the great job of the Rolls Court, Mr. Pitt said, "it was highly desirable that the House of Lords should enjoy the benefit of that great luminary of the law, who had rendered such eminent services to his country." Mr. Grey replied, that much had been said that night in praise of the Irish Chancellor. "He only knew his politics; and those he highly disapproved of. It had been already shown that night, that the noble lord vindicated the use of torture to extort confessions." Lord Clare, from his first arrival in England, put himself at the head of the opponents of the Catholic claims. Foreseeing that the new administration was to consist of men assuming the arrogant appellation of the *King's friends*, he attempted, by decrying his own country in the Imperial Parliament, to secure, as one of the *King's friends*, an influence in the councils of Great Britain.

He failed in this unworthy ambition. He was reminded, in the House of Lords, that he was not now predominating over an assembly of Irish Peers. He was not at all consulted in the arrangements for the new Addington Administration. He returned to Ireland, consumed by disappointment, and did not scruple to express his bitter regret at the part he had taken in carrying the Union. If he did regret that act, it was for his own sake alone, not for the sake of his country.

He remained some time in London, in order to negotiate for some more efficient influence in the British Cabinet than the Great Seal of Ireland was ever likely to give him. Mr. Pitt, who well knew that nobleman's insatiable ambition, cautioned Mr. Addington against admitting him to a situation, in which, in case of resumption, (of which Mr. Pitt never lost sight,) he might meet a rival in the colleague. Lord Clare, foiled in his projects of British ambition, his pride wounded by the speeches of the late Duke of Bedford, and some other of the Whig Lords in Parliament, who freely reminded him, that Union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial Parliament, had, in disgust, formed the resolution of withdrawing from scenes which he neither directed nor controlled. He had determined to return to his official situation in Ireland; but, by the Union, the Irish Seal had been shorn of its lustre, and all political consequence.

Lord Clare soon fell into bad health; and he died within the year and day after

that Act of Union which was to have crowned him with triumph. He died in January, 1802. His remains were interred with great pomp, in St. Peter's Churchyard, in Dublin. Some of the populace attempted at the funeral to express their horror of the deceased by offering indignities to his corpse.

It is singular that the only two eminent men who were within the present century, borne to their graves amidst the hootings of the people, were the Earl of Clare and the Marquis of Londonderry, (Castlereagh,) the two able tools of British policy in ruining the independence of their country.

The Earl of Hardwicke arrived in Dublin, to assume his government, on the 25th of May. Lord Cornwallis proceeded to England in June ; and we next hear of him as the negotiator of the Peace of Amiens.

The English and French people both eagerly desired peace. The First Consul, Buonaparte, was also sincerely desirous of giving repose to his countrymen, after so many years of bloody warfare. As Mr. Pitt and his high Anti-Jacobin friends were notoriously the party of war, it was believed in France that the change of Ministry betokened a disposition towards peace in the Councils of England. The First Consul was not aware that Mr. Pitt still continued really to govern the country ; and that he had made this new arrangement because he desired that other men than himself should make that treaty, and afterwards violate it. It is manifest that Napoleon Buonaparte did not at that time fully know how incompatible, how mutually destructive were a French Government, the product of the revolution—and an English oligarchy. He not only truly desired peace, but could see no reason why it might not be attained ; while Mr. Pitt and the Court were fully resolved that, while England had a ship afloat, and a guinea to hire allies, the struggle must go on. The momentary Peace of Amiens was intended to delude the French ; and Mr. Pitt ceased for a while to be the ostensible Minister, adroitly availing himself of his pretended zeal for the Catholic question, by which he had deluded the Irish.

The preliminaries of peace were signed at London, the 1st of October, in this year, 1801. The treaty itself was signed at the city of Amiens, the 27th of March, 1802, between France, Great Britain, Spain, and the Batavian Republic. France and England were represented by Joseph Buonaparte and Lord Cornwallis. England was to preserve, of her maritime conquests, the two islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. France was to re-possess all her colonies. The Republic of the Seven Islands was to be recognized. Malta was to be restored to the Order of the Knights. Spain, and the Batavian Republic were to have back all their colonies, except Ceylon and Trinidad ; and the French were to evacuate Rome, Naples, and the Isle of Elba. A cessation of hostilities, by land and sea, had been already proclaimed ; and on the signature of the treaty, the people really began to taste the luxury of peace.

The popular outcry for peace was now satisfied ; but as it had been resolved upon from the first that this repose should be of very short duration, pretexts began to be immediately sought for breaking the treaty. The French Government was making active naval preparations in the port of Brest, intended, ostensibly, for St. Domingo ; but it was assumed that the armament was really for Ireland.

Similar naval preparations and military movements were on foot in England in the winter of 1802. In the spring of 1803, volunteering in England and the raising of yeomany corps in Ireland, were matters of public notoriety.

In fact, the English Government was resolved never to give up the island of St. Malta ; and as this was a vital article of the treaty in the eyes of Buonaparte, it was evident that war must again break out. Lord Whitworth was sent over as Minister to France ; and from his dispatches to London, and those of Lord Hawkesbury in reply, it is easy to discover what were the true obstacles to the real establishment of peace.

Buonaparte, in a conference with Lord Whitworth, communicated to the British Government, 21st February, 1803, reiterated his complaints against the British Government in reference to the retention of Malta, in direct violation of the terms of

the treaty. He said: "Of the two, he would rather see us (the English) in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta." . . . He complained of the protection given in England to the assassin Georges, handsomely pensioned, and of his plans being permitted to be carried into effect in France, and of two of his fellow-agents being sent into France by the *emigrés* to assassinate him (Buonaparte) and being then in custody. The two men, he referred to, were subsequently tried, and convicted of the crime they were charged with on their own confessions.

In regard to the abuse launched on Buonaparte in the English papers and French emigrant journals, published in London, he (the First Consul) said to Lord Whitworth: "The irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him." Lord Hawkesbury, in reply to Lord Whitworth's communication, 18th February, 1803, made the following admission, for the first time explicitly and plainly expressed: "With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it, owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of His Majesty to control, had not been found capable of execution."

In Lord Whitworth's communication (dated February 21, 1803,) to Lord Hawkesbury, an account is given of an interview with Buonaparte, when the latter, in reference to the proofs he had given of a desire to maintain peace, said he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and if determined to attempt one, it must be made by putting himself at the head of an expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the *greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea.* He talked much on the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and, such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise. He concluded by stating, that France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, to be immediately completed, was ready for the most desperate enterprise; that England, with her fleet, was mistress of the seas, which he did not think he should be able to equal in ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it

On the 9th of March, 1803, a message from the King was delivered to the Parliament, wherein His Majesty "thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions."

Lord Whitworth, in March, by the instructions of his Government, demanded an explanation of the motives and objects of the warlike preparations in the French ports, and the reply (not official) of M. Talleyrand, was said to have been short and not satisfactory: "It was the will of the First Consul." Buonaparte, on the other hand, on the 11th of March, at a levee at the Tuilleries, attended by the different ambassadors and a great number of distinguished persons, on entering the grand saloon seemed violently agitated, and appeared to be conversing with his attendants, or rather thinking aloud, for the following words, pronounced in a very audible voice, were heard by all the persons in the audience chamber: "Vengeance will fall on that power which will be the cause of the war." He approached the British Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and said: "You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France." Lord Whitworth said it was to be hoped that this storm would be dissipated without any serious consequences. Buonaparte replied: "It will be dissipated when England shall have evacuated Malta; if not, the cloud would burst and the bolt must fall. The King of

England had promised by treaty to evacuate that place—and who was to violate the faith of treaties?"

All this while, Mr. Pitt was out of office; and it was given out that his health was so shattered as to render him quite incapable of the cares and labors of public business; yet, in reality, while the London *Chronicle* was officially announcing his great sufferings, Mr. Pitt had never been so intensely and indefatigably occupied with state affairs as he was at the very time of these negotiations.* There can be no reasonable doubt that he directed and governed them from point to point.

On the 10th of May, the Court of London presented certain new projects plainly inadmissible; making further demands on France, and saying nothing of the surrender of Malta. The new conditions being rejected, Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, in order to quit the country.

On the 15th of May, 1803, His Britannic Majesty sent a message to Parliament, announcing the recall of the British Ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French Ambassador from London. The declaration of hostilities with France was published in *The Gazette*, of 18th May, 1803.

Mr. Pitt's health was immediately restored. On the 23d of May, there was an animated debate in the House on an address to the King, pledging the House to support him in the vigorous prosecution of the war. On that night, the night of the debate of the 23d of May, Mr. Pitt was found in his place in Parliament, and it is hardly necessary to add, that his "voice was still for war." Perhaps, greater vigor of mind or body was never exhibited by him than on that occasion. The ex-Minister was himself again—war was about to be let loose on the world, and all the principles of evil seemed concentrated in the unholy exultation with which the prospect of war was hailed on that occasion. In the heat of his passion, he reviled Buonaparte in the most vehement terms of invective; he spoke of the First Consul as "a sea of liquid fire, which destroyed everything which was unfortunate enough to come in contact with it." It then only remained for honorable members to express a hope that "the only man in the empire qualified to conduct the war to a successful issue" should be recalled to the Councils of his Sovereign.

Mr. Pitt resumed in May, 1804, the supreme direction of public affairs as Prime Minister. He made no stipulation with the King concerning the Catholic claims; nor did he ever again offend his Sovereign's ear upon this subject, nor urge him to "violate his coronation oath" by emancipating four millions of his subjects.

Mr. Pitt's first great task now was to form that gigantic cöalition of European Powers against France; and occupied by these mighty projects he thought no more of Ireland unless when she seemed to need more cöercion.

* Doctor Madden (*U. I. Third Series*, p. 310,) makes this statement on the authority of Lady Hester Stanhope, Mr. Pitt's niece and private secretary.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1802—1803.

First Year of the Union—Distress in Ireland—Riot in Dublin—Irish Exiles in France—Renewed Hopes of French Aid—The two Emmets, MacNeven and O'Connor in France—Apprehensions of Invasion in England—Robert Emmet comes from France to Ireland—His Associates—His Plans—Miles Byrne—Despard's Conspiracy in England—Emmet's Preparations—Explosion in Patrick Street—The 23d of July—Failure—Bloody Riot—Murder of Lord Kilwarden—Emmet sends Miles Byrne to France—Retires to Wicklow—Returns to Dublin—Arrested—Tried—Convicted—Hanged—Fate of Russell.

The first year of the Union was, for Ireland, a year of severe distress. The crops of 1801, had in great measure failed; and as the people then depended or subsistance chiefly upon agriculture, as they do still, the usual results ensued. Hunger and hardship produced discontent, and in some places disorder also. The fair promises of immediate prosperity which was to have followed the Union, were not realized. Even trade and commerce were languishing. Mr. Foster, late Speaker, stated, in his place in the Imperial Parliament, that in 1801, the decrease of exported linen was five million yards. The taxes were increasing, as the means of paying them diminished; for Ireland had now to provide for the charges of that immense debt which had been contracted for

slaughtering her people and purchasing her Parliament. Mr. Foster, in the same speech mentioned—that, although it had been acknowledged that the expenses of the current year would be considerably less than they had been in the preceding year, yet a million more was borrowed for the present than for the last year. The inference to be drawn from that measure, (for various Union purposes,) was too obvious to mention. The revenue was then collected at a much lighter rate of expense, than it had been in 1782, when it was at £11 12*s.* 4*d.* per cent. The revenues of the Post Office were, at the time he was speaking, collected at the enormous expenditure of £224 per cent. In 1800, the amount of grants, pensions, &c., on that score, was £34,000; in 1802, £51,000; and this is what he called "a falling year." Then the Catholics, whose eyes were at length opened to the gross deception of which they had been victims, felt sore and disappointed; especially as the persecuting Orange Societies were now greatly multiplied, and became each day, by direct encouragement of the Government and of a Royal Duke, more insolent and aggressive. A serious riot took place in Dublin. The anniversary commemoration of the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of July, was in 1802 solemnized with more than ordinary pomp. The statue of King William, in College Green, was most superbly decorated with orange colors, and several corps of yeomanry paraded round it in the course of the day. In the evening, the conduct of the yeomanry, and the spirit of this ill-judged and mischievous commemoration, so worked on the popular feelings, that the most serious consequences were apprehended. Mr. Alderman Stamer, failed in his endeavors to prevent outrages; some yeomen were beaten to the ground. Major Swan was knocked down and severely wounded: nor was the mob dispersed, until Alderman Darley arrived with a large party of the Castle guard. Some of the populace were taken and severely punished. Attempts were made to raise this expression of popular soreness into a general spirit of disaffection, and a renovation of rebellion. Nothing, however, could be certainly traced beyond the temporary and local outrage upon the popular feeling, from this senseless annual ovation of the Ascendancy, lately rendered more poignantly provoking by the ferocity and growing power of the Orange societies.

On the whole, therefore, when the insidious negotiations of the English Government, preparatory to the violation of the treaty of Amiens, were going forward in London and Paris, the mass of the Irish people was still thoroughly disaffected; and persons connected with the Government were of opinion that, immediately on the fresh outbreak of war with France, a new French expedition, and on a larger scale than that of Hoche, would be dispatched to Ireland; in which case there was no doubt of a general rising in the island.

The two Emmets, O'Connor, and many other Irish exiles, were then on the Continent; and were in communication with the First Consul, provisionally, with a view to future operations in case of the renewal of the war, which then seemed highly probable. Robert Emmet was then about twenty-four years of age. He had seen the atrocities of '98, the frauds and villanies by which the Union was accomplished: he saw his unhappy country still groaning under martial law—the great majority of his compatriots shut out from the Constitution, and by means of packed juries and Orange magistrates effectually deprived of the protection of law. His ardent spirit burned to redress these wrongs, and to do at least what one man might, to rouse the people for one more manly effort. The purity and elevation of his motives have never been questioned, even by his enemies. What he desired and longed for with all the intensity of his passionate nature, was simply to see his people invested with the ordinary civil right of human beings, leading peaceful and honorable lives under the protecting shelter of a native Legislature, and having a law over them which they might reverence and obey, not curse and abhor.*

* Lord Castlereagh, a young man like Robert Emmet, but more "prudent," thus describes Emmet and his insurrection, after the danger was over, in a speech in Parliament: "In place of a formidable conspiracy fraught with danger to the existing Government, it was only the wild and contemptible project of Mr. Emmet, a young man, of a heated and enthu-

Robert Emmet passed several months of the years 1800 and 1801 on the Continent and Peninsula, the greater part of that time on the tour in which he visited the south of France, Switzerland, and some parts of Spain. On his return from this tour, he visited Amsterdam and Brussels, where his brother, T. A. Emmet, had been sojourning since his liberation from Fort George, and banishment, in June, 1802.

It was impossible for Irishmen to be in France or Belgium in that year without perceiving the evident symptoms of a new and formidable struggle approaching. The English Minister had already refused to give up Malta; and formidable military and naval preparations were rapidly advancing both in France and in England. Equally impossible was it for the exiled United Irishmen not to turn with anxious hope to this new conjuncture of affairs. Doctor MacNeven was then in France, as well as Tone's friend Thomas Russell. With whom the idea originated of entering upon a negotiation with the French Government does not seem clear; but certain it is that Robert Emmet, in the summer of 1802, had interviews both with Buonaparte and Talleyrand.

His design was, then, based on the expectation of a speedy rupture of the amicable relations between Great Britain and France, on a knowledge of extensive naval preparations in the northern seaports of France, and the impression left on his mind, by his interview with Buonaparte, and his frequent communications with Talleyrand, that those preparations were for an invasion of England, which was likely to be attempted in August, 1803; on the knowledge, communicated to him by Dowdall, of a movement being determined on by the Secret Society of England, with which Colonel Despard was connected; on the assurance of support and pecuniary assistance from very influential persons in Ireland; and lastly, on the concurrence of several of the Irish leaders in Paris.

The late Lord Cloncurry informed Doctor Madden that he dined in company with Robert Emmet and Surgeon Lawless, the day before the departure of the former for Ireland. "Emmet spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores, and ran down his forehead." Lawless was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions, and thought favorably of them; but Lord Cloncurry considered the plans impracticable, and was opposed to them. Doctor MacNeven, Hugh Wilson, Russell, Byrne, William and Thomas Corbett, Hamilton, and Sweeney, were intimate and confidential friend of Robert Emmet, as well as of his brother—several of them, there is positive proof, concurred in the attempt. All of them, it may be supposed, were cognizant of it. All their surviving friends are agreed on one point, that the project did not originate with Robert Emmet.

The letters of T. A. Emmet, at this period, establish the fact that, in the autumn and winter of 1802, the leading United Irishmen then on the Continent, in the event of a rupture between France and England, were bent on renewing their efforts, and that they looked upon the struggle in Ireland as suspended, but not relinquished.

That this also was the opinion of the English Government, is equally certain. After the declaration of war, a number of intercepted letters, found on board the East Indiaman, Admiral Aplin, captured by the French, and published in the *Moniteur*, by the Government, afford abundant proof of the panic which prevailed in England, and of the expectation of invasion that was general at that period. Very serious apprehensions were expressed in these letters of the results of an invasion in Ireland It was stated, in a letter of Lord Charles Bentinck to his brother, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras: "If Ireland be not attended to, it will be lost; these rascals, (an endearing, familiar, gentlemanlike-way

siastic imagination, who inheriting a property of £3,000 from his father, which was entirely at his own disposal, though he could not dispose of it to more advantage, than in an attempt to overturn the Government of his country."

What a contrast between these two Irishmen! Castlereagh certainly was not of "a heated and enthusiastic imagination." He did not invest his patrimony in pikes. The one sold his country to her enemies, and was laden with riches and honors. The other, who spent all he possessed, in an effort to redeem that country, perished on a gibbet, and the dogs of Thomas street lapped his blood.

of describing the people of Ireland,) "are as ripe as ever for rebellion."

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2d of June, we find the following passage: "I have learned from them, (Irish people in England,) with regret, that the lower classes of the men in Ireland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction, and joined by a great number."

In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, we find the following passage: "I am not certain whether the event of the war, which our wise Ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. I hope nothing, however, will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, *supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit.*"

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, July 14th: "The invasion, which has been so long the favorite project of the First Consul, will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the Directors of the East India Company, Thomas Faulder, to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith, Calcutta, August 3d: "I have heard from the first authority, that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops, they will be immediately joined by one hundred thousand Irish." *

Robert Emmet set out for Ireland in the beginning of October, 1802, and arrived in Dublin in the course of the same month. His brother, Thomas Addis, was then in Brussels. His father, the worthy Doctor Emmet, and his mother were then residing at Casino, near Milltown; and here Robert remained some weeks in seclusion. Gradually and cautiously he put himself in communication with those whom he knew to be favorable to his enterprise—especially the old United Irishmen of '98. The principal persons concerned with him were—Thomas Russell, formerly Lieutenant of the Sixty fourth Regiment of foot; John Allen, of the firm of Allen & Hickson, woolen-drapers, Dame street, Dublin; Philip Long, a general merchant, residing at No. 4 Crow street; Henry William Hamilton, (married to Russell's niece,) of Enniskillen, barrister-at-law; William Dowdall, of Mullingar, (natural son of Hussey Burgh, (formerly Secretary to the Dublin Whig Club;) Miles Byrne, of Wexford; Colonel Lumm, of the County Kildare; —— Carthy, a gentleman farmer, of Kildare; Malachy Delany, the son of a landed proprietor, County Wicklow; the Messrs. Perrot, farmers, County Kildare; Thomas Wylde, cotton manufacturer, Cork street; Thomas Lenahan, a farmer, of Crew Hill, County Kildare; John Hevey, a tobacconist, of Thomas street; Denis Lambert Redmond, a coal factor, of Dublin; —— Branagan, of Irishtown, timber merchant; Joseph Aliburn, of Kilmacud, Windy Harbor, a small landholder; Thomas Frayne, a farmer, of Boven, County of Kildare; Nicholas Gray, of Wexford.†

Some other persons of more humble rank, tradesmen, whose services would be required in the preparations, are enumerated by Doctor Madden: James Hope, of County Antrim; Michael Quigley, a master bricklayer, of Rathcoffy, in the County Kildare; Henry Howley, a master carpenter, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Felix Rourke, of Rathcoole, a clerk in a brewery in Dublin, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Nicholas Stafford, a baker, of James street; Bernard Duggan, a working cotton manufacturer, of the County Tyrone, who had been engaged in the former rebellion; Michael Dwyer, the well-known Wicklow insurgent, who, along with Holt and Miles Byrne, had kept up their resistance amidst the glens and mountains of Wicklow.

The plan of Robert Emmet's insurrection was, while agents were quietly organizing both the city and county, to make secret preparations in the city of Dublin itself;—then, when all was ready, to make one spring at the Castle, to seize upon the authorities, and give the signal for a general insurrection from Dublin Castle. There is good military authority for approving this

* The above extracts are given by Dr. Madden.—*U.-I. Third Series*, p. 315.

† Dr. Madden adds the names of Lord Wycombe and John Keogh, as favorable to the enterprise, not actually concerned in it.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

plan of a rising in Ireland; and it certainly might well have succeeded, but for one fatal accident. The gallant Miles Byrne, after many a campaign, as a French officer, in every quarter of Europe, deliberately, in his latter days, avowed his preference for Emmet's scheme to every other that could be devised in the circumstances of Ireland. He says, in closing his own narrative of that part of his career:—

"I shall ever feel proud of the part I took with the lamented Robert Emmet. I have often asked myself, how could I have acted otherwise, seeing all his views and plans for the independence of my country so much superior to anything ever imagined before on the subject? They were only frustrated by accident, and the explosion of a depôt, and, as I have always said, whenever Irishmen think of obtaining freedom, Robert Emmet's plans will be their best guide. First, to take the capital, and then the provinces will burst out and raise the same standard immediately." *

Miles Byrne himself, after being much sought after by the Government, on account of his part in the Wexford insurrection, and after many escapes, was, in 1802, under a feigned name, employing himself as a measurer of timber, in the timber-yard of his step-brother, Kennedy; but still keeping up his connections with the remnant of Wexford rebels, and hoping for better times. Here, while he was one day measuring logs, news came of the Peace of Amiens. "I felt," he says, "unnerved and disappointed at the news of the peace. I had been living in hopes that ere the war terminated, something good would be done for poor Ireland."

Soon after the arrival of Robert Emmet, we find him in close communication with Mr. Byrne.

In reporting their first conversation, Mr. Byrne gives his unimpeachable testimony with regard to the real views of Emmet, and his motives for engaging in the enterprise, and his anxious care to avoid French domination as well as to abolish that of England, The *Memoir* says:—

"Mr, Emmet soon told me his plans; he said he wished to be acquainted with all those who had escaped in the war of '98, and who continued still to enjoy the confidence of the people; that he had been inquiring since his return, and even at Paris; he was pleased to add that he had heard my name mentioned amongst them, &c. He entered into many details of what Ireland had to expect from France, in the way of assistance, now that that country was so energetically governed by the First Consul, Buonaparte, who feared (he, Buonaparte,) that the Irish people might be changed, and careless about their independence, in consequence of the union with England. It became obvious, therefore, that this impression should be removed as soon as possible. Robert Emmet told me the station his brother held in Paris, and that the different members of the Government there frequently consulted him; all of them were of opinion that a demonstration should be made by the Irish patriots to prove that they were as ready as ever to shake off the English yoke. To which Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet replied, it would be cruel to commit the poor Irish people again, and to drive them into another rebellion before they received assistance from France, but at the same time, he could assure the French Government, that a secret organization was then going on throughout Ireland, but more particularly in the city of Dublin, where large depôts of arms, and of every kind of ammunition were preparing with the greatest secrecy, as none but the tried men of 1798 were intrusted with the management of those stores and depôts.

"After giving me this explanation, Mr. Robert Emmet added, 'if the brave and unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his associates felt themselves justified in seeking to redress Ireland's grievances by taking the field, what must not be our justification, now that not a vestige of self-government exists, in consequence of the accursed Union; that until this most barbarous, fraudulent transaction took place, from time to time, in spite of corruption, useful local laws were enacted for Ireland. Now, seven-eighths of the population have no right to send a member of their body to represent them, even in a foreign parlia

* Memoirs of Miles Byrne. Paris.

ment, and the other eighth part of the population are the tools and task-masters, acting for the cruel English Government and its Irish Ascendancy ;—a monster still worse, if possible, than foreign tyranny.'

"Mr. Emmet mentioned again the promises obtained from the chief of the French Government, given to himself, his brother, and other leaders, that, in the event of a French army landing in Ireland, it should be considered as an auxiliary one, and received on the same principle as General Rochambeau and his army were received by the American people, when fighting for their independence. He added : 'that though no one could abhor more than he did the means by which the First Consul came to be at the head of the French nation, still he was convinced, that this great military chief would find it his interest to deal fairly by the Irish nation, as the best and surest way to obtain his ends with England ; he, therefore, thought the country should be organized and prepared for those great events, which were now inevitable. That, as for himself, he was resolved to risk his life, and to stake the little fortune he possessed, for the accomplishment of those preparations so necessary for the redemption of our unfortunate country from the hands of a cruel enemy.'"

It was while Mr. Emmet was making his preparations in Dublin, that an English revolutionary conspiracy was detected and broken up in London. A certain Colonel Despard and thirty other persons were arrested, on a charge of high treason, at a public house in Lambeth, the 15th of November, 1802. By some of the witnesses, it appeared that Government was cognizant of the treasonable proceedings of Despard and his associates six months previous to their arrest ; that spies were set on them, and suggested acts in some cases to them which were adopted ; that they had printed pages to the following effect : "Constitution, the independence of Great Britain and Ireland ; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights ; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest ; a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend. We swear to be united in the awful presence of God."

February 7, 1803, Colonel Despard was tried at the Surrey Assizes, before Lord Ellenborough, on a charge of high treason, conspiring to *assassinate the King*, &c. Of this last charge there was no evidence, but it plainly appeared that Despard, as well as Robert Emmet, had been encouraged to make his attempt by the French Government ; which very naturally desired to create for the English Government as much embarrassment as possible at home. Despard was convicted and hung.

In the meantime, Emmet was quietly collecting arms and forming depôts of them at several points in Dublin. In January, 1803, his good father, Doctor Robert Emmet, died, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Aungier street. Robert could not even attend his father's funeral ; because his presence in Dublin was intended to be a secret ; and he knew there was a warrant for his apprehension in the hands of Major Sirr, since early in the year 1800.* He was proceeding actively with his preparations. Miles Byrne and others were busy in getting pikes, pistols, and blunderbusses, manufactured and ammunition laid in. Emmet invented a species of explosive machines, consisting of beams of wood bored by a pump augur, and filled with powder and small stones, intended to be exploded in the face of advancing troops at the moment of action. Large quantities of pikes were forged and mounted, and carried from their places of manufacture to the depôts in hollow logs prepared for their reception, and which were drawn through the streets like ordinary lumber.

It is not a little strange that the Irish Government, usually so vigilant and suspicious, seems to have had no knowledge of these formidable arrangement. This was not for want of warnings, and reports of spies ; but the Government did not believe them. And it is no wonder that the executive was so incredulous, because there had not, probably, been one week, for the past half century when the Government had not received some alarming intelligence of this nature. Plainly, also, the information was not so precise as to indicate persons and places ; so that no interruption

* Madden discovers this fact in "Sirr's Papers," deposited in Trinity College Library.

was given to the arrangements; and the 23d of July, 1803, was fixed for the outbreak.

Before that day arrived a circumstance occurred which threatened to ruin all:—

On the Saturday night week previous to the turnout, an explosion of some combustibles took place in the depôt of Patrick street, which gave some alarm in the neighborhood. Major Sirr came to examine the house—previous to his coming, some one removed the remaining powder, arms, &c., and all matters which were movable in the place, notwithstanding some obstruction given by the watchman. Other arms were secreted on the premises, and were not discovered until some time afterwards. It was concluded that the affair was only some chemical process, which had accidently caused the explosion.

The accident does not seem to have placed any serious obstacle in the way of the enterprise. Miles Byrne says:—

"Now the final plan to be executed, consisted principally in taking the Castle, whilst the Pigeon House, Island Bridge, the Royal Barracks, and the old Custom House Barracks were to be attacked, and if not surprised and taken, they were to be blockaded, and intrenchments thrown up before them. Obstacles of every kind to be created through the streets, to prevent the English cavalry from charging. The Castle once taken, undaunted men, materials, implements of every description, would be easily found in all the streets in the city, not only to impede the cavalry, but to prevent infantry from passing through them.

"As I was to be one of these persons designed to cöoperate with Robert Emmet in taking the Castle of Dublin, I shall here relate precisely, the part which was allotted to me in this daring enterprise: I was to have assembled early in the evening of Saturday, the 23d of July, 1803, at the house of Denis Lambert Redmond, on the Coal Quay, the Wexford and Wicklow men, to whom I was to distribute pikes, arms and ammunition, and then a little before dusk, I was to send one of the men, well known to Mr. Emmet, to tell him that we were at our post, armed and ready to follow him; men were placed in the house in Ship street, ready to seize on the entrance to the Castle on that side, at the same moment the principal gate would be taken.

"Mr. Emmet was to leave the depôt at Thomas street at dusk, with six hackney coaches, in each of which, six men were to be placed, armed with jointed pikes and blunderbusses, concealed under their coats. The moment the last of these coaches had passed Redmond's house where we were to be assembled, we were to sally forth and follow them quickly into the Castle courtyard, and there to seize and disarm all the sentries, and to replace them instantly with our own men, &c.

Emmet, after the explosion in Patrick street, took up his abode in the depôt in Marshalsea lane. There he lay at night on a mattrass, surrounded by all the implements of death, devising plans, turning over in his mind all the fearful chances of the intended struggle, well knowing that his life was at the mercy of upwards of forty individuals, who had been, or still were employed in the depôts; yet confident of success, exaggerating its prospects, extenuating the difficulties which beset him, judging of others by himself, thinking associates honest who seemed to be so, confiding in their promises, and animated, or rather inflamed by a burning sense of the wrongs of his country, and an enthusiasm in his devotion to what he considered its rightful cause

The morning of the 23d of July, found Emmet and the leaders in whom he confided not of one mind; there was division in their councils, confusion in the depôts, consternation among the citizens who were cognizant of what was going on, and treachery tracking Robert Emmet's footsteps, dogging him from place to place, unseen, unsuspected, but perfidy nevertheless, embodied in the form of patriotism, employed in deluding its victim, making the most of its foul means of betraying its unwary victims, and counting already on the ultimate rewards of its treachery. Portion after portion of each plan of Robert Emmet was defeated, as he imagined, by accident, or ignorance, or neglect, on the part of his agents. "But it never occurred to him," says Madden, "that he was betrayed, that every design of his was frustrated, every project neutralized, as

effectually as if an enemy had stolen into the camp.'"

There is, however, no satisfactory evidence of treason, on the part of any of those whom he trusted. The rest of this sad tale is soon told :—

Various consultations were held on the 23d, at the depöt, in Thomas street, at Mr. Long's, in Crow steeet, and Mr. Allen's, in College Green, and great diversity of opinion prevailed with respect to the propriety of an immediate rising, or a postponement of the attempt. Emmet and Allen were in favor of the former, and, indeed, in the posture of their affairs, no other course was left, except the total abandonment of their project, which it is only surprising had not been determined on. The Wicklow men, under Dwyer, on whom great dependence was placed, had not arrived ; the man who bore the order to him from Emmet neglected his duty, and remained at Rathfarnham. The Kildare men came in, and were informed, evidently by a traitor, that Emmet had postponed his attempt, and they went back at five o'clock in the afternoon. The Wexford men came in, and, to the number of two hundred or three hundred, remained in town the early part of the night to take the part assigned to them, but they received no orders. A large body of men were assembled at the Broadstone, ready to act when the rocket signal agreed upon should be given, but no such signal was made.

It was evident that Emmet, to the last, counted on large bodies of men at his disposal, and that he was deceived. At eight o'clock in the evening, he had eighty men nominally under his command, collected in the depöt in Marshalsea lane.

A man rushed in to announce that troops were at that moment marching upon them, which was not true ; yet it seems to have been believed by Emmet and the rest. It was then he resolved to sally out, with such poor following as he had, march upon the Castle, and, if necessary, meet death by the way. Even this happiness—of dying with arms in his hands—was not reserved for the unfortunate gentleman.

The motley assembly of armed men, some of them intoxicated, marched along Thomas street, with their unhappy leader at their head, who was endeavoring to maintain some order, with the assistance of Stafford, a man who remained close by him through out this scene, and faithful to the last. It was now about half-past nine, and quite dark. The sequel is painful to tell ; yet it must be told. Doctor Madden says :—

"The stragglers in the rear soon commenced acts of pillage and assassination. The first murderous attack committed in Thomas street was not that made on Lord Kilwarden, as we find by the following account in a newspaper of the day :—

"'A Mr. Leech, of the Custom House, was passing through Thomas street in a hackney coach, when he was stopped by the rabble ; they dragged him out of the coach, without any inquiry, it seemed enough that he was a respectable man ; he fell on his knees, implored their mercy, but all in vain ; they began the work of blood, and gave him a frightful pike wound in the groin. Their attention was then diverted from their humbler victim by the approach of Lord Kilwarden's coach. Mr. Leech then succeeded in creeping to Vicar street watch house, where he lay a considerable time apparently dead from loss of blood, but happily recovered from his wound.'"

Now, of all the judges, and other high official persons in Ireland, in those days, not one was so estimable, so good, and humane, as Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He had often stood between an innocent prisoner and the death to which his enemies had already doomed him. Most unfortunately, just as the mad mob of rioters had got beyond the control of their leader, and had already dipped their hands in blood, a private carriage was seen moving along that part of Thomas street which leads to Vicar street. It was stopped and attacked ; Lord Kilwarden, who was inside, with his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, cried out : "It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench." A man, whose name is said to have been Shannon, rushed forward, plunged his pike into his lordship, crying out : "You are the man I want." A portmanteau was then taken out of the carriage, broken open, and rifled of its contents ; then his lordship, mortally wounded, was dragged out of the

carriage, and several additional wounds inflicted on him. His nephew endeavored to make his escape, but was taken, and put to death. The unfortunate young lady remained in the carriage, till one of the leaders rushed forward, took her from the carriage, and led her through the rabble to an adjoining house; and it is worthy of observation, that in the midst of this scene of sanguinary tumult, no injury or insult was offered to her, or attempted to be offered to her, by the infuriated rabble. Mr. Fitzgerald states that the person who rescued her from her dreadful situation was Robert Emmet.

Miss Wolfe, after remaining some time in the place of refuge she was placed in, proceeded on foot to the Castle, and entered the Secretary's office, in a distracted state, and is said to have been the first bearer of the intelligence of her father's murder. Lord Kilwarden was found lying on the pavement, dreadfully and mortally wounded. When the street was cleared of the insurgents he was carried almost lifeless to the watch-house in Vicar street.

This foul murder was an atrocity really horrible. Reasons have been assigned or suggested for it; as that the man who first attacked him had had a relative sentenced to death by him; that he was mistaken for Lord Carleton, a very different kind of judge, &c.; but the odious deed stands out in all its bloody horror; no better—but also no worse—than many of the outrages done upon the people in '98, by Orange yeomanry and Ascendancy magistrates.

Doctor Madden thus narrates the close of this dreadful affair:—

"Emmet halted his party at the market house, with the view of restoring order, but tumult and insubordination prevailed. During his ineffectual efforts, word was brought that Lord Kilwarden was murdered; he retraced his steps, proceeded towards the scene of the barbarous outrage, and in the course of a few minutes returned to his party; from that moment he gave up all hope of effecting any national object. He saw that his attempt had merged into a work of pillage and murder. He and a few of the leaders who were about him abandoned their project and their followers. A detachment of the military made its appearance at the corner of Cutpurse row, and commenced firing on the insurgents who immediately fled in all directions. The rout was general in less than an hour from the time they sallied forth from the depôt. The only place where anything like resistance was made was on the Coombe, where Colonel Brown was killed, and two members of the Liberty Rangers, Messrs. Edmonston and Parker. The guard-house of the Coombe had been unsuccessfully attacked, though with great determination; a great many dead bodies were found there."

The whole affair was now over, and all was lost; yet during this night, Miles Byrne, with his two hundred picked Wexford men, was in the house on Coal Quay, anxiously awaiting the orders that had been agreed upon. Dwyer was ready with another party; and the Kildare men were expecting to be summoned by a messenger. They were all left without orders.

The next day was, of course, a time of arrests, discoveries, and domiciliary visits in Dublin. The several depôts were examined, and quantities of uniforms, fire-arms, and several thousand pikes were found; together with eight thousand copies of two proclamations intended for distribution on the day of the rising. These documents declare that the object of the movement is an Irish Republic, separation from England, and freedom and justice for all. (See Appendix, No. IV.) Emmet went out to a private house at Rathfarnham. Within a week before his sad failure, he had sent Russell and James Hope to the North, upon whose people he placed great reliance, and he requested Miles Byrne to go to France with dispatches for his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, which Byrne, after many adventures, accomplished. Emmet himself proceeded from Rathfarnham to the Wicklow mountains, where he found the Wicklow insurgents bent on prosecuting their plans, and making an immediate attack on some of the principal towns in that county. Emmet, to his credit, being then convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, had determined to withhold his sanction from any further effort; convinced, as he then was.

that it could only lead to the effusion of blood, but to no successful issue. His friends pressed him to take immediate measures for effecting his escape, but unfortunately he resisted their solicitations; he had resolved on seeing one person before he could make up his mind to leave the country, and that person was dearer to him than life—Sarah Curran, the youngest daughter of the celebrated advocate, John Philpot Curran. With the hope of obtaining an interview with her, if possible, before his intended departure—of corresponding with her—and of seeing her pass by Harold's Cross, which was the road from her father's country-house, near Rathfarnham, to Dublin, he returned to his old lodgings at Mrs. Palmer's, Harold's Cross. Here, on the 25th of August, he was arrested, at about seven o'clock in the evening, by Major Sirr, who, according to the newspaper accounts, "did not know his person till he was brought to the Castle, *where he was identified by a gentleman of the College.*"*

On Monday, September 19, 1803, at a special commission, before Lord Norbury, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Baron Daly, Robert Emmet was put on his trial, on a charge of high treason, under 25th Edward III. The counsel assigned him were Messrs. Ball, Burrowes, and M'Nally.

The counsel for the prosecution were Mr. Standish O'Grady, Attorney-General, and William Conyngham Plunket, King's Counsel. There is nothing specially worthy of remark on the trial, except the very bitter and superfluous speech of Mr. Plunket. Mr. Plunket had been the friend of Emmet's father. It was the political doctrine so loudly announced by Mr. Plunket in his Anti-Union speeches—that the Union would leave Ireland without any constitution or law which men would be bound to obey—it was this, and other eloquent denunciations, which had so deeply sunk into Emmet's mind, that he at length resolved to put those doctrines in practice, at the risk of his life. This could only be done by expelling the British authorities from his country.

It is true that Mr. Plunket, if he practiced his profession at all, was bound to take the brief for the Crown; but he was not bound to display a furious and vindictive zeal in prosecuting his friend's son, especially as the prisoner made no defence. When the witnesses for the prosecution had all been examined, Mr. M'Nally said, as Mr. Emmet did not intend to call any witness, or to take up the time of the Court by his counsel stating any case or making any observations on the evidence, he presumed the trial was now closed on both sides.

Mr. Plunket declined following the example of the prisoner's counsel, and launched into a most violent and needless philippic, ending with this passionate imprecation:—

"They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause as it is just! But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I must devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it."

How nobly Emmet asserted himself and his cause, in his last speech, is known to all who read our language. There exist at least ten editions of that speech, some of them varying materially from others. The latest and probably most correct version of it, is that contained in Doctor Madden's "Memoir of Emmet," in the *Third Series* of his collections. Thomas Moore, in his diary, February 15, 1831, mentions Burrowes having remarked to him, on the subject of Plunket's conduct in Emmet's case, "Plunket could not have refused the brief of Government, *though he might have avoided, perhaps, speaking to evidence.* It was not true, I think he said, that Plunket had been acquainted with young Emmet. The passage in a printed speech of Emmet, where he is made to call Plunket '*that viper*,' &c., was never spoken by Emmet."

On the 20th of September, he was executed. The same morning the death of his mother was announced to him in his prison. Early in the afternoon he was removed, attended by a strong guard, both of cavalry and infantry, to Thomas street, where a scaffold and gibbet had been erected. He died with the utmost calmness and fortitude.

It is said that Robert Emmet had been made acquainted with a design that was in contemplation to effect his escape at the time

* Madden says this was Doctor Elrington, Provost of the College.

and place appointed for execution. Of that design, Government appears to have had information, and had taken precautionary measures, which had probably led to its being abandoned. The avowed object of Thomas Russell's going to Dublin, after his failure in the North, was to adopt plans for this purpose.

Russell, the close friend and associate both of Tone and Emmet, was himself soon after arrested, and executed at Downpatrick; and this was the end of the United Irishmen, at least for that generation. Russell's burial slab is to be seen in a churchyard of Downpatrick, with no word on it but the simple name "Thomas Russell." Robert Emmet's tomb is still uninscribed.

CHAPTER XLV.

1803—1804.

Reason to Believe that Government was all the time aware of the Conspiracy—"Striking Terror"—Martial Law—Catholic Address—Arrests—Informers—Vigorous Measures—In Cork—In Belfast—Hundreds of Men Imprisoned without Charge—Brutal Treatment of Prisoners—Special Commission—Eighteen Persons Hung—Debate in Parliament—Irish Exiles in France—First Consul Plans a New Expedition to Ireland—Formation of the "Irish Legion"—Irish Legion in Bretagne—Official Reply of the First Consul to T. A. Emmet—Designs of the French Government—Buonaparte's Mistake—French Fleet again ordered Elsewhere—The Legion goes to the Rhine, and to Walcheren—End of the Addington Ministry—Mr. Pitt Returns to Office—Condition of Ireland—Decay of Dublin—Decline of Trade—Increase of Debt—Ruinous Effects of the Union—Presbyterian Clergy Pensioned, and the Reason.

A LARGE number of the bravest and purest men whom Ireland ever produced, having now within three or four years been either hung or banished, it was hoped that the Protestant Ascendancy and British connection, the Tithes, the Oligarchical Government, the packed juries, in short our Constitution in church and state, were at last secure against "Jacobins," and all manner of French principles.

Although the government of Lord Hardwicke had *seemed* to shut its eyes and see nothing of the preparations for Emmet's insurrection, there is reason to believe that most of its details were well known at the Castle.

In the collection of papers of Major Sirr, in the volume for 1803, and a succeeding volume containing miscellaneous letters, of dates from 1798 to 1803, are found various letters of spies and informers, of the old battalion of testimony of 1798, giving information to the Major of treasonable proceedings, meetings, preparing pikes, &c., being in existence in the three months preceding the outbreak of the insurrection of the July 23, 1803. In the latter volume are many similar letters from a Roman Catholic gentleman in Monastereven, suggesting arrests to the Major, and, amongst others, the arrest of a gentleman of some standing in society, a Brigadier-Major Fitzgerald.

It is also plain that Government knew of Emmet's having come from France to Dublin, and knew his errand, and at least some of his movements; for in October, 1802, Robert Emmet dined at Mr. John Keogh's, of Mount Jerome, shortly after his arrival in Dublin, in the company of John Philpot Curran. The conversation turned on the political state of the country—on the disposition of the people with respect to a renewal of the struggle. Robert Emmet spoke with great vehemence and energy in favor of the probability of success, in the event of another effort being made. John Keogh asked, in case it were, how many counties did he think would rise? The question was one of facts and figures. Robert Emmet replied that nineteen counties could be relied on. This dinner party was immediately known to Government; and, next day, a well-known magistrate, with two attendants, waited on Mr. Keogh, demanded and carried off his papers.*

Mr. Plowden does not hesitate to speak of the Government on this occasion as having "made the full experiment of their favorite tactic of *not urging the rebels to postpone their attempts by any appearance of too much precaution and preparation of inviting rebellion*, in order to ascertain its extent, and of forcing premature explosion for the purpose of *radical cure*."

After the danger was past, however, and after it was known how very wretched and impotent the whole attempt had turned out,

* Madden. Memoir of Emmet. *Third Series.*

superabundant precautions were taken with the usual objects of "creating alarm," and striking terror. A Privy Council sat for several hours, and a proclamation was prepared and issued immediately, ordering the army to disperse all assemblies of armed rebels, and to do military execution upon all such found in arms. Barriers were erected in Dublin, and strong detachments stationed with cannon upon the bridges, and in the most frequented avenues and passes in the city.

On the 28th of July, the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, asking for additional powers in Ireland—that is, a renewed suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The act was passed at once. In Ireland, the judges went circuit that summer with strong escorts of troops.

We now again find the Catholics of rank and title coming forward to profess their loyalty; and, indeed, the brutal murder of the excellent Kilwarden, and others, on that ill-omened night, appeared but too well to justify good citizens in treating the whole movement as a mere riot for pillage and assassination. On the 4th of August, an address, signed by the most respectable Roman Catholics in and about Dublin, was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant, by a deputation consisting of the Earl of Fingal and Lord Viscount Gormanstown, and the Catholic Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. It expressed their utmost horror and detestation of the late atrocious proceedings, their attachment to the King, and admiration of the Constitution. It contained a special declaration, that, however ardent their wish might be to participate in the full enjoyment of its benefits, they never should be brought to seek for such participation through any other medium than that of the free, unbiassed determination of the Legislature.

In Lord Hardwicke's reply he made not the slightest allusion to the wish those gentlemen had expressed, that they might be admitted within the pale of that Constitution they so much admired.

A system of suspicious repression was now once more enforced. Even before the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. Many persons, who had been obnoxious to Government, or to the agents or favorites of the Castle, were apprehended, without any charge or ostensible cause of detention.* And, as it usually happens, when strong measures are resorted to by a weak government, the subalterns, who advised against reason, executed these measures without discretion. On this occasion, most of those who, upon the Secretary's warrants, were thrown into jail, under color of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, were treated with a rigorous inhumanity, which the law neither intended nor warranted. The system of espionage was extended, and the wages of information raised.

Not only rewards of £1,000 were offered for the information of any of the murderers of Lord Kilwarden, or his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, and for the apprehension of Mr. Russell, but a reward of £50 for each of the first one hundred rebels, who might be discovered, that were of the number who appeared under arms in Thomas street, on Saturday night, the 23d of July.

The whole of the yeomanry of Ireland was put upon permanent duty, at the enormous expense of £100,000 per month. In Cork, too, precautionary measures were adopted, viz., that no one should quit the county without a passport, and that every householder should affix a list of the family and inmates on their doors, by order of General Myers, who commanded in that district. The Sovereign of Belfast issued an order, for the inhabitants to remain within their houses after eight o'clock in the evening, and for several other regulations of strict observance. In Dublin, the magistrates convened a meeting, at the suggestion of Government, at which they determined that the city should be divided into forty-eight sections, each section to be divided by a *chevaux de frise*, to prevent a surprise from the pikemen, which would not at the same time prevent the fire of the musketry of the troops and yeomanry.

From the moment of the passage of martial law, the arrests became much more numerous; and any one pointed out as *suspicious*, generally by a personal enemy, was at

* Some of these were William Todd Jones, at Cork, who was arrested on the 29th of July, and after him Messrs. Drennan, Donovan, and others; Mr. Ross M'Cann, Bernard C oile, Mr James Tandy, and others, at Dublin.

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once thrown into a dungeon. The horrors of these Irish dungeons came out, years afterwards, on an inquiry before Parliament. Mr. Plowden cautiously and timidly alludes to them in this manner * :—

"Sensible, that general charge and invective come not within the province of the historian, the author felt it his duty to inform the reader, that at this time commenced a new system of gradual inquisitorial torture in prison. Suffice it here to observe, that there are many surviving victims of these inhuman and unwarrantable confinements, who, without having been charged with any crime, or tried for any offence, have from this period, undergone years of confinement, and incredible afflictions and sufferings, under the full conviction that they were inflicted from motives of personal resentment, and for the purpose of depriving them of life."

In fact, although only eighty men had turned out with Robert Emmet, and very few of these were ever found, the jails were, in the autumn of this year, crowded with many hundreds of persons ; and all the horrors of the Prevot prison were repeated upon their unfortunate victims. This was the more unaccountable as Emmet never allowed any of his followers to be *sworn in;* there was no pretext—as in '98—for charging suspected persons with having taken "unlawful oaths," nor for torturing men in order to wring out information of such an offence having been committed. The system of Government, then, has no assignable motive, save one—to strike terror and wreak vengeance. Every house in the city and neighborhood of Dublin was searched for arms ; and the names of the inmates of each house were once more required to be posted on the outer door.

Thus the entire system of Irish cöercion, to which our country is so well accustomed, was in full operation within a few days after Emmet's attempt.

On the 11th of August, the day before Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Hutchinson made one effort to draw attention to these atrocities. He moved an address to the King, praying to have papers laid before the House preparatory to an inquiry into the state of Ireland. The motion was opposed by Ministers on the ground, that it was more than useless to demand information from Government upon the state of Ireland, without having proposed any specific measure to be based upon such information when received, and that on the very eve of a prorogation. They roundly asserted that the Irish Government had not been surprised on the 23d of July, and that the *prevention* of what did happen would have taught wisdom and given strength to the rebel cause. The motion was negatived without a division.

At the "special commission" which tried Emmet, twenty persons were tried for their lives. Of these, one was acquitted and one respited ; the rest were hung.

Parliament met again on the 22d of November. Charles James Fox originated a short debate on the state of Ireland. He charged the Government with want of candor, in endeavoring to convey an idea that it was the intention of the rebels in Ireland to put that country into the hands of France, when such a design had been so strongly disavowed by their leaders. "It was not," he added, "to be hoped or expected, that as long as grievances existed, Ireland could become loyal, and he sincerely hoped that the House would not, by confiding in words, leave her exposed to a repetition of those scenes that had lately occurred.

Mr. Addington insisted that some leaders of the United Irishmen "were really disposed to subserve the purposes of France. From the close intercourse now carried on between the two countries, he concluded that the people of Ireland would be led to compare the different principles of the two governments, by which they would learn to appreciate *the blessings of their own Constitution*, and to foresee the miseries which *any change* would bring upon them." Further, Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke vehemently urged the House to give them credit in assuring them, that though the leaders of the late insurrection were not immediately connected with the French Government, they were yet connected with Irish traitors abroad, who held immediate intercourse with that Government.

* Plowden. *History of Ireland since the Union.*

This last statement was true at any rate —omitting the word "traitors." Thomas Addis Emmet, Doctor MacNeven, and Arthur O'Connor, were then in close communication with the French Government, and eagerly awaiting the determinations of Buonaparte with regard to a descent upon Ireland. Miles Byrne had safely arrived at Paris, and communicated with Thomas Addis Emmet; but almost immediately news came of Robert's capture, of the certainty of his execution, and of the total prostration of Ireland under the iron heel of military power. There was then in France a large number of Irish exiles; and Mr. Emmet informed the First Consul that they were ready to go as volunteers in any expedition which had for its object the emancipation of their country. It was in the month of November, 1803, that the decree was issued for the formation of the *Irish Legion.*

Miles Byrne, who was himself afterwards a distinguished officer of the Legion, gives this account of its origin: "The First Consul eagerly entered into all the details related in the report on the state of Ireland, given to him by Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, on the arrival at Paris of the confidential agent sent from Dublin in August, 1803; and, in consequence, it was stipulated that a French army should be sent to assist the Irish to get rid of the English yoke; the First Consul understanding from Mr. Emmet that Augereau was a favorite with the Irish nation, had him appointed General-in-Chief to command the expedition; and immediately ordered the formation of an Irish Legion in the service of France. He gave to all those, who volunteered to enter the Irish Legion, commission as French officers, so that in the event of their falling into the hands of the English they should be protected; or, should any violence be offered them, he should have the right to retaliate on the English prisoners in France.

"The decree of the First Consul for the formation of this Irish Legion was dated November, 1803; by it, the officers were all to be Irishmen, or Irishmen's sons born in France. The pay was to be the same as that given to officers and soldiers of the line of the French army. No rank was to be given higher than captain till they should land with the expedition in Ireland."

"It was, however, stipulated that on leaving Brest, a certain number of captains were to get the rank of colonel, and also a certain number of lieutenants that of lieutenant-colonel; which rank was to be confirmed to them even in the event of the expedition failing, and their getting back to France. In naming these captains and lieutenants, the preference was to be given to those who had been obliged to expatriate themselves for their exertions in Ireland to effect its independence."

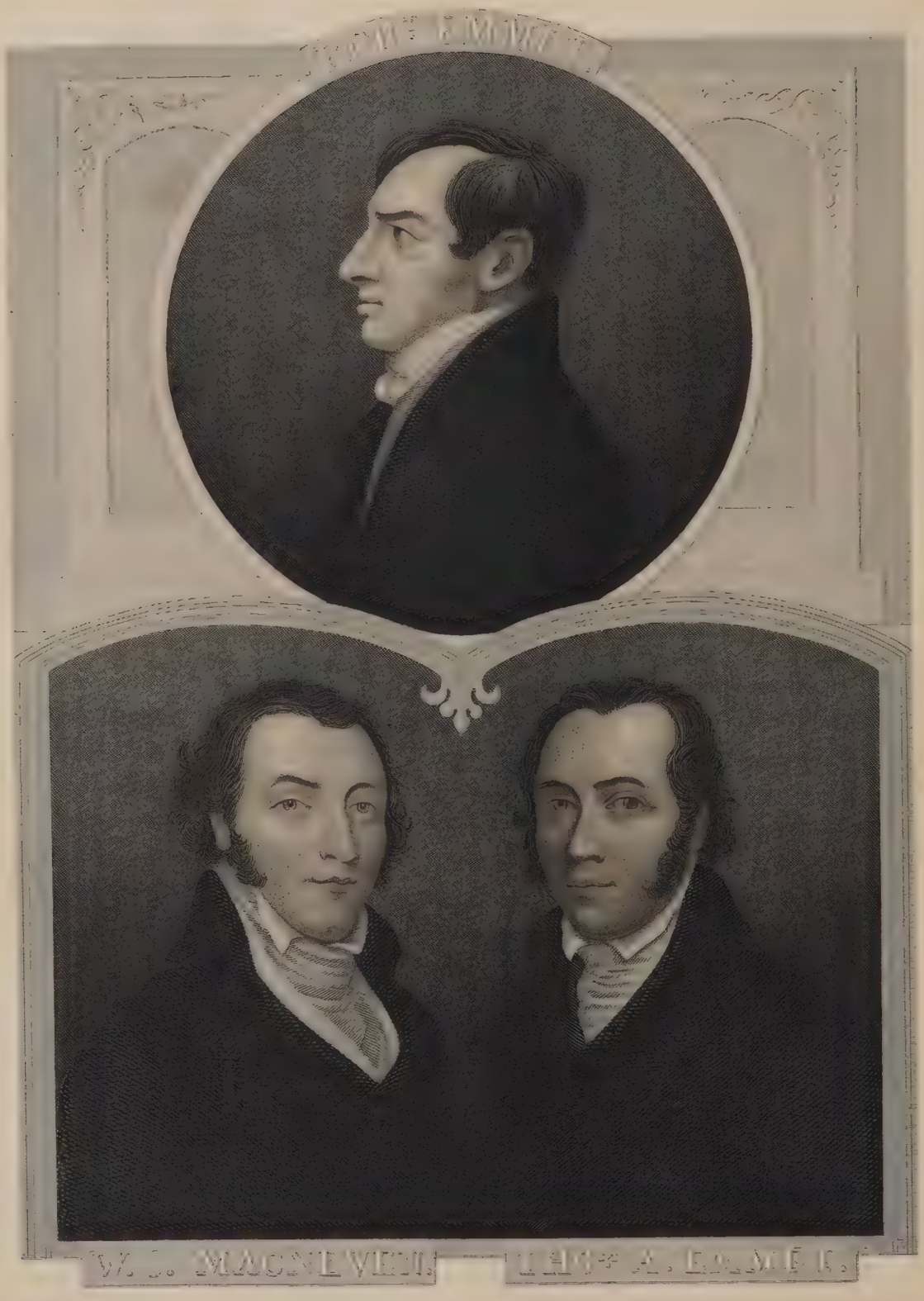
Adjutant-General MacSheehy, an Irishman by birth, but in the French service, was charged with the organization of the legion, and for that purpose was commanded to repair to Morlaix where the Irish exiles were assembled.

Adjutant-General MacSheehy, received unlimited powers at Morlaix to propose officers for advancement up to the rank of captain; all he named were confirmed by the Minister of War, General Berthier.

The greatest exertions were made to have the officers splendidly equipped and ready for sailing. They received the same outfit given to French officers entering on campaign; no expense being spared by the French Government.

Three months later, General Augereau was at Brest; having attached to his staff Arthur O'Connor, then made a General of Division in the service of France.

Morlaix is a seaport town in Bretagne, not far from Brest, but more to the north, and looking straight over towards Cork and Waterford harbors. It was here that a large number of gallant and generous young Irishmen, many of them of good position in society and great accomplishments, were flocking together in those days, full of spirit and hardihood, and eagerly gazing over the blue water, as if they could already see the crests of the Cummeragh mountains. Amongst these men we find many names of officers who afterwards distinguished themselves in Germany, in Holland, and in Spain. O'Reilly, Allen, Corbet, Burgess, O'Morin, O'Mara, Ware, Barker, Fitzhenry, Masterson, St. Leger, Murray, and MacMahon. "We were happy and united," says Miles Byrne.



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"The Legion assembled at Morlaix was marched to Quimper in March, 1804, where all those officers who had been proposed for advancement by Adjutant-General Macsheehy received their brevets. From Quimper the Legion was ordered to Carhaix, in Finistère, a small town (the native place of Latour d' Auvergue, premier grenadier de France), which from being more inland and less frequented, was better suited for manœuvring, and where the best results were obtained. Two officers, Captain Tennant and Captain William Corbet, were deputed from thence by the Legion to go to Paris, to be present at the coronation of the Emperor, (May, 1804,) who on that occasion presented it, as well as the French regiments, with colors and an eagle. On one side of the colors was written 'Napoléon I, Empereur des François, à la legion Irlandaise;' on the reverse was, a harp (without a crown), with the inscription: 'L'indépendance d'Irlande.'

The Irish Legion was the only foreign corps in the French service to whom Napoleon ever intrusted an eagle.

Rejoicings took place at Carhaix, as in the ther towns of France, in honor of the coronation, by order of the authorities.

It was while the Legion was yet at Morlaix, that Thomas Addis Emmet, who had remained in Paris, obtained from the First Consul, what seemed a definitive and positive assurance, both as to the certainty of the expedition parting for Ireland, and as to the fair terms to be observed with that country in leaving to it its cherished independence. In this document, Buonaparte, (not yet Emperor,) assures the Irish Envoy, that his intention is to assure the independence of Ireland, and to give sufficient protection to such as may join the French army; that in case of being joined by a considerable corps of Irish, he will never make a peace with England without stipulating for Ireland's independence; that Ireland shall be treated in all respects as America was in the last war; that every one embarking with the French army, shall be considered a French soldier; and if any of these be arrested and not treated as a prisoner of war, retaliation shall follow; that every corps of United Irishmen shall be considered a part of the French army; and that in case of the expedition being unsuccessful, France will keep on foot, a number of Irish Brigades, on the same footing as French troops. The First Consul sugesgts the formation of a committee, to frame proclamations and to prepare narratives of English oppressions in Ireland, to be published in the *Moniteur*.* This official paper, not only proves what excellent foundation then existed for the sanguine hope of the exiles that something effectual was at last to be done for Ireland, but proves also how carefully those exiles stipulated, always that the interposition of a

* Here is the original, which was instantly communicated by Emmet to MacNeven, then at Morlaix:—

"COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME 27TH NIVOSE:—

"Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été àddressée par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

"Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'indépendence de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux, qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

"Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expedition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles le Premier Consul declarera qu'il ne fera point la paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'indépendance de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considerable d'Irlandais Unis.

"L'Irlande sera en tout traitée, comme l'a été l'Amérique, dans la guerre passée.

"Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français: s'il était arrêté, et qu'il ne fut pas traité comme prisonnier de guerre la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais.

"Tout corps formé au nom des Irlandais Unis sera consideré comme faisant partie de l'armée Française Enfin, si l'expedition ne réussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui aurait fait partie du gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

"Les pensions pourraient été assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emploi correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

"Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenant, à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissent leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

"Ces proclamations seront inserées dans *L'Argus* et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'eclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les espérances qu'ils doivent conçevoir. Si la comité veut faire une relation des actes de tyrannie exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouvernement Anglais, on l'inserera dans *Le Moniteur*."

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

French army should be only on the footing of auxiliaries, like that of Rochambeau in America. It is a sufficient answer to those constant accusations made in England, that Irish revolutionists sought to throw their country under the dominion of France. And it must be said, once for all, in the negotiations and projects for French aid, whether with Tone, Lewis, or Emmet, there was no reason to doubt that the single object of the successive French Governments was to aid Ireland, in good faith, to win a real independence—not, perhaps, so much from a love and sympathy for Ireland, as from a desire to weaken England, whose intrigues and subsidies were stirring up the whole continent to effect the ruin of France.

Yet, after all, those enthusiastic Irishmen of the Legion, were not destined to see Ireland. Other urgent necessities arose; and most of the fleet at Brest was withdrawn for different destinations. It was the greatest mistake that Buonaparte ever made, and the noblest opportunity lost. The Legion was ordered to the Rhine, and from thence to Holland where they had at least the satisfaction of meeting their enemies at Walcheren, and aiding in the destruction of that imposing armament of England. Thomas Addis Emmet, despairing of effecting anything through French agency, emigrated at last to America, where he took the first rank at the bar of New York, and lived long honored and beloved.

Meanwhile, the imbecile administration of Mr. Addington came to an end. Mr. Pitt had put him into office to serve a temporary purpose, and was now ready to resume the reins himself. It has already been stated, by anticipation, that on returning to power, this treacherous Minister made no condition in favor of Catholic relief, which is in itself a sufficient proof that his former resignation, ostensibly on that question, had been made on a false pretext. In the new administration (gazetted May 14, 1804,) he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. The Secretary of War was Lord Camden—a name associated in Ireland with torture and "free-quarters." The President of the Board of Control, was Lord Castlereagh. No Government more hostile to Ireland ever ruled in the Three Kingdoms. The King's mental malady had grown more alarming about the time of Mr. Pitt's return; and his advisers could by no means think of troubling the conscience of the invalid by any suggestion tending to emancipation of Catholics, and "breach of his Coronation oath."

Ireland had now had more than three years' experience of Legislative Union; and already began to experience the wasting and draining effects of that odious and fatal transaction. Trade was declining, debt and taxes increasing; but the debt much faster than the produce of the taxes. The absenteeism of proprietors, as had been expected, and indeed intended, occasioned year by year a greater and greater depletion of wealth. The fine country-seats of wealthy proprietors were generally deserted, and their estates were managed by agents. Dublin, which in the eighteen years of independence (even such partial independence as it was) had grown to the rank of a fine metropolitan city, had been adorned by many sumptuous palaces of a resident nobility, and enriched by the expenditure of a luxurious society, was now sunk into a provincial town. The centre of political interest, of intellectual activity and of fashionable life, had been transferred to London. The fine mansions of Irish Peers and wealthy Commoners, after laying long vacant, were gradually turned to other uses.* It is true that Ireland might well afford to do without those great Peers and feudal proprietors, as France has done; but the difference is, that in Ireland's case, they still draw away in rent, the produce of the land; they are sponges, which are filled in Ireland to be squeezed in England; they are clouds, formed by sucking up all the juices of our island, and which then float off, "to rain down in London or dissipate at Cheltenham." Thus it was found, very soon after Union, that the exports of Ireland greatly increased; but they were exports of corn, cattle, and raw material for manufactures, to pay the absentee rent; while our imports were chiefly of manufactured articles and colonial produce, from England—England

* The Duke of Leinster's palace, accomodates a museum of Natural History; Powerscourt House is a warehouse of linen drapers. The mansion of the Earls of Tyrone is a school house; Belvedere House is a convent; Aldborough House is a barrack. &c.

thus deriving the profit both from our exports and from our imports. Then there was the enormous cost of the war in Europe, to put down French principles, to which expense Ireland was made to contribute in a much greater ratio than England. Mr. Foster, in a speech in Parliament, on the Irish budget, immediately after Pitt's return to office, said he lamented to find the predictions, which he had ventured to urge on the probable state of Ireland, during the discussions upon the Union, but too forcibly verified by the then deplorable state of her finances, as compared with her public debt and expenditure. Within the last ten years, the public debt of Ireland had made an alarming progress. It stood in 1793, at £2,400,000, in 1800, at £25,400,000. On January 5, 1804, at £43,000,000, and in that year there had then added to it no less a sum than £9,500,000. This formed a quota far exceeding the *ratio* established by the Union compact to be paid by Ireland. This ruinous race, in which Ireland was so far exceeding her means by her expenditure, would shortly equalize her debt in proportion to that of England, and entitle England to call for a Parliamentary decision, and consolidation of accounts and equalization of taxes. He then stated to the House the corresponding produce of the Irish revenue. In the year 1800, which immediately preceded the Union, the net produce of the revenue was £2,800,000, when she owed £25,000,000, in the last year it was only £2,789,000, whilst the debt amounted to £53,000,000. There was every reason to believe, that for the running year, the produce of the Irish revenue would not yield one shilling towards Ireland's quota in the common expenditure of the empire. Such was the situation of Ireland in the summer of 1804, as depicted by Mr. Foster, with an enormous and growing increase of debt, a rapid falling off of revenue, and a decay in commerce and manufactures.

It may, of course, be alleged, that as the Act of Union places, or purports to place, the two countries on a footing of perfect equality and reciprocity, in respect to trade and commerce, there has been nothing to prevent Ireland, if its inhabitants had energy and enterprize, like Englishmen, to manufacture for themselves and so keep at home a great portion of the wealth which is annually drained from them. The fallacy of this suggestion is now well understood; it is true the laws regulating trade are the same in the two islands; Ireland *may* export even woollen cloth to England; she *may* import, in her own ships, tea from China, and sugar from Barbadoes; the laws which made those acts penal offences no longer exist, they are no longer needed; England is fully in possession; and by the operation of those old laws Ireland was utterly ruined. England has the commercial marine—Ireland has it to create. England has the manufacturing machinery and skill, of which Ireland was deprived, by express laws for that purpose. England has the current of trade established, setting strongly in her own channel; while Ireland is left dry. To create or recover at this day these great industrial and commercial resources, and that in the face of wealthy rivals already in full possession, is manifestly impossible, without one or other of these two conditions—either immense command of capital, or effectual protective duties. But by the Union our capital is drained away to England; and by the Union we are deprived of the power of imposing protective duties. It was to this very end that the Union was forced upon Ireland, through "intolerance of Irish prosperity." "Do not unite with us, sir," said Samuel Johnson; "*we shall rob you.*"

It was in the year 1803, that the British Government bethought itself of making the Presbyterians of Ulster more "loyal," and weaning them the better from "French principles," by largely increasing the scanty means of the Dissenting clergy. The Ministers had been previously aided, in a very grudging and shabby manner, by a sort of bribe, the *Regium Donum*, or royal gift, first granted in 1672, by Charles II, who gave £600 of "Secret Service money" to be distributed in equal portions among them annually. The grant was discontinued towards the close of his reign, and during that of James II, but was renewed by William III, who augmented it to £1,200 a year. In 1784, the amount was increased to £2,200; in 1792, to £5,000. Still this was a most paltry pittance for so large a body of clergy-

men, and rather degraded than enriched those who received it; while the Anglican Church, with a smaller proportion of the population, was so munificently endowed with lands and tithes.

The Government took alarm on finding that the Presbyterians of Ulster, both clergy and laity, had been generally Republicans and United Irishmen in 1798. Overtures were soon after made to them through their most influential pastors, especially Doctor Black, of Londonderry, giving them a prospect of great increase to their grant, if they would not oppose the Union. This Doctor Black had been a delegate to the Dungannon Convention, in 1772, and had appeared amongst the other delegates in his uniform, as a volunteer officer.

These overtures had the desired success; and, therefore, in 1803, the *Regium Donum* was quintupled. The total yearly grant to non-conforming Ministers in Ireland amounted, in 1852, to £38,561. (*Thom's Official Directory.*)

Doctor Black had a good place; he was agent and distributor of this disgraceful *Donum*, and some years afterwards he very naturally, (like Castlereagh,) committed suicide, by throwing himself off the bridge of Derry into the River Foyle.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1804—1805.

Mr. Pitt in Office—Royal Speech—No Mention of Ireland—Alarm about Invasion—Martello Towers—Reliance of the Irish Catholics on Mr. Pitt—Treatment of the Prisoners—Mr. James Tandy—Mr. Pitt Raises a Storm against the Catholics—Catholic Meeting in Dublin—*Habeas Corpus* Act again Suspended—Ireland "Loyal"—Duplicity of Lord Hardwicke—Catholic Deputies go to Mr. Pitt—A "Sincere Friend"—Mr. Pitt Refuses to Present Catholic Petition—Declares he will Resist Emancipation—Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox Present it—Debate in the Lords—In the Commons—Speeches of Fox, Doctor Duigenan, Grattan—Perceval, Pitt, Sir John Newport—Emancipation Refused, both by Lords and Commons—Great Majorities.

When Mr. Pitt returned to office in 1804, he did not find himself so omnipotent in the country, as he had been during his former administration, or even during that of his *locum-tenens*. Although Mr. Addington had affected not to control the late elections by any treasury influence, he now exerted his personal influence upon all the members, who owed their seats to his patronage or favor, to join him in opposing Mr. Pitt. Though he could brook the injury of being displaced, in order to readmit Mr. Pitt to power, he could neither forgive nor forget the insult of being expelled for incapacity and weakness. Mr. Pitt expected to regain more of his lost power by negotiation during the recess, than by his oratory in the Senate; but was reluctantly constrained to prolong the session to the 31st of July. Under the combination of great external and internal difficulties, it became an object of peculiar anxiety with the Minister to give the nation some open and unequivocal proof of the complete recovery of His Majesty's health. When the King went to prorogue the Parliament, the House of Peers was attended by an unusual crowd, and particularly by the few foreign Ministers then resident in London. In no part of the speech was there even an indirect reference to Ireland.

Ireland, indeed, was completely removed into the back-ground by the Union; and while the Government felt it had her safe under the cöercion of a great army, and the exhaustion and terrorism, which now formed the single British policy for that island. Ministers evidently thought the less said about Ireland the better.

The apparent alarm about invasion was carefully kept up during the whole summer. The Government prints sedulously warned the public against the machinations of the French party, which then prevailed throughout the country. Upon this assumption they inveighed against French tyranny and injustice, and decried the loyalty of the native Irish. Thus they justified the expense of their public measures of defence, and affected to sanction the necessity of internal cöercion. The encampment of fifteen thousand men near the Curragh of Kildare, consisted of regular militia, artillery, British horse artillery, and a vast commissariat and driver's corps. Everything bore the appearance of active service. The Martello Towers and other defensive works on the coast, were forwarded with unusual energy. Many additional persons were taken into custody under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the

rigorous treatment of the state prisoners, who had been for several months in confinement, was sharpened without any visible or known cause.*

The Catholics, whom Pitt had insidiously deluded by prospects of emancipation, were now so simple as to anticipate on his return to place, some efficient steps for carrying that object, for which he professed to have abandoned his official situation. They now publicly rejoiced *in the benefit of having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of Catholic privileges being obtained.*" Frequent Catholic meetings were holden in Dublin, in which the general sense of the body to petition Parliament for their total emancipation, was unanimously resolved. Mr. Pitt dreaded nothing so much, as to have the sincerity of his pledges brought under discussion. As Lord Fingal from his rank in life, and more from the amiable qualities of his mind, was known to possess the confidence of many of his Catholic countrymen, Sir Evan Nepean was directed to attempt through his lordship every means to hold back the petition. He was invited to dinner, frequently closeted at the Castle, and more sedulously courted, than on any former occasion. However, his lordship may have been personally disposed to hold back, few or none of the body could be induced to postpone their petition.

In proportion to the failure of the Minister's Continental plans, did the Catholic body of Ireland feel their own weight in the Imperial scale. The aggrandizement of Napoleon had been the unvarying result of Mr. Pitt's vehement exertions to crush him. He was quietly and solemnly crowned Emperor of the French at Paris by Pope Pius the VII; a circumstance, which Mr. Pitt with his usual craft attempted to convert into an engine of obloquy on the Catholic body, and an opportune and plausible objection to their petition, which in spite of his secret manœuvres, through Sir Evan Nepean, he now forsaw would be brought forward. The Government papers industriously published, and severely commented upon a memorial, said to have been written by MacNeven at Paris, addressed to the Irish officers of the several Continental Powers, particularly to those in the Austrian service, encouraging them to join in the then intended attempts to liberate Ireland from the thraldom of England; and promising to give them timely notice of the sailing of the expedition.

These Ministerial journals vied also with one another in republishing and commenting on the Papal allocution, addressed by His Holiness to a secret consistory at Rome, on October 28, 1804, immediately before his departure for Paris to perform the ceremony of the Imperial coronation. It referred to the gratitude due to Napoleon for having re-established the Catholic religion in France by the *concordat;* since which he had put forth all his authority to cause it to be freely professed and publicly exercised throughout that renowned nation, and had again recently shown himself most anxious for the prosperity of that religion. It also contained confident assurance that a personal interview with the Emperor, would be for the good of the Catholic Church, which *is the only ark of salvation.*

Here was a dreadful thing! they ex

* Mr. James Tandy, and thirteen other of the principal state prisoners of the first class, as they were stiled at the Castle, petitioned the Lord-Lieutenant July 11, 1804; and after having specified many of the acts of barbarous cruelty inflicted upon them, as sworn to in the King's Bench, they concluded in these words: In short we experience a treatment rather calculated for untamed beasts, than men. They assured his excellency, that to the pressing and repeated remonstrances, which they had presented to Doctor Trevor, (the inspector of the prisons,) against the harshness of their treatment, they had received a formal answer; that it had not only the sanction, but its origin in the express directions of Lord Hardwicke's government. The first petition having not been attended to, was followed by a second on August 12th, which again complained, that Doctor Trevor executed his office in a manner at once mean and malicious: and pleaded orders from Government for their rigorous treatment. They complained, that they were so reduced by their sufferings (not merited by them, nor necessary for safe custody,) that their lives were become of no value and literally a burden to them, and that there was not one of the petitioners, who from many concurring circumstances, could not on oath declare a firm belief of an intention to deprive them of life by underhand means.

These appeals recived not the smallest attention, and great numbers of the prisoners, without a charge against them, were kept in various prisons for years. Mr. J. Tandy, indeed, was liberated before the end of the year; having first promised not to flog Mr. Secretary Marsden, as he says he had threatened to do.

claimed; as if all the world had not known before that Catholics believed their Church to be the only ark of salvation Editors, preachers, and pamphleteers, shrieked out in all the tones of alarm and horror, that this meant burning heretics. Here was extreme danger, they insisted, to a "Protestant state;"—in this ominous reconciliation of the Emperor with the Church; as it would give him greater influence in Ireland when he should land there to overthrow Church and State, throne and altar. These topics were enlarged on with so much apparent sincerity of terror, that an enlightened public really began to fancy the dungeons of the Inquisition were already yawning before them. Those scribes, indeed, did not mention the fact, that along with the Catholic Church, the Emperor had also rëestablished the Protestant Church in France. They forgot to state, that in France, the Protestants had long been *emancipated;* and stood, then and thenceforth, on a footing of perfect equality with their Catholic neighbors.

The Irish Catholics did not yet know the meaning of this new outbreak of foaming rage against them and their religion; and at any rate thought Mr. Pitt must be above all the storm of stupid malice which they saw raging; as, in fact, he was, but he was not above exciting it and directing it to his own ends.

The leading part of the Irish Catholics, most of whom had supported the Union in plenary confidence of the professions made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis that emancipation would immediately follow it, held frequent meetings in Dublin, in order to concert the most efficient means of rendering available Mr. Pitt's disposition to favor their cause, which they fondly assumed had returned with him into power. The general precipitancy of the body to bring the Ministerial sincerity to the test, was with difficulty repressed by those, who were considered to be most directly under the influence of the Castle. An adjournment was carried from December 31st to February 16th.

Parliament met again January 15, 1805; and again His Majesty's speech contained not one word in reference to Ireland. It mentioned the prompt and decisive steps which he had been obliged to take in order to guard against the effects of hostility from Spain.* The speech also denounced the "violence and outrage" of the French Government, and spoke vaguely of the European coalition against France which Mr. Pitt was engaged in negotiating.

Several interesting debates passed in the Commons upon Sir Evan Nepean's motion for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland, which he proposed to extend to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament. He and Mr. Pitt urged as the grounds for that harsh measure, that there were then at Paris committees of United Irishmen, who communicated with traitors in Ireland upon the most efficient means of effecting the invasion of that country; and when the House considered the *humane and just character of Lord Hardwicke*, they would with plenitude of confidence deposit that extraordinary power in his hands. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, warmly replied, that the character of the Lord-Lieutenant was immaterial. The Constitution taught him to be jealous of granting extraordinary powers to any man; and if there were a possibility of their being abused, the mild character of the man, in whom they were to be vested was the worst of arguments. If the powers were not necessary, they ought not to be granted; and if necessary, and the Lord-Lieutenant were not fit to be entrusted with them, he ought to be removed. Mr. Fox added that it was universally admitted that Ireland was at that moment as tranquil as any county in England; why not as well, then, propose to suspend the Constitution in England? But the bill passed—out of two hundred and thirteen members, only fifty-four voted against it.

A respectable Catholic writer† speaking of this debate says, "Ireland in the meantime was loyal and tranquil, in spite of the aspersions and calumnies of the hired writers, and the unsupported charges of some of the Ministerialists in Parliament." Now Ire-

* This meant the sudden attack upon a Spanish fleet in harbor, previous to a declaration of war; one of those feats of arms (like the seizure of the Danish fleet under similar circumstances,) by which Great Britain at length was enabled to boast that she "ruled the seas."

† Plowden's Post-Union History.

land was, indeed, "tranquil" at that moment, but not "loyal," if loyalty means attachment to the King of England. Irish Catholics of that day who could be loyal, must have been something more, or a good deal less, than men. Tranquil they were; but had never been better disposed to rise around the standards of a French army; and, indeed, the English Government knew then, as they know now, that tranquillity is a bad omen for loyalty; and that the Irish people are never so eager to shake off the British yoke, as when sheriffs present judges with white gloves.

On the 16th of February, pursuant to adjournment, a numerous meeting of Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, was held in Dublin, at which they unanimously entered into the following resolutions: *First.* That the Earl of Fingal, the Honorable Sir Thomas (now Lord) French, Sir Edward Bellew, Counselor Denys Scully, and Mr. Ryan, should be appointed as a deputation, to carry into effect the under-mentioned instructions; and that the other Roman Catholic Peers,—(of whom Lords Gormanstown and Southwell were then present,) should be requested to accede to the deputation. *Second.* That the petition prepared by the Catholic committee, and reported by Lord Fingal to that meeting, should be then signed by Lord Fingal and the other Catholic gentlemen, and that the above-mentioned deputies should present it to Mr. Pitt, with a request, that he would bring it into Parliament.

Now was seen the excessive duplicity of Lord Hardwicke. He had been selected from the mass of peerage, as the best qualified to resist the emancipation of Ireland, under the insidious mission of reconciling her to thraldom. The ordinary manœuvres of the Castle upon Lord Fingal, and other leading men of the Catholic body, to induce them to hold back their petition had failed. His lordship could not consistently with his duty to his employers back, countenance, or recommend their petition, however just the claims, however worthy the claimants. But now, under the British Minister's assurance of a decided majority against the question, the Irish Viceroy affected to favor the Catholics' application by discountenancing counter-petitions, as encroaching upon the freedom of Parliamentary debate. He even did one act, which was intended as a proof of his sincerity: he dismissed the notorious Mr. John Giffard from a lucrative post for having proposed and carried, in the Dublin corporation, some violent resolutions *against* Catholic Emancipation He thought the sacrifice of one man was a trifle; and so punished Giffard for opposing a measure which he himself was doubly pledged to resist.

The Catholic Deputies proceeded to London, and had their conference with Mr. Pitt, on the 12th of March. Eight deputies attended the conference, viz., the Earl of Shrewsbury, (Waterford and Wexford in Ireland,) Earl of Fingal, Viscount Gormanstown, Lord Southwell, Lord Trimblestown, Sir Edward Bellew, Counselor Denys Scully, and Mr. Ryan. They told Mr. Pitt they regarded him as their "sincere friend;" that they hoped everything from his liberality and justice, and so urged him to present their petition to Parliament.

Mr. Pitt declared "that the confidence of so very respectable a body as the Catholics of Ireland was highly gratifying to him;" but he added that the time had not come; there were obstacles; that, in short, he would not present their petition at all. After many arguments and much urgency, they at last entreated him only to lay it on the table of the House of Commons, they would authorize him to state to the House, that *they did not press the immediate adoption of the measure prayed for.*

Mr. Plowden, who had the best means of knowing what passed at this conference, says, with asperity, that Mr. Pitt "drily repeated his negative;" and then adds: "He neither threw out a suggestion for their applying to any other channel, nor gave any ground for presuming, that the introduction of the petition through any Ministerial member would be likely to soften his opposition. For he very explicitly declared, that *he should feel it his duty to resist it.* The only advice he condescended to offer, was to withdraw their petition altogether, or at all events to postpone it." *

* Mr Pitt might on this occasion have candidly acknowledged what Lord Hawkesbury publicly and officially declared in the House of Lords, March 26,

The "leading Catholics" found themselves now completely in the position of dupes; and they richly deserved it, for having assented to the destruction of their country's national independence, seduced by the professions of an English Minister. At all events, the time was not yet come; nor the man. But a more vigorous race of Catholics was growing up; and in especial one bold, blue-eyed young man, who was then carrying his bag in the hall of the Four Courts—destined one day to hold the great leading brief in the mighty cause of six millions of his countrymen. O'Connell was not yet a leading Catholic; but was fast becoming well known in his own profession; and an Orange judge, in a party case, preferred to see any other advocate pleading before him.

The Catholic Delegates next applied to Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, who agreed to present the petition—one in the Lords, the other in the Commons. This was done on the 25th of March. When Lord Grenville moved in the House of Lords, that it should lie on the table, Lord Auckland rose with precipitancy, and observed with some warmth, that as far as his ears could catch the tenor of it, it went to overthrow the whole system of Church and State; and if the prayer of it were to be granted, he should soon see a Protestant Church without a Protestant congregation, and a Protestant King with a Popish Legislature. He expressed great anxiety, that the question should be calmly and fully discussed, summoned the Reverend Bench to arm themselves for the combat, &c. The venerable Lord Eldon, objected even to the formal motion, that the petition should be printed. After Mr. Fox presented it in the House of Commons, the matter stood over for early days in May, in both Houses of Parliament. Petitions against it were presented from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from the cities of London and Dublin, the County Fermanagh, and other corporations and public bodies.

1807, in debating the grounds of the Grenville administration's retiring from office; that, although Mr. Pitt had in 1801 gone out of office on that question, yet on his return *he voluntarily engaged, that he never would again bring the subject under the consideration of His Majesty.*

Lord Fitzwilliam, who was still a friend to the Catholics, and well remembered how Mr. Pitt had cheated *him* also upon that question, conceived the idea of bringing Mr. Grattan into the debate; and, accordingly, induced the Honorable C. L. Dundas to vacate his seat for the borough of Malton, and Mr. Grattan was returned for it.

On the appointed day, the discussion in the Lords arose, on motion to commit the bill. After some other Peers had been heard, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, (an Orangeman,) gave his decided opposition to the motion before the House, and urged every resistance in his power to a "measure subversive of all the principles which placed the House of Brunswick upon the throne of these realms."

Lord Camden found full reason for opposing the motion in the grounds upon which the Irish Parliament had negatived the question, whilst he had the honor of being placed at the head of the Irish Government.

The Bishop of Durham, the wealthiest prelate in Europe, and who naturally valued that Constitution in Church and State which had made him so, urged that the motion could not be acceded to without danger to the Church and State. It would be a direct surrender of the security of the best constitution in the world.

Lord Redesdale made a very violent speech against the motion. He said, "to pass such a measure would be to take the titles and lands from the Protestant hierarchy, and give them to the Catholic Bishops." He said, further, "If the Catholic hierarchy were abolished, something might be done to conciliate the Catholic body; and to the generality of that body, he was confident, the abolition of the hierarchy would be extremely grateful."

Lord Carleton, an Irish judge, ran over all the usual Protestant phrases, about the faithlessness and cruelty of Catholics. He laid much stress upon certain "maps of the forfeited estates," which, he said, had been prepared, in order to guide the proceedings of *resumption.** Lord Carleton added a

* His lordship thus described a map of Ireland, prepared by the antiquary, Mr. Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, showing the situation of the tribe-lands of the ancient clans before the reign of Elizabeth.

singular legal opinion : "That the spiritual supremacy of the Church was by the law of this country vested in the Crown ; and surely it was a piece of the highest contumacy in a sect of His Majesty's subjects to deny that supremacy, and to vest the control in a foreign potentate."

Lord Buckinghamshire, like all other opposers of the motion, spoke much of his own disposition to liberality and conciliation ; denied that any such pledge for emancipation, as had been alluded to, was or could have been given, and deemed it most inflammatory to allege, that the Catholics would be sore or irritated at the refusal of the prayer of the petition.

After an astonishing mass of benighted spite and bigotry had been vented all night, at six in the morning a division was had. The motion to commit was rejected by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine ; and so ended Emancipation in the Lords for that time.

In the Commons, Mr. Fox introduced the same subject in a long and able speech. He gave a history of the Penal Code, and of its successive relaxations ; pointed out how useless and, at the same time, how irritating were the remaining links in the chain, which it was then proposed to strike off ; proved that the Catholics had received assurances, on the part of Mr. Pitt, which induced them, as a body, to remain passive at the time of the Union ; and that now those pledges ought to be redeemed. Mr. Fox concluded an excellent address, by saying : "He relied on the affection and loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland ; but he would not press them too far ; he would not draw the cord too tight. It was surely too much to expect, that they would always fight for a constitution, in the benefits of which they were assured, they never should participate equally with their fellow-subjects. Whatever was to be the fate of the petition, he rejoiced at having had an opportunity of bringing it under their consideration, and moved to refer it to a committee of the whole House."

The famous Doctor Duigenan had the courage to reply to Mr. Fox ; although he saw Grattan opposite, who already threatened him with his eye. He opposed the motion in a long speech, which lasted above three hours ; the general spirit and substance of which was to prove, that by the ancient councils of the Catholic Church, and her invariable doctrine, no Catholic could take an oath, from the obligations of which he could not at the will of the priest be released ; that the Catholics maintained no faith was to be kept with heretics, and such they considered every denomination of Christians but themselves ; and that it was impossible for a Catholic to be truly loyal to a Protestant King. He contended that the ninety-one persons who had signed the Catholic petition, did not by any means represent the body of the Irish Catholics ; he assumed, that none of the clergy had signed, because they still maintained the obnoxious doctrines which the best informed of the laity wished to renounce.

He contended that the oath of supremacy (swearing that the King is head of the Church,) was a mere *simple oath of allegiance*, and that it imported neither exclusion nor restriction to any but traitors. He commented largely upon the oath of canonical obedience to the Pope taken by the Catholic Bishops ; inveighed fiercely against Doctor Hussey, the late Catholic Bishop of Waterford, for forbidding his flock to send their children to Protestant schools for education, and he drew the conclusion from Doctor Hussey's remark—that the loss or abandonment of his religion by the Catholic soldier might be felt in the day of battle, that *in plain English, the Romish soldier might then turn upon and assassinate his officer or desert to the enemy.* This measure would let in an universal deluge of atheism, infidelity, and anarchy. It would admit the Pope's supremacy over the Church of these realms ; it would violate the conditions of both Unions, with Scotland and with Ireland ; and to tender to His Majesty a bill of that import for his royal signature, would be to insult him, by supposing him capable of violating his Coronation oath.

Mr. Grattan rose, and his rising was greeted with breathless attention. He had never appeared in that House before ; and his fame as a noble orator, and incorruptible patriot, impressed the English legislators more than they would have liked to own to themselves.

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Mr. Grattan said he rose to defend the Catholics from Doctor Duigenan's attack, and the Protestants from his defence. The question for their consideration, was not, as the learned member had stated, whether they should now qualify or still keep disqualified some few Roman Catholic gentlemen for seats in Parliament, or certain officers in the state; but whether, they would impart to a fifth portion of the population of their European empire a community in that, which was their vital principle and strength, and thus confirm the integrity, and augment the power of the empire. That learned member had emphatically said, that the people of Ireland to be good Catholics must be bad subjects; that the Irish Catholic is not, never was, and never can be, a faithful subject to a Protestant English King. Thus has he pronounced against his countrymen three curses—eternal war with each other; eternal war with England; eternal peace with France. He fully answered the doctrinal parts of Doctor Duigenan's speech, and concluded, that as the Catholic religion was professed by above two-thirds of all Christendom, it would follow, that Christianity was in general a curse; but of his own countrymen he had added, that they were depraved by religion, and rendered perverse by nativity; that is to say, according to him, blasted by their Creator, and damned by their Redeemer. Mr. Grattan closed an animated detail of the evils of the proscriptive system with observing, that if they wished to strip rebellion of its hopes, and France of her expectations, they should reform their policy; they would gain a conquest over their enemies when they had gained a victory over themselves.

The Speaker entered into long detail, of all the dealings of the Irish Government with the Catholics on this question; but it would be in vain with our limits to attempt even a full abstract of this remarkable speech. When the Parliament of Ireland (he said) rejected the Catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies uttered against the Catholic body, on that day she voted the Union; and should they adopt a similar conduct, on that day they would vote the separation. He was surprised to see them running about like grown-up children in search of old prejudices, preferring to buy foreign allies by subsidies, rather than to subsidize fellow-subjects by privileges. He figured them then drawn up, sixteen against thirty-six millions, and paralyzing one-fifth of their own numbers, by excluding them from some of the principal benefits of their constitution, at the very time they said, all their numbers were inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges. Such a system could not last; if the two islands renounced all national prejudices, they would form a strong empire in the west to check, and ultimately to confound the ambition of the enemy.

Mr. Perceval, a pious man, and one of the first of the race of "saints," (he was then Attorney-General,) opposed the motion, for the sort of reasons, and in the precise style of some conventicle preacher. "But," he said, "he remarked the indisposition of the House to listen to him; which he was not surprised at; for he was conscious that, after the blaze of Mr. Grattan's eloquence, everything that fell from him must appear vapid and uninteresting. Had he been in the Irish Parliament, he never would have consented to grant the elective franchise, nor the establishment of Maynooth for educating the Catholic."

Mr. Perceval knew that he could safely pay a tribute to Mr. Grattan's eloquence, and disparage himself with all the humility of a "saint." He felt that the grand cause of Ascendancy was safe in that House, and that though Grattan spoke with the tongue of men and angels, he could not prevent or reverse the inevitable decision.

The motion was supported by some liberal Englishmen, (for there is always a small minority of liberal Englishmen,) and warmly advocated by George Ponsonby; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, arose. His speech was highly characteristic. He said:—

"He was favorably disposed to the *general principle* of the question, but differing in many points from those who had introduced or supported the motion, he thought fit to observe, that he had never considered the question, as involving any claim of right. *Right* was totally independent of circumstances; *expediency* included the considera

tion of circumstances, and was wholly dependent upon them. Upon the principle of expediency he felt that, entertaining as he did, a wish for the repeal of the whole penal code, and a regret that it had not been abolished, he felt, that in no possible case before the Union, could those privileges have been granted to the Catholics with safety to the existing Protestant establishment in Church and State. After that measure, he saw the matter in a different light; though certainly no pledge was ever given to the Catholics that their claims should be granted; [nobody had ever said such a pledge had been given; the pledge *he* had given was, that he, Mr. Pitt, would support the measure, and would never hold office without making it a Ministerial question.] But he said there were *irresistible obstacles* [which he had taken care to raise up,] and should the question not be carried, and he saw no probability that it would, the only effect of agitating it would be to excite hopes that would never be gratified, and to give rise to expectations which were sure to terminate in disappointment."

He next took another line of argument. They were anxious to conciliate the Catholics; but let them not, in so doing, irritate a much larger portion of their fellow-subjects. Whilst they drew together the bonds which united one class of the population, let them not give offence to another part of it, whose loyalty and attachment [to their own interests] had long been undoubted. He should disguise the truth, if he did not say the prevailing opinion against the petition was strong and rooted. He should, therefore, act contrary to all sense of his duty, and inconsistently with the original line he had marked for his conduct, were he to countenance that petition in any shape, or to withhold giving his negative to the proposition for going into the committee."

Sir John Newport, of Waterford, rose with the special object of rebutting the assertions contained in the petition from the ignorant Orange Corporation of Dublin. The corporators had asserted, (in utter ignorance,) that the Irish Catholics were placed on a footing of political power, not enjoyed by any other dissenters from an established Church in Europe. Sir John Newport said he would give one instance to the contrary—he might have given many:—

"The States of Hungary," he said, "resembled our Constitution more closely than any other Continental establishment. They formed a population of above seven millions, and had for centuries suffered all the evils of being divided by religion, distracted by the difference of their tenets, and restrictions on account of them. At length, in 1791, at the most violent crisis of disturbance, a Diet was convened, at which a decree was passed, by which full freedom of religious faith, worship, and education, was secured to every sect, without exception. The tests and oaths were rendered unobjectionable to any native Hungarian, be his religion what it would; and then came the clause which gave them precisely what these petitioners have in contemplation. That 'the public offices and honors, whether high or low, great or small, should be given to natural-born Hungarians, who had deserved well of their country, and possessed the other requisite qualifications, *without any respect* to their religion.' The Diet consisted of nearly four hundred members, with a splendid civil establishment for the Roman Catholic religion. The measure was adopted in a most critical moment, and it had successfully passed an ordeal of fourteen revolutionary years, equal, in fact, to the trial of a century less disturbed and agitated."

Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald supported the motion, and solemnly declared, that when he voted for Union in the Irish Parliament, it was in view and contemplation of that measure, for no man could deny, that the impression then made on the Catholic mind was, that Ministers, as well as opposition, were in favor of their claims. They expected, of course, that much more attention would be paid to them now.

Colonel Archdall (a North of Ireland Orangeman,) asserted, that the bulk of the Roman Catholics were not anxious about the result of the question; if the cause were a good one, it had been very ill-conducted; and he gave the motion his decided negative.

Sir John Cox Hippesley supported the motion to commit the bill; and in order, as he said, to obviate the objections of those

who apprehended the supremacy of the Pope over Irish Catholics, he suggested that the Catholic Church in Ireland, should be put upon the footing of the Gallican Church; in other words, that the Crown should have a *veto* upon the appointment of Bishops by the Pope. This was the first distinct mention of the *veto* in Parliament; a question which afterwards led to much grave dissension in Ireland.*

Honorable H. Augustus Dillon denied, that the question involved a party measure. It affected the safety of Ireland, and the vitality of the empire. The hearts of the Irish people had been alienated by martial law, and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and by other severities and oppressions. Were that measure allowed to pass, such expedients would cease to be necessary, and the mass of brave and grateful people would present a firm, an iron bulwark for the protection of the country against the designs of the enemy.

On the whole, it was apparent in this famous debate, that all the lofty intellect, and all the honest principles in the British Parliament were in favor of the measure of Catholic Emancipation. But that was a contemptible minority. The question, upon the motion of Mr. Fox, was negatived —ayes, 124; nays, 336; majority, 212.

So Catholic Emancipation was set at rest in both Houses of the British Parliament; and the "Protestant Interest," and the Constitution in Church and State, were saved, it was hoped, forever.

* But this was not the origin of the *veto*. It had been a favorite scheme of Mr. Pitt's since 1799. In that year, an insidious proposal had been made to give a state endowment to Catholic Bishops in Ireland, on certain conditions, amounting in principle to the *veto*. Mr. Plowden relates that the prelates did not then fully appreciate the object of this proposal; which was no less than to buy them up, and make them a species of ecclesiastical police. Plowden tells us:—

"It was admitted by a large number of the prelates, then convened in Dublin, that it ought to by thankfully accepted.

"They went a step further, and signed the following resolution: 'That in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion, to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference by the Government, as may enable it to be satisfied with the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.' And for the purpose of giving it effect, they further resolved, 'that after the usual canonical election, the president should transmit the name of the elected to Government, which in one month after such transmission, should return the name of the elected, (if unobjectionable,) that he might be confirmed by the Holy See. If he should be objected to by Government, the president on such communication, should, after the month, convene the electors, in order to choose some other candidate.' Mr. Pitt never lost sight of this insidious negotiation, into which he had seduced a certain number of the unsuspecting prelates. This was the foundation-stone of that deep-laid plan of Mr. Pitt and his associates, to seduce or force the Irish Catholics into the same state of schism from the Church of Rome, as that which took place in England in the reign of Henry VIII. This was the origin of that vital question of *veto*."

CHAPTER XLVII.

1804—1806.

Prosecution of Judge Fox—His Offence, Enforcing Law on Orangemen—Prosecution of Judge Johnson—His Offence, Censuring the Irish Government—Decline of Pitt's Power—Castlereagh Defeated in Down County—Successes of Buonaparte—Cry for Peace—Death of Mr. Pitt—Whig Ministry—Mr. Fox—His Opinion of the Union—First Whisper of "Repeal"—Release of State Prisoners—Dismissal of Lord Redesdale as Chancellor—Duke of Bedford Viceroy—The Catholics Cheated Again—Equivocation of the Viceroy—Ponsonby—Curran's Promotion—The Armagh Orangemen—Mr. Wilson the Magistrate.

Some very extraordinary proceedings took place in this and subsequent sessions of Parliament, with respect to two of the most irreproachable of the Irish judges—Mr. Justice Fox and Mr. Justice Johnson.

In the summer of 1803, Judge Fox had gone the Northwest Circuit, a region which was then predominated over by a few great Orange magnates, and magistrates who were their very humble servants, and the savage tyrants of the poor country people, who were principally Catholics. As senior judge it was Judge Fox's duty to charge the Grand Juries; and in Longford, at Enniskillen, and Lifford, he made them very paternal and loyal addresses; intended, as usual, for the whole of the people of those counties. Endeavoring to awaken them to a high sense of the dangers, which hovered over them from external and internal foes, he called upon the exertion of their best energies. He reminded them of the recent horrors of the 23d of July, and warned them of the dangers of the leaders of that rebellion still remaining at large.

He strongly commented on the nature and extent of that insurrection, and on the origin and motives of the persons engaged in it. He exhorted them to *union amongst themselves—to forget their religious animosities, by which the country had been so long weakened and divided,* and to join in presenting a dutiful and loyal address to the throne, praying His Majesty to strengthen the executive government of the country, &c.

Now, if Judge Fox had done nothing more than utter in the ears of an Orange Grand Jury the words above printed in italics, he could never have been forgiven. But he did worse. When he came to Enniskillen, and proceeded as his duty was to deliver the jail there, the names of two prisoners were returned to him by the jailer, who had been committed by the Earl of Enniskillen, as a magistrate; but without any offence being charged against them. Their names were Breslin and Maguire. The committals were called for and produced—they specified no offence; but in one of them was an order to keep poor Breslin in solitary confinement. The judge, thereupon, ordered the prisoners to be brought to the bar, in order to inquire of them, the facts alleged against them. The jailer then informed the judge, that those two prisoners were taken out of his custody on the 18th of August, (that is during the assizes,) by a military guard sent for the purpose.* The judge felt this to be a high indignity offered to His Majesty's commission; and inquired, if Lord Enniskillen were in town. On learning that he was at his country seat, (Florence Court,) he desired a friend of his lordship's to go over to him with full instructions to relate the whole faithfully, make his compliments, and entreat his lordship's attendance in court on the next day, which was the last day of the assizes. The judge having waited in court to as late an hour as he could, for the appearance of Lord Enniskillen; and having repeatedly inquired for him, he found it his duty upon his lordship's non-appearance to fine him in each of those cases £100—£200 in all. But the audacity of the judge in looking into the doings of Orange magistrates did not stop here. In the same county, Fermanagh, Mr. Stewart was fined £50 for committing one Neale Ford to the jail of Enniskillen without any charge on oath having been made against him, and releasing him on the eve of the assizes without taking bail for his appearance. Mr. Pallas was fined £20 as well as Mr. Webster for releasing without bail a prisoner charged with *a capital offence.* But the prisoner was of the religion of Mr. Pallas.

When the judge came to Lifford, in Donegal, amongst the presentments tendered by the Grand Jury to the judge for his *fiat* was one for a very large sum to be levied upon occupiers of land, under pretence of repaying Government for money advanced to pay bounties to three hundred and fifty men, the quota of that county under the "Army of Reserve act." But not one man of that force had been recruited although it was the duty of the Marquis of Abercorn, as governor of the county, to have caused that recruiting to be effected. The presentment of the Grand Jury then was a fraud upon the public. Judge Johnson refused to put his *fiat* on it, and publicly censured Lord Abercorn for neglect of duty—Lord Abercorn, the great patron and favorite of the Orange Society of that region. Such a judge as this, it was evident, was somehow to be got rid of.

Many months after the occurrences abovementioned, the Marquis of Abercorn, in a most malignant and vindictive speech in the House of Lords, brought the conduct of Judge Fox before their lordships. He said, "that he had grave and serious matters of complaint to bring before their lordships against one of His Majesty's judges, in which the administration of justice was deeply concerned."

There ensued one of the most extraordinary state prosecutions ever seen in any country—the House of Lords which had no original jurisdiction, undertaking to make itself a court to try a judge on a criminal charge. The distinct charges were numer

* Maguire never was heard of more. Breslin was hurried off by soldiers to a military prison, where he was kept a long time; then tried by court-martial on the charge of trying to seduce a soldier to desert, convicted, and sentenced to be hung. He cut his throat to avoid the execution of the sentence, but the wound was not mortal; and he was hung near Enniskillen, with the rope forced into the bleeding gash.

ous, including many cases of "unjust fines," "excessive" fines, partiality, seeking to bring Lord Abercorn into contempt, casting censure on Lord Enniskillen, impeding the course of justice, and the like; and the Protestant interest of the North of Ireland was filled with anxiety for the result. Lord Abercorn pressed these prosecutions with wonderful virulence; Lord Hardwicke and the Irish Government aided it.* The public purse was opened to pay for it. A great mass of evidence, (all *ex-parte,*) was produced. The proceedings lasted three years; and the excellent judge was ruined in health and fortune. At last, on motion of Lord Grenville, the House of Lords voted, by a small majority, that the proceedings *should be quashed.* The cost to the public in the prosecution of this case amounted to £30,000.

On the division in the House of Lords, the old Lord Thurlow voted for getting rid of the whole matter, as unconstitutional and vexatious. He said it was a proceeding "to gratify the malignant resentments of individuals who fancied themselves insulted and exposed by any instance of virtuous independence upon the Bench."

Lord Eldon voted for continuing the prosecution to the end; and the Duke of Cumberland, (Queen Victoria's uncle,) an Orangeman, and special friend of Lord Abercorn, strongly opposed Lord Grenville's motion. "He trusted," he said, "and *expected,* that the matter would not be put off *sine die.*" His Royal Highness was naturally of opinion that no justice could be done in Ireland if there were to be judges going round checking the wholesome severities of the very masters of lodges.

It is but justice towards the British House of Lords to admit, that after spending the public time and the public money for three years, in prosecuting a virtuous judge, *because* he was a virtuous judge, did at last grow ashamed of the foul transaction, and by a small majority, thrust it out of Court.

The case of Mr. Justice Johnson, one of he Justices of the Common Pleas, was even more extraordinary. Some anonymous Irishman, signing himself "*Juverna,*" had, in November of 1803, immediately after Robert Emmet was executed, published a series of letters in Cobbett's *Political Register,* containing severe animadversions upon Lord Redesdale, Lord Hardwicke and his government, upon the public proceedings of Secretaries Wickham and Marsden, upon a charge delivered by Mr. Justice Osborne, and other matters. No government in Ireland ever before had the press so thoroughly corrupted or intimidated as that of Lord Hardwicke; and the first of the "*Juverna*" letters was sent to Mr. Cobbett avowedly because every printer in Dublin had refused to publish it. The sturdy William Cobbett, (who was then, and for many years after, a sharp thorn in the side of Pitt and Castlereagh,) admitted the letter at once to his *Register;* and then several others. These letters excited much attention, and extremely exasperated the Government, because they were evidently the production of some personage highly placed, who knew the secret machinations of the Irish officials against the people.

Great efforts were made to discover the audacious "*Juverna;*" but, in the meantime, as the next best thing, the Attorney-General prosecuted Cobbett himself for publishing the "libels." His trial took place on May 24, 1804.

Cobbett had an interval of repose from persecution of *two days* allowed him, when, at the suit of the Right Honorable W. C. Plunket, Solicitor-General of Ireland, he was again called on to sustain an action for libels contained in letters signed "*Juverna,*" published in the *Register,* reflecting on Mr. Plunket's conduct on the occasion of Robert Emmet's trial. Cobbett was again convicted, and damages were awarded to the plaintiff to the amount of £500.

It was believed, by the Irish Government, that the letters in question, had been written by Judge Johnson. On the second trial of Mr. Cobbett, the manuscript of the letter relating to Lord Plunket, was produced; and witnesses were easily found to swear that it was in the handwriting of the Judge. The Government, therefore, determined to prosecute him also, and to bring him over to

* The Marquis read, as a part of his speech before the Lords, a letter from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to the British Minister, in which the judicial conduct of Mr. Justice Fox, on the Northwest Circuit, was arraigned in terms of marked reprobation.

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London for trial, as the publication had been in the County Middlesex. But there was a difficulty in the way; there was no law then, no law in existence, giving power to remove offenders from Ireland to England, or *vica versâ*, for trial. But Parliament was in session, and a new law was quickly procured, the two principal persons on the committee which framed it, being Mr. Perceval, brother-in-law of Lord Redesdale, and Mr. Yorke, brother of Lord Hardwicke, who were two of the persons complaining of being libelled.

A warrant was issued to bring the judge to London, and he was arrested at his house near Dublin. Thus he was taken under an *ex-post facto* act, which his counsel contended could not operate retrospectively.

The matter was discussed, during six days, in the King's Bench in Ireland, in January, 1805. The legality of the warrant was confirmed. In the meantime, the *persecuted* judge procured a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Exchequer, where the case was argued February 4th and 7th, and, subsequently, in the Court of Common Pleas; and in both courts, the arrest was held good. The judge was then brought over to London, and put on his trial before Lord Ellenborough, November 23, 1805.

Lord Ellenborough, staunch and consistent—always ready to lend the weight of his judicial character and position to the Government on any seditious libel case prosecution, unjustly on this occasion threw discredit on the respectable witnesses produced by Judge Johnson, to prove that the MSS. of the libel prosecuted, was not in the handwriting of the defendant. But the jury, misdirected by Lord Ellenborough, brought in a verdict of "guilty;" the Attorney-General, however, never applied for judgment.

It was true, indeed, that Judge Johnson was the author of the letters of *"Juverna;"* which were a very just, necessary, and well-merited castigation of the Irish Government; yet he was found guilty on bad evidence, for the manuscript was not his.*

* "The libel above-mentioned I know (on the authority of Lord Cloncurry), though the production of Judge Johnson, was sent to Cobbett in the handwriting of the judge's daughter."—*Madden.*

The matter, however, was pressed no further. It was judged sufficient to disgrace a judge of the land by a criminal conviction, to ruin him by heavy expenses incurred in his defence, and to render the justice of Westminster Hall auxiliary to the police of Dublin. But the prosecution had caused great scandal by its unusual features; and in order to put as quiet a close to the matter as possible, the Attorney-General was directed, and he, accordingly, did enter a *nolle prosequi* on the record, as of Trinity Term 1806. The learned judge, whose health was much on the decline, was allowed to retire upon a pension for his life.†

The treatment of these two honest judges was a significant warning to the judges of Ireland, first that they were not to embarrass Orange justice with *their* justice, and second, that they were not to presume to say that a Lord-Lieutenant, or Chancellor, or Secretary, could do wrong.

In this year, Mr. Pitt's political power began to decline; and many of his partizans fell from him. Lord Sidmouth deserted him on the occasion of the impeachment of Lord Melville. Mr. Foster, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, had tendered his resignation; and it was known that Lord Hardwicke was resolved to tender his. The star of the great Minister was growing pale; his Continental combinations against Buonaparte, were all failures; and men were already beginning to speculate upon their chances under Mr. Pitt's successor, about the time when Parliament was suddenly prorogued on July 12th.

The defection of Lord Sidmouth, the impeachment of Lord Melville and consequent shiftings in the Cabinet, created the necessity of Lord Castlereagh's vacating his seat for the County Down, in order to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies and War Department. He sought a re-election for Down; but in that county, there was a very strong feeling against him, on account of the outrage put upon the Marquis

† This excellent judge, afterwards in his retirement in France, wrote a very excellent treatise on the "Military Defence of Ireland," under the name of Captain Philip Roche Fermoy. This work has specially in view, a defence of the country by the inhabitants of it, against the English; and has been much studied since that time.

of Downshire, by the Irish Government (when Castlereagh was Secretary) in dismissing him from the command of his regiment, and from the rank of Lord-Lieutenant of the country, because he had recommended petitions against the Union. Lord Castlereagh, most unexpectedly, found himself at the foot of the polls, through the Downshire influence; and had to return to London and accept a seat for one of the "pocket-boroughs" of the Government. This defeat by Castlereagh is said to have been felt as a severe blow by Mr. Pitt in his already failing fortunes. Mr. Plowden says it was a "triumph over political profligacy which was hailed by the nation at large;" but in truth, the event had a much narrower significance; it was simply a triumph of the Downshire interest over the rival Stewart interest in the County Down. Political profligacy remained as before. But what really broke down Mr. Pitt, was the success of the French armies in Germany.

The total failure of all his plans on the Continent, and the vast ascendancy which Napoleon had acquired by his late conquest and treaty, had filled the unbiassed part of the British nation with dissatisfaction and dismay.

The campaign was only opened in September, and Napoleon, with the velocity of the eagle, marched into the heart of Germany and took an Austrian army, under General Mack, prisoners, at Ulm. On the 2d of December, he gained the renowned victory of Austerlitz, which was followed by the treaty of Presburg, signed on the 26th of the same month, this dissolved the new confederacy, and blasted Mr. Pitt's last hopes on the Continent.

All England cried out for peace, and for an administration which would give her peace. Austria was dismembered, Russia debilitated, Prussia neutralized, if not treacherously gone over to the enemy; Hanover lost to the King of England, and the British forces were too late in the field even to make any important diversion against the triumphant legions of France. Lord Melville, (the former Secretary Dundas,) was pleading to an impeachment before the House of Lords; Lord Castlereagh had returned from his own country, baffled and discredited. All these things together preyed on Mr. Pitt's mind, and ruined his already-frail health. Parliament met on the 20th of January, 1806; and three days after, William Pitt died. His last words were: "*Oh! my country*"—meaning England alone; to Ireland he had ever been a bitter, and at last, a mortal enemy.

Lord Hawkesbury was at first named First Lord of the Treasury, merely to supply the vacancy, without any change of Ministry. His lordship held that office only long enough to hurry through the necessary forms of office to grant to himself the lucrative place of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and then resigned. At last, after some days' delay, and much reluctance on the part of the King, was formed the new Grenville-Fox Ministry, Lord Grenville being First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Fox Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Duke of Bedford was to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with the Right Honorable William Elliott, as Chief Secretary. Right Honorable George Ponsonby, as Lord Chancellor; Mr. Plunket, as Attorney-General; and Mr. Bushe, as Solicitor-General. In short, it was not only a Whig, but was supposed to be also an *Anti-Union* administration. Reform, Emancipation, Repeal of the Union even, anything in satisfaction of Ireland's just claims, was at first imagined to be possible under such a government.

Amongst the earliest Parliamentary proceedings on the change of the Ministry, which in any way related to Ireland, must be noticed Mr. O'Hara's spirited objection to Lord Castlereagh's vote for monumental honors to Marquis Cornwallis, who died in India. He opposed the motion, because he could not with consistency vote funeral honors to a man who had brought about the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; with regard to which, he trusted that, some time or other, it would come under the consideration of that House; and if it were not, as he hoped it would be, utterly rescinded, it would, at all events, be considerably modified, and, if possible, ameliorated. Upon this interesting subject Mr. Fox declared, that he concurred with the motion; for that the words in which it was expressed did not, in imitation of a late precedent, assert that

the object of it was *an excellent statesman.* Although, however, he supported the motion, yet he agreed with Mr. O'Hara in characterizing the Union as *one of the most disgraceful transactions in which the Government of any country had been involved.*

In consonance with this marked reprobation of that fatal measure of Union by the most enlightened and irreproachable member of the new administration, several of the Corporations of Dublin formed meetings to prepare petitions to the Legislature for the Repeal of the Union. Of these, the Company of Stationers, at their hall in Capel street, gave the example, by appointing a respectable committee of nine to draw up a petition. At a subsequent meeting, however, they resolved not at that moment to embarrass Ministers with their claims.

A few days later, Mr. Fox was called upon in Parliament by Mr. Alexander, for an explanation of his words relative to the Union.

Mr. Fox conceived he had spoken very intelligibly; but he never refused explanation. He adhered to every syllable he had uttered relative to the Union, upon the motion for funeral honors to Lord Cornwallis. But when he had reprobated a thing done, he said nothing prospectively. However bad the measure had been, an attempt to repeal it without the most urgent solicitation from the parties interested should not be made, and hitherto none such had come within his knowledge.

"The parties interested" are the English, the Scottish, and the Irish people; so that in the apparently-explicit reply of Mr. Fox, there is a breadth of application sufficient to enable a prudent statesman to do as he pleases afterwards. Even so early did it become apparent that neither English Tory nor English Whig would ever listen to any proposal for the undoing of that shameful deed. Gradually, as time has worn on, men of all parties in England have become willing to admit that the Union was a foul act, foully accomplished; yet no British Minister, of any party, would dare, for his head, to propose that it be undone. It was thus, in 1806, on the accession of Mr. Fox to office, that the first whisper was heard of that demand, which afterwards rang so loud—the Repeal of the Union.

Two or three agreeable incidents at the same time happened in Ireland: The act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* had been permitted to expire without any attempt by Government to continue or revive it. Thereupon, the several jails in Ireland were cleared of all those state prisoners who could bear the expenses of *Habeas Corpus*, and who had been confined there for two or three years. The restoration to society of many respectable and popular characters, dignified by unmerited sufferings, spread a sympathetic glow of exultation through the people, which broke out into an eagerness to hail the new Governor as their deliverer, and stifled all efforts to procure valedictory addresses to the departing Viceroy, who had so long kept them in bondage. The instantaneous removal of Lord Redesdale from his situation, even before his successor had arrived in Ireland, created much satisfaction throughout every rank of the Catholic population, which he had so coarsely and unfoundedly insulted and traduced. This early and marked removal of Lord Redesdale was a seasonable atonement to the insulted feelings of the Irish Catholics, and was received by them as an earnest of the new Minister's adopting a new system of measures, calculated to secure the internal peace, welfare, and prosperity of Ireland.

As for Lord Hardwicke, after his five years' administration, not even the efforts of his paid press could succeed in procuring him those customary addresses of courtesy which are given to departing Viceroys. The attendance even of his favored yeomanry of Dublin was solicited to perform the last honor to the ex-Governor, and was refused in the first instance. Out of all Ireland, addresses on his departure came only from Dublin, the County Mayo, and the loyal Crossmolina Cavalry. He sailed from the Pigeon House on the 31st of March, 1806; and many a curse went after him.

The Duke of Bedford came to Ireland, as was firmly and fondly believed, to carry out the liberal principles which Mr. Fox had always supported for the government of the country. But Mr. Fox had more important business to attend to, in his own estimation, than the affairs of Ireland, which

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was, as usual, placed in the back-ground. He had upon his hands the difficult business of negotiating a peace with France; and his fast-failing health did not permit him to go into the details of Irish appointments and Irish grievances.

Yet, Charles James Fox was of a character noble, open, and generous; as opposite to Mr. Pitt, in personal qualities, as he was in his place in the House of Commons. If he had, at this juncture, accepted the position of Viceroy—if he had seen with his own eyes the insolent and audacious cruelty of the Orange magistracy, which was now strong enough to brave both law and Government—the too-patient suffering of the great mass of the people, and the decaying trade and industry of the towns—it would have been impossible to repress indignation in such a nature as his. But he had been specially brought into power for the purpose of negotiating a peace with France; and this was enough for his diminished energies. Lord Grenville, the Premier Minister, who had been an active agent in carrying the Union, was by no means so favorable to Ireland as the Foreign Secretary. Lord Sidmouth was the boasted and pledged opponent to Catholic concession, under every possible variation of political occurrence. The friends and cöoperators of Lord Redesdale, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, retained their situations and confidence; Mr. Alexander Marsden, the secret adviser and machinist of the late administrations, was not displaced. The whole of the Orange magistracy remained undisturbed in the commission of the peace. Even Major Sirr was still seen, as the tutelary guardian of the Castle-yard. No floating patronage was removed from any promoter of the late, to countenance or encourage the supporters of the new, system. The name of Grattan, the friend and father of Irish liberty, was not seen on the list of changes, and Mr. Curran, the unwavering asserter of Ireland's rights and freedom, remained nearly five months unpromoted.

As for the Catholics, they were deluded again. They soon found that there was no disposition to disquiet the United Kingdom with an importunate insistance upon any claims of theirs. But at the first moment of the change of Viceroys, they were so confident of their affairs being now in good hands, that they resolved not to press the matter too keenly. A newly-constituted Catholic Committee met in March, before the Duke of Bedford had yet arrived, at Mr. M'Donnell's house, in Allen Court, and there resolved, with the exception of two dissenting voices, that it was inexpedient to press a discussion of the Catholic question, during the present session of Parliament; and that it would be proper to present an address, on behalf of the Catholics, to the Duke of Bedford, congratulating him on his appointment to the chief government of Ireland, and expressing their confidence in the wisdom and abilities of the illustrious personages who composed the present administration.

Indeed, nothing can well be conceived more helpless than the management of the Catholic cause during the whole of the Bedford administration. A Mr. Ryan, a merchant, who had a large house in Marlborough street, threw his house open to informal meetings of active members of the Committee, and entered into correspondence with Mr. Fox, as an authorized agent, or rather leader, amongst the Catholics. This produced jealousies and discontents; other meetings were held in various places; where considerable diversity of opinion made itself manifest, chiefly on this question—should they press for emancipation at once, or await a more convenient season? Many gatherings of Catholic gentlemen and merchants took place in some of the counties, and strong resolutions were passed. It was manifest that a good share of public spirit had been roused amongst them; but they lacked organization, and sage and bold counsel. The new Viceroy received their ultra-loyal and rather mealy-mouthed addresses with courtesy; but answered them with equivocation. For example, one address, from the Catholics of Dublin, signed by Lords Fingal, Southwell, Kenmare, Gormanstown, &c., was presented at the Castle on the 29th of April, 1806. It closes in this humble style:—

"May your Grace permit us to conclude with the expression of those sentiments, in which all Irish Catholics can have but one

voice. Bound as we are to the fortunes of the empire, *by a remembrance of what is past*, and the hope of future benefits, by our preference and by our oaths, should the wise generosity of our lawgivers vouchsafe to crown that hope which their justice inspires, it would no longer be our duty alone, but our pride, to appear the foremost against approaching danger; and, if necessary, to remunerate our benefactors by the sacrifice of our lives."

And the gracious reply ends with these words; an admirable sample of the phraseology with which the Catholics were entertained for many years:—

"In the high situation in which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to place me, it is my first wish, as it is my first duty, to secure to all classes and descriptions of His Majesty's subjects in this part of the United Kingdom, the advantages of a *mild and beneficent administration of the law*. With this important object in view, I entertain no doubt that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city of Dublin will, by their loyalty to the King, their attachment to the Constitution, and their affection for their fellow-subjects, afford the strongest recommendation to a favorable consideration of *their interests*."

His Grace takes care to say their "interests;" but it was not their interests they were pleading for; it was their rights; and of rights he said not a word.

But while rival aspirants for leadership of the Catholics were addressing excited meetings, their dissensions were suddenly somewhat allayed by ostentatious warnings contained in the Government newspapers, that they were in danger of bringing themselves within the penalties of the Convention act. It was a sore and embarrassing suggestion for the struggling Catholics.

The Convention act, which passed in 1793, was one of the baleful measures of the Pitt system, to muzzle the victim before the infliction of torture; to render the voice of the subject equally powerless for prevention and redress; and, in truth, this formidable act has remained ever since one of the surest safeguards of British domination in Ireland, as well as one of the conspicuous badges of provincialism; for there is no such law in England.

Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, in whose hands was most of the patronage of Ireland, was not found to exercise that patronage as had been expected by his friends; nor is it interesting, at this time, to enter into those personal and political claims which were either admitted or rejected. Yet there is one case which interests every reader, even at this late day, because it is the case of the illustrious John Philpot Curran. He had been promised, and did expect, on a change of Ministry, a legal position commensurate with his services and standing at the bar. The new Lord-Chancellor neglected him for five months, and then offered him the place of Master of the Rolls, the second Judge in Equity. It was not satisfactory to Curran, for several reasons; his practice had been more in law than in equity; and, besides, this place carried with it no political influence. In his letter to Grattan, on this subject, he says: "When the party with which I had acted so fairly had, after so long a proscription, come at last to their natural place, I did not expect to have been stuck up into a window, a spectator of the procession." He took the place, however, for the sake of unanimity in the party. A singular demonstration of party malignity was made on this occasion by some of Mr. Curran's professional brethren, at a very numerous bar-meeting, convened to take into consideration an address to his honor on his late promotion. His talents were too transcendent, his spirit too independent, his principles too Irish, not to have enemies, who would openly oppose this just tribute to his splendid genius and unrivaled fame. The notice of the intended meeting had no sooner been published, than the prominent supporters of the Ascendancy set every engine to work to prevent, embarrass, and defeat so critical an appeal to the virtue and independence of the Irish bar upon the brightest ornament of their profession, and the staunch and incorruptible friend of their country. On the 7th of July, the meeting took place, consisting of two hundred and fifty gentlemen of the bar, of whom one hundred and eighty only chose to divide. Of these, one hundred and forty-six voted for the ad-

dress; thirty-four opposed it. The question was warmly debated for several hours. In opposition to, and defiance of the professional powers and political influence of Messrs. Saurin and Bushe, the spirited independence of the bar was honorably asserted, and the talent, integrity, and virtue of the country triumphed over the jealousies and intrigues of the system and its abettors.

While the Catholics found themselves once more thrust back from the threshold of that Constitution which they so much longed to enter, the Northern Orangemen, on their side, (who had been a little nervous at first about the advent of these Whigs,) soon found that they had no cause for alarm. A very singular correspondence passed this summer between Secretary Elliott and Mr. Wilson, a Tyrone magistrate, touching certain outrages perpetrated on Catholics in his neighborhood, and particularly, the burning down the house of a man named O'Neill, a hatter. This outrage was done by night, without any provocation; and was alleged to have been perpetrated in mere wantonness by a mob of Orangemen coming out of a lodge, and headed by two sons of Mr. Verner, a magistrate, and himself a famous Orangeman. Mr. Wilson's representations were so earnest, demanding inquiry and redress, that Mr. Sergeant Moore was sent down to the neighborhood, accompanied by a Crown Solicitor, to investigate the facts. Mr. Plowden affirms, on the authority of Mr. Wilson, probably, that Sergeant Moore, on his arrival, put himself in communication with the Messrs. Verner, the accused house-burners, to procure him evidence of what took place. "The evidences were brought forward by the young Messrs. Verner; but he could not get anything out of them, (after the most strict examination,) which could tend towards the crimination of these gentlemen. The house certainly was burned; but the incendiaries could not be identified. It was true, the two young Messrs. Verner were there, but only as spectators, after the house was destroyed; but nothing appeared to justify an opinion that either of those gentlemen was concerned in the outrage." Of course, the learned Sergeant returned as wise as he came.

Some days after Mr. Wilson was summoned to Dublin, and had an interview with Lord-Chancellor Ponsonby, who questioned him as to the outrage, and as to the inquiry. Mr. Wilson attempted to make some comment upon the way which the Sergeant had taken for arriving at the facts—the Chancellor twice interrupted him with great energy to declare, *that Mr. Sergeant Moore's conduct entitled him to, and possessed the warmest approbation of Government.* Mr. Wilson made some observations on the state of the magistracy in his part of the country, and the Chancellor asked, how he proposed to remedy the evil? Mr. Wilson replied, that the only effectual mode would be, by issuing a general new commission. This would not give any partial offence; and care afterwards should be taken not to admit any improper persons into it. His lordship replied by a smile. This ended his personal communications with Government; but not his correspondence. He wrote several times again on the subject; but without effect. He applied to have his own commission, as a magistrate, extended from Tyrone into Armagh, (as he dwelt on the border,) in order that he might have some power to protect the poor Catholics, who lived in daily and nightly terror under the shadow of the *original Orange Lodge*, and in that very neighborhood which had been the scene of the "Hell-or-Connaught" exterminations, ten years earlier; but Mr. Wilson's application was refused. This affair would be in itself too trifling to occupy space in a general narrative like the present, but that it is, unfortunately, only one example of very much of the same kind of wanton oppression and official connivance which made the North of Ireland itself a hell for the Catholic people, during many a year since—and which is by no means over at this day.

Poor Mr. Wilson, who was so Quixotic as to interest himself for the oppressed Catholics of Tyrone and Armagh, after the refusal of an Armagh commission to that gentleman came to be known, was himself subjected to the outrages of the Protestant "wreckers." His range of offices, filled with hay, was burned down one night; and as he still continued to importune the Secretary and the Chancellor with applications on

behalf, not of himself, but of his persecuted neighbors, he was finally (3d of July, 1807,) deprived of the commission of the peace for Tyrone, by a regular writ of *Supersedeas*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1806—1807.

Revenue and Debt of Ireland—Rapid Increase of Debt—Drain of Wealth from Ireland—Character of the Imports and Exports—Rackrents, Tithes, &c.—Distress of the People—The "Threshers"—Threshers Hung—Catholic Meetings—Increase of Maynooth Grant—From Apprehension of the Irish College in France—Catholic Officers' Bill—To Promote Depopulation—Bill Abandoned—Change of Ministry—The King Demands a No-Popery Pledge—Duke of Cumberland—Perceval Administration—Camden and Castlereagh in Office—No-Popery—Recruiting in Ireland—John Keogh on Catholic Officers' Bill—O'Connell—Too-Easy Gratitude of the Irish towards Whigs—Populace Draw the Duke of Bedford's Coach.

IRELAND, until the period of the consolidation of the National Debts, had a separate Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the actual Chancellor, Sir John Newport, in bringing forward his Irish Budget, in this session of 1806, made as favorable a representation of the finances of the country as possible, according to the usual custom of Finance Ministers. Everything, according to him "afforded proofs of the increase of prosperity and *confidence in the Government*." The revenue of Ireland for the year he proposed to increase, from £3,360,000 to £3,800,000, by means of several new taxes; but later in the session Sir John Newport brought in a bill "for relief of the Irish poor." On his financial statement, Mr. Parnell drew the attention of the House to the general financial situation of the country, as represented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. He calculated, that were the debt of Ireland to increase with the same rapidity as at present for fifteen years, it would at that period amount to £120,000,000. He, therefore, called upon Ministers to adopt some efficient measures for restraining the progress of so alarming an evil.

Mr. Parnell either did not know, or pretended not to know, that Ministers did not regard this as an alarming evil at all, and that it was precisely for this, amongst other great objects, the Union had been effectuated. Mr. Parnell also fell short in his estimate of the rate of future increase of our debt:—"So well have British book-keepers worked our account, that, within *eleven* years (in 1817) our debt was found to amount, not to 120,000,000, but to £130,561,037, and so brought Ireland up to the condition of indebtedness which entitled her to share equally in all the public liabilities of England."

The truth is, that although from the increase of population, and, therefore, of consumption, the actual amount of taxes now ground out of the Irish people was increasing year by year, those taxes were becoming more and more difficult to pay, and were reducing great numbers of people continually to abject poverty; so that at the very moment when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was felicitating Parliament upon Ireland's financial prosperity, he had also to bring in a bill for relief of the poor. The system of drainage of Ireland for imperial purposes was even then in full operation, although not so highly developed as we have seen it since that day. There were some circumstances then existing, which in part counteracted that imperial policy—in the first place, the enfranchisement of Catholics as voters, in 1793, had considerably promoted and increased the practice of giving *leases* of small farms; so as to create freeholders to support their landlords' interests at county elections; and next, the war in Europe, though occasionally interrupted by short seasons of armed peace, maintained a good price for all kinds of agricultural produce; because the British Government was constantly obliged to victual great fleets and garrisons in all quarters of the world; and as such large numbers of the cultivators of the land had leases, their increased profits could not be immediately appropriated by their landlords in the shape of increased rents, and so carried off to England to be spent; an inconvenience and loss to the "sister-kingdom" which was afterwards fully repaired by the abolition of the "forty-shilling freeholders," as will be seen further on.

In the meantime, however, the war certainly enhanced the profits of Irish agriculture; and although that increase was not altogether for behoof of the people them-

selves, (for much of it could be carried off by taxation, as we have seen, to pay the charges of an unjust debt,) yet they were not then by any means so cunningly plundered, so scientifically stripped bare, (for want of the requisite machinery,) as they have been since, and are now. Population, therefore, was rapidly increasing during all these years of war, although thousands of young Irishmen were each year recruited for the British army, to fight against Jacobinism, French principles, and the rights of man.

The imports and exports of Ireland continued to increase after the Union, in proportion to the increasing population ; but by no means at so rapid a rate as during the eighteen years of national independence, when the country had the fostering care of a native legislature, bad and corrupt as that legislature was. But it is very material to observe the character of those imports and exports. The imports consisted more and more of British manufactures, and of foreign and colonial produce purchased in England, and imported *thence:* the exports more and more of cattle, meat and grain, raw agricultural produce—and of spirits made from grain. There is an exception in the single article of linen cloth ; yet the increase in that trade did not keep pace with the increase of population. * In the table given below of the official returns of the exports and imports for ten years before, and ten years after, the Union, (assuming those official returns to be correct,) this very material difference may be studied and appreciated : but Mr. Marmion, in his *History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, observes of this Table : "These returns were no doubt furnished to support the opinions of certain advocates for the Legislative Union, as *wine*—the consumption of which was likely to show the means of the country, if progressing, as correctly as any other article—has been excluded altogether. The import of wine, in 1799, was one million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and twelve gallons ; and it has gradually decreased since then to five hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and nineteen gallons in 1848, about which quantity still continues to be consumed annually."

* See annexed table.

ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO IRELAND FOR TEN YEARS PREVIOUS, AND TEN YEARS SUBSEQUENT, TO THE UNION.

Imports.		Years 1781 to 1800	Years 1802 to 1821
Drapery	yds	23,833,381	49,692,058
Sugar, raw	cwts.	3,796,285	6,089,175
Do., refined	cwts.	149,513	490,315
Tea	lbs.	22,711,224	66,847,251
Coals	tons	6,413,557	10,897,970
Iron	cwts.	3,917,882	5,530,682
Flax-seed	hhds.	837,746	934,049
Cotton Wool	cwts.	199,751	538,542
Tobacco	lbs.	99,402,762	116,112,836
Cotton Yard	lbs	4,551,336	19,995,350
Timber	tons.	298,981	490,245
Hats	No.	152,266	1,857,209
Hides, undressed	No.	84,287	450,031
Hops	cwts.	295,234	400,701
Hosiery	pieces.	3,606,074	7,995,640
Oak Bark	bales.	2,224,655	2,550,853
Barilla	cwts.	2,122,932	2,182,060

ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM IRELAND FOR TEN YEARS PREVIOUS, AND TEN YEARS SUBSEQUENT, TO THE UNION.

Exports.		Years 1781 to 1800	Years 1802 to 1821
Linen Cloth	yds.	678,798,721	832,403,860
Butter	lbs.	5,777,566	7,915,949
Pork	barrels.	2,164,608	2,565,403
Wheat	bushels.	1,334,567	4,223,782
Barley	bushels.	1,027,323	1,842,993
Meal and Flour	cwts.	747,674	1,686,948
Candles	cwts.	117,276	205,958
Pigs	No.	70,272	687,569
Oats	barrels.	7,650,359	16,112,142
Bacon	flitches.	1,013,552	6,248,527
Horned Cattle	No.	302,287	747,815
Spirits	galls.	79,892	10,349,732
Lard	cwts.	80,974	313,867
Soap	cwts.	92,616	219,506
Copper Ore	tons.	9,923	30,243
Feathers	cwts.	28,167	106,307
Kelp	tons.	31,224	64,731

The high "war prices," then, for agricultural produce, helped to establish a strong current of exportation in all that species of commodities, out of Ireland into England ; while at the same time the increasing absenteeism of Peers and landed-proprietors (who now preferred to drink their wine in England,) carried off also to that country more and more of the *prices* received in Ireland for those commodities. Thus England was already gaining every way by the Union, and Ireland losing every way.

Yet the system was not yet by any means perfect ; so long as voters for counties had to be created by small freeholds, there were large and increasing numbers of working farmers not wholly at the mercy of their landlords, nor liable to be turned out at the end of any six months. These people could live, and could even employ labor in im-

provements; so that there was a certain comparative prosperity; although manufactures (except linen) still continued to decline; and the market was flooded with English fabrics. It was not till the peace brought low prices that the series of Irish famines recommenced; and after that, the abolition of the "forty-shilling freeholders"—then the systematic refusal of leases—then the universal "tenancy-at-will"—and finally the Poor law, rendered the British system as nearly perfect as any system of human invention can be, for reaping the full fruits of the Legislative Union.

It was under great difficulties and oppressions that Irish farmers, at the period we have now arrived at, made out life even so well as they did. Their chief troubles arose from middlemen, rack-rents, tithes, church-rates, and the monstrous Grand Jury jobs by which gentlemen accommodated one another, at the expense of the county with roads and bridges, which were not useful to the county, but were convenient or ornamental to the demesnes of those gentlemen themselves. Those who knew Ireland in the early years of this century can well remember the many cases of exasperating oppression, the scenes of misery and despair which were caused by *each* one of the plagues above enumerated. In some counties during this very year, 1806, the too-long suffering country people were goaded into secret combinations and violent local resistance.

In consequence of recent exactions by the tithe proctors in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and parts of Roscommon, formerly notable for their pacific and orderly demeanor, a body of people, styling themselves *Threshers* (*i. e.* of tithe proctors' corn) had appeared in a sort of public confederacy. Up to that time, they had punctiliously confined their outrages and depredations to the collectors of tithes and their underlings. They frankly averred their reasons for their conduct, viz., that from the late unprecedented rise in the tithes, beyond what had before been insisted upon, the profits of their crops centered almost entirely in the tithe proctor. They sent letters, signed *Captain Thresher*, to the growers of flax and oats, warning them, under severe pains, to leave their tithes in kind on the fields, but on no account to pay any monied composition to their rectors and vicars, or their lessees or proctors. Had the managers of the Bedford administration *in all things* minutely followed the example of their predecessors, those counties would have been proclaimed, and probably a more general insurrection have existed in Ireland, than in the year 1798. Many of the task-drivers under the former Government (all found in place were retained, except Lord Redesdale and Mr. Foster, discharged by Mr. Fox,) urged the Government to proclaim the disturbed counties, and recommence the discipline and goadings of 1798.

But there was then no motive for resorting to the system of Camden and Carhampton; there was no need now of provoking an insurrection, because the Union had been carried, and all was safe. Accordingly, it was resolved to meet the case of the poor "Threshers" by the usual Constitutional measures, assizes, special commissions, packed juries, and the gallows. During the whole of the Bedford administration, not a single measure was adopted nor attempted for the redress or abatement of this curse of tithes; the people were left at the mercy of the grinding proctors and rectors, * and if they committed "outrage," they were hung. Twelve Threshers were executed in the autumn of this year in Mayo County alone; and others suffered death in Galway, Roscommon, and Longford. There was not the smallest evidence that they had any political views; or French principles. They were simply White-Boys under another name.

During this summer, the anxious negotia-

* *Grinding* was not the worst of it. Rectors discovered a practice of swindling farmers in the following manner: In order to encourage the labor and industry of husbandmen in improving their lands, many clergymen granted *leases of tithes* to the tenants during their incumbencies. The lessee speculating upon the *life* of the incumbent, would make expenditures in the improvement of his lands proportionate to the probability of his own enjoyment of the fruits of his improvements. When the improved lands began to yield increased crops, in order that the church should not lose the advantage of them *(decimæ uberiores)*, the incumbent would effectuate an exchange of livings (often preconcerted), with some other lessor of *his* tithes for his incumbency; thus letting each other *gratis* into the full benefit of the tenant's labor and expenditure, upon the speculation of a life interest, at least, in his improvements. In some instances, this fructifying process has been known in two or three years to have doubled, and in others to have trebled the value of the living.

tions for peace with France, conducted by Lord Lauderdale failed; and his lordship returned to London. This was the death of Charles James Fox—he died on the 13th of September, and relieved the administration of the embarrassment of the presence of one honest man. The death of Mr. Fox caused no alteration in the Irish Government. In England, Lord Howick quitted the Admiralty, and went to the Foreign Office.

Catholic meetings were held from time to time during the winter of 1806–7, mostly at the Star and Garter in Essex street. At one of these a committee of twenty-one was appointed to prepare a petition for Catholic Relief; and amongst the twenty-one we find the names of John Keogh, the old and faithful leader of the Catholics, Daniel O'Connell, the young and ultimately victorious leader, Purcell O'Gorman, Doctor Dromgoole, Thomas Wyse, and others, whose names were afterwards household words in every Catholic home during the long struggle for emancipation. A petition was framed, adopted, and committed to Henry Grattan for presentation.

On the 4th of March, 1807, on the Report of the Committee of Supply being brought up in Parliament, it appeared that the committee estimated the grant to Maynooth College at £13,000 instead of £8,000. This increase was, of course, opposed by Mr. Perceval, who always showed himself the most zealous Protestant in Parliament. The increased grant, however, was carried; not through any feeling of liberality towards the Catholics; but for the reasons set forth by Lord Howick in supporting the grant. He said he did so on the large principle of connecting the Irish Catholic with the state. It was then particularly necessary to promote the domestic education of the Catholic clergy, as an institution of great extent had been formed at Paris, at the head of which was a Dr. Walsh, a person of considerable notoriety, with a view to rëestablish the practice of Irish Catholic education at that place, and to make that education the channel of introducing and extending the political influence of the French Government in Ireland.*

English governments, after having so long prohibited by penal laws the education of Catholic youths at home, and having thus driven them abroad for education, were now almost willing to bribe them to stay at home and receive that education which within the memory of men then living, would have merited transportation or death. Yet there was nothing inconsistent in these two modes of treatment. A century before, the great object of law and government had been to get and keep possession of Catholic lands and goods—and for that purpose to debase Catholics to the condition of brutes for want of education—but in 1807, the great need and absorbing passion of the Government was to crush France, and keep out French principles; and it was desirable to keep young divinity students away from Paris, where they might learn matters not expedient to be known in Ireland; might learn, for instance, that it is not so very miserable a case for each man to be his own landlord; that country-people can be pretty comfortable even without paying tithes—that people of all religions in France are equal before the law—that the French are not a race of creatures altogether abandoned to crime, debauchery and atheism, for want of noble landlords; and many other things of this nature. Therefore, when the Government at one time drove young Irishmen abroad for education, and at another time induced them to stay at home for education, it knew very well each time what it was doing, and acted in both cases upon the invariable principle that all Irish life, activity and industry, physical and intellectual, lay and clerical, be-

* "In the latter end of autumn, 1806, some printed copies of an *arret*, or decree, signed 'Napoleon, Hugh B. Maret, Champagny, and Walsh, Administratéur Général,' dated Milan, 28th Floreal, An. xiii., uniting the English, Irish, and Scotch Ecclesiastical Establishment, in the French dominions, under the general administration of the Reverend Dr. Walsh, late Superior of the Irish College at Paris, were sent from thence *via* Hamburg, to England and Ireland. At the same time Dr. Walsh invited the students of St Patrick's Irish College at Lisbon, to repair to Paris, to prosecute their studies, and encouraged them to undertake the journey, by promising that the expenses of it would be defrayed. The Roman Catholic Archbishops and other Prelates, Trustees of Maynooth College, having met in Dublin on business concerning it in January, 1807, availed themselves of the occasion, to express their disapprobation of the invitation from Paris, in a letter to the Rev. Doctor Crotty, Rector of the Irish College at Lisbon, a copy of which was sent to Mr. Secretary Elliott, and also to Lord Howick.

long to England, and are to be regulated and disposed of, displaced, transferred, encouraged, and prohibited, as British policy and interest shall from time to time require.

Upon the very same invariable principle, the Government in this session introduced what was called the "Catholic Officers' bill," to enable Catholics to hold commissions in the army or navy. This measure was intended by Ministers for two purposes; first, to stop by a small concession, the threatening agitation of the Catholics for their complete relief; and secondly, by commissioning some Catholic officers, to make the British service more popular with the people, and thus promote enlistment. On this latter point, the words of Lord Howick, who introduced the bill, are worth preserving:—

"On the Commonalty of Ireland the measure must have a powerful effect, by affording *a salutary check to the increasing superabundant population* of that country; as it would induce numbers to enter into the service of His Majesty, even of those, who by their own discontents, and by the artifices of others, had so lately been urged into insurrection and rebellion."

It is needless to say that this measure also was resisted by the model Protestant, Perceval. "He greatly feared," he said, "that this was but the beginning of a system, which would in its consequences, when fully disclosed, be highly dangerous to the Constitution and Protestant establishment. He perceived, that step by step, and from day to day, they were bringing forward measures, which he thought must end in the TOTAL REPEAL OF THE TEST ACT." Mr. Perceval was himself, he declared, "as great a friend to toleration as any man," but he could not see how the Constitution in Church and State was to stand, if persons were allowed to command the King's troops who believed in Seven Sacraments. The bill was read a first time; and immediately arose a violent ferment, both in England and amongst the "Ascendancy" in Ireland. The University of Oxford petitioned against the measure; so did the Corporation of Dublin. The Dukes of York and Cumberland, Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury, had frequent access to the King, whose mental disorder was then, indeed, so much aggravated, that he had need of advisers, if those advisers had been honest. George III. was at that time an idiot; sometimes a helpless and moping idiot; sometimes a talking and busy idiot; and, unfortunately, he was in the latter species of paroxysm. Mr. Perceval advertised in the public papers that "the Church was in danger;" and a great cry of "No-Popery!" arose over all England. The events that followed are clearly set forth in the explanations given by Lord Grenville and Lord Howick in the two Houses, of the causes which led to the sudden change of Ministry. It appears that the Ministers had had several interviews with the King, who seemed at first satisfied with their statements of the expediency of the measure proposed; but the unhappy patient had evidently not understood their statements. He asked Lord Howick one day, "What was going on in the House of Commons?" On being told that the Catholic Officers' bill was to come on, he expressed his general dislike.

"The next day (said Lord Howick) His Majesty, in the same gracious manner that we have been accustomed to experience from him, informed us, that he must look out for new servants. Two days afterwards, I was authorized to state this circumstances to the House, and on Tuesday last, His Majesty signified his pleasure that we should resign our offices next day." Ministers then proposed to drop the bill altogether; but this was not enough for the King, in the condition of nervous irritation to which he had been worked up by Lord Eldon and their Royal Highnesses, his two sons, the Dukes of York and Cumberland. He required from them a pledge that they would never more bring forward any measure whatever respecting Papists—in other words, would never advise His Majesty to do any act of justice towards one-fourth part of his subjects. This was two much. The Ministers had no idea of *emancipating* the Catholics; it was to stave off that question of emancipation that they had proposed the trifling concession in question; but to give such a pledge as he required (a pledge which *had*, however, been given him by Mr. Pitt,) would have been contrary to their duty as Ministers of State, and to their oath as Privy-Councillors, who swear "faithfully and truly

to declare their mind and opinion, according to their hearts and consciences, in all things to be moved, treated, and debated in council." Before the resignation, however, several debates took place. In one of these, Mr. Plunket, making his first speech in a united Parliament, brought under the notice of the House the singular proceeding of the Duke of Cumberland. He said:—

"Not satisfied with their placards, &c., an attempt has been made by the Chancellor of the University of Dublin (the Duke of Cumberland) to disturb the peace of that University, by endeavoring to procure a petition against the Catholic bill. Finding (to the honor of that learned body) the first application unsuccessful, a second had been sent, in which it was intimated, that the only way to preserve the favor of the royal Duke, was by signing such a petition. He was not aware, whether the latter application took place after the measure had been abandoned in Parliament, or before. If after, it was a political scheme to support the new administration—if, while the bill was pending, it was an unconstitutional and unwarrantable interferenee."

The matter ended with the resignation of Ministers; and the installation of the famous "No-Popery" Cabinet, with the pious Perceval at its head as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Castlereagh, who had become indispensable to the councils of his sovereign, was Secretary for the Colonies and the War Department; Lord Camden was President of the Privy-Council; and George Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Eldon was Lord-Chancellor of England; the Duke of Richmond Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and the Chief Secretary of that country was to be the victor of Assaye, and conqueror of the Mahrattas, who had just returned after his brilliant campaign in India. The Baron Sutton was created Lord Manners, and appointed Chancellor of Ireland.

The occasion or pretext for this change of Ministry was so absurd, and gave such an impression of craziness, that many members of both Houses of Parliament were unwilling to resign themselves, and the country to be governed by the fitful caprices of an idiot; and several efforts were made by offering resolutions against the principle of the required *pledge* to keep Ministers in their places. Of the Parliamentary debates on these resolutions, it is only material in this place to notice such passages as throw any light on Irish affairs. Mr. Tighe, an Irish member, said the tranquillity of Ireland would, he feared, be affected by the removal of the Duke of Bedford. He did not, however, see any ground for apprehending any alarming disturbance, because the people of Ireland had been accustomed to view with cold, determined apathy, all changes in administration here, as none of those changes were attended with any benefit to them. Few recruits were to be had in the South, or in the West, because there was no security for the free exercise of religion. Some years ago, a gentleman had got some men in his neighborhood, upon his own pledge, and the pledge of a magistrate, that they should always be allowed the free exercise of their religion; but when they arrived at their quarters in the Isle of Wight, they were compelled to attend the Protestant worship, and forbidden ever to attend a neighboring chape of their own, under pain of military punishment. Consequently, the recruiting proceeded but slowly in Ireland, though the country was poor, and the bounties offered extravagantly high. Since the Union, Ireland had felt no community of rights, no community of commerce; the only community it felt, was that of having one hundred assessors in the British Parliament, who were to give *ineffectual votes for the interest of their country, as he might do that night.*

Mr. Tighe's estimate of the value of Irish representation at Westminster remains true at this day.

Sir John Newport (as he and his friends were going out, and were not to be responsible for pledges,) showed in his speech a sacred regard for "pledges." He said: "Ireland would force itself upon the consideration of the House and of the empire, of which it was a vital part; it was in vain to overlook the wants and interests, the expectations and the rights of Ireland; it was in vain to trifle with the pledges given; Ireland must have its weight, for it must be felt, that the common enemy could not be resisted without Ireland. The pledge, given

under the authority of the noble Lord opposite, could not be evaded, though the noble Lord may not act as it required him. The noble Duke at the head of the present government had given a still stronger pledge. He had written two letters to two officers of the Irish Brigades, inviting them to enter into the service of this country, on the promise of making the Irish act of 1793 general, and further, of opening the whole military career to them.

In Ireland, these Ministerial changes caused a great commotion among the Catholics. Their committee had drawn up their petition for complete emancipation ; and had sent it to Mr. Grattan for presentation. He had consulted with the friends of their cause in London, particularly with Sheridan, and wrote to the committee that they had better withhold it. A Catholic meeting was then held, at which the venerable John Keogh moved the postponement—not abandonment—of further proceedings upon their petition. As to the paltry measure of conciliation which had been proposed by Government, and which the Catholics had not petitioned for at all, Mr. Keogh thus truly described it: "The English Ministers resolved to encourage our Catholic gentlemen to enter into the army and navy, and through their influence to induce our peasantry to enter the service in great numbers. One of their objects, they admit to be, *to lessen our population*, and, on the whole, to change disorder and weakness into subordination and strength. But candor must compel us to allow, that this bill would not have given them any great claim for gratitude from the Catholics ; *to relieve them was not the object of the bill;* it did not profess to admit them to the privileges of their country. It has been called a boon to the Catholics ; but, in truth, had it been carried into effect, it would have been a boon given by the Catholics ; the boon of their blood, to defend a constitution from which they, and they only, were cautiously excluded."

Yet Mr. Keogh praised warmly the Ministry who had attempted to grant even this "boon ;" and proposed that from respect to them, and in deference to the advice of Mr. Grattan and other friends, their petition for emancipation should not then be presented. This motion was opposed by Mr. O'Gorman, but sustained by the potent voice of Daniel O'Connell, who spoke on this occasion with a warm and filial regard of the veteran Catholic agitator, John Keogh, and his long services to the cause. The resolution to postpone was carried ; the committee was dissolved ; and Lord Fingal was deputed to present a respectful address to the Duke of Bedford ; although, how his grace merited any confidence or gratitude from the Irish Catholics it would now be difficult to explain. The whole policy of his administration had been directed to keep back their claim for emancipation, and to preserve the Orange Ascendancy in its oppressive domination.

Yet the Duke *seemed* to be removed from office upon a question which touched the Catholics, though never so little. The Orange men were excited against him ; party spirit had been roused ; and such zealous partizans are the Irish populace, and so grateful for any presumed kind intention, that the Dublin mob, absolutely took out the horses from the Duke's carriage, and from the Duchess' carriage, yoked some of themselves to the carriages, and drew them to the water side, where they embarked for England on the 21st of April, 1807.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1807—1808.

Duke of Richmond Viceroy—Sir A. Wellesley, Secretary—Their System—Depression of Catholics—Insolence of Orangemen—Government Interference in Elections—Ireland Gets a New Insurrection Act—And an Arms Act—Grattan Advocates Cöercion Acts—Sheridan Opposes Them—Acts Passed—The Bishop of Quimper—Means Used to Create Exasperation against Catholics—"Shanavests" and "Caravats"—"Church in Danger"—Catholic Petition — Influence of O'Connell — Lord Fingal—Growing Liberality amongst Protestants — Maynooth Grant Curtailed—Doctor Duigenan Privy-Councillor — Catholic Petition Presented — The "*Veto*" Offered—Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan—They Urge the *Veto* as a Security—Petition Rejected—Controversies on the *Veto*—Bishops' Resolutions—No Catholics in Bank of Ireland—Dublin Police.

The Duke of Richmond had arrived in Dublin, as Lord-Lieutenant, a few days before his predecessor left it.

As the new administration had accepted office immediately after the King had required a pledge from his Ministers that no Catholic claims, or rights, or wrongs, should *ever* be mentioned to him again, this acceptance of office was itself a pledge to that effect by the new advisers of the Crown ; and, so far as they were concerned, they certainly redeemed the pledge. They were professedly a "No-Popery" Cabinet ; and the first principle of their policy was resistance to all reform, and especially to all concession to Catholics. Such being their merits, the Viceroy and his Secretary, Sir Arthur Wellesley, were at once presented by the Dublin Corporation with the freedom of the city in a gold and in a silver box, respectively. The vote was accompanied by an enthusiastic speech of the notorious Mr. John Giffard, who said, this was not the mere compliment of custom, but a special recognition of their known determination "to maintain the Constitution in Church and State"—that is, the Protestant Ascendancy, and the exclusion and debasement of Catholics.

It may well be understood that this event aggravated the insolence of Orange magistrates and squires, all over the island, making the lot of the Catholic country-people still more bitter than before ; and that it caused despondency, irritation, and some degree of disorganization amongst the Catholic leaders, who were striving in such hopeless circumstances for the civil rights of their countrymen. It would be difficult to conceive any political prospect more gloomy than that of the Catholic body at that moment ; dreading the rigor of the new administration, with its ferocious Orange supporters, and reduced to be thankful to the out-going Ministers for attempting a paltry army-reform, avowedly intended to diminish the Catholic population. This is the first time—seven years after the Union—that we first find British Ministers urging the depopulation of the island ; a policy which has since been prosecuted with such eminent success.

The new Parliament opened in June. In the elections which preceded it, the Government made unusual exertions to secure a large majority. Of the nature of the influences employed in Ireland for this purpose, one example may suffice : Soon after the House met, Mr. Whitbread stated, from a paper which he produced, to the House, that Mr. Ormsby, the Solicitor for the Forfeited Estates in Ireland, went down to the election for Wexford County, and personally waited on Mr. James Grogan, for the purpose of influencing him to support the Ministerial candidates, by a promise of a restoration to the family of all the estates of his late brother, Cornelius Grogan, which had been forfeited Ministers neither denied nor blamed, nor offered to investigate the fact, or punish the delinquent. Mr. Perceval assured Lord Howick, that he had never before heard of it ; and Sir Arthur Wellesley declared, that the Government of Ireland had given *no instructions* to Mr. Ormsby on the subject ; and any improper use of such influence was unknown to Government. The actual abuse of the Govern ment influence, the overt negotiation of their confidential servant, and his subsequent impunity, tell the whole story plainly enough.

The first act passed for Ireland in this Parliament was a new "Insurrection act." The second was an "Arms act." They were brought in by Sir Arthur Wellesley ; and it appeared on the debates that they had been actually framed by the late Grenville administration, but there had not been time to pass them. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Secretary Elliott had recommended, and now supported them ;—yet, the Dublin people had harnessed themselves to Lord Bedford's carriage ! So easily won by even pretended kindness are our generous-hearted countrymen—and so minute is the difference between Whigs and Tories.

The "Insurrection act" renewed the power of the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and the authority of the magistrates to arrest persons who should be found out of their dwellings between sunsetting and sunrising. There was a clause enacting, "that magistrates might have the power to enter any houses, *or authorize any persons*, by warrant, to do so, at any time from ——— after sunset, to sunrise, from which they should suspect the inhabitants, or any of them to be then absent, and cause

absent persons to be apprehended, and deemed idle and disorderly, unless they could prove they were absent upon their lawful occasions."

Many persons thought it singular to find Mr. Grattan, then member for Dublin, supporting this cœrcion law; but in truth, it was quite consistent with his former course; he had supported the former Insurrection act, and Gunpowder act, in the Irish Parliament. Nobody could have a greater horror of revolutionary movements, and of French principles than Grattan; and Mr. Elliott, the late Secretary, assured him that the poor "Threshers" were at bottom no other than *Jacobins*. He said, on this occasion :—

"He understood from his Right Honorable friend beside him, (Mr. Elliott,) *that there were secret meetings of a dark and dangerous description in Ireland*. This formed a ground for the bill. He was afraid of a French interest in Ireland, and he wished that Government should be furnished with the means not merely of resisting, but of extirpating that interest, wherever and whenever it should appear."

But his support of so cruel a measure greatly alienated his friends in Ireland. To do him justice, he vehemently objected to the clause authorizing magistrates to enter houses by night, on suspicion, or to give a warrant for that purpose to *any one* who might say he had a suspicion. "But who," he exclaimed, "were the persons to be vested with the power? Perhaps some lawless miscreant—some vagabond. Perhaps, the discretion of that reasonable time was to be lodged in the bosom of some convenient menial, some postillion, coachman, hostler, or ploughboy, who, under the sanction of the law, was to judge when it would be a reasonable time for him to rush into the apartment of a female, while she was hastily throwing on her clothes, to open the door to this midnight visitor. This would give a wound that would be felt long."

Richard Brinsley Sheridan, to his honor be it said, went against his friend and most of his party upon this question. "His Right Honorable friend had said, that the measure could only be justified by an imperious necessity; now it was that necessity which he wished to have clearly made out to exist, before the measure was resorted to. It was no answer to him, that the measure had been prepared by his friends. If it had, the Threshers were then engaged in their disturbances, and administering unlawful oaths. Ireland was now as loyally tranquil as any part of the empire. Would they state in the preamble of the bill, "Whereas, a very small part of Ireland was some time ago disturbed by the Threshers, and whereas, that disturbance has been completely put down by the ordinary course of the law, and Ireland is now completely tranquil, be it, therefore, enacted, &c. That most extraordinary powers, &c."

The bill passed into law, however, with all its clauses; and by continual renewals (for it is always *temporary*, like the Mutiny act,) it has been substantially the law of Ireland even to this day.

Next came the Arms bill. It was the needful complement of the other; for if the people were not very carefully deprived of arms, it was known that they would not submit to the daily and nightly outrages which were intended to be perpetrated upon them under the "Insurrection act." But while the latter was to be contingent upon the Viceroy's proclamation, the Arms act was universal and was to operate at once.

Mr. Sheridan opposed this measure also. He said that if the former bill seemed odious in its form and substance, this was ten thousand times more so; it was really abominable. But at the same time, as if it were meant to make the measure both odious and ridiculous, it was so constructed, as that it would plunder the people of their arms, and put down the trade of a blacksmith. Nothing like a blacksmith was to exist in Ireland, lest he might possibly form something like a pike. If ever there were an instance, in which the liberties of a loyal people were taken from them, and they were thereby tempted to become disloyal, it was the present. Indeed, from the general spirit, with which the bill was framed, he thought there only wanted a clause to make it high treason for any man to communicate either of these bills to Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French, lest he should conceive them to be direct invitations to him to visit that part of His Majesty's empire.

On the 14th of August, Mr. Sheridan moved for a serious Parliamentary inquiry into the state of Ireland. Mr. Perceval eagerly opposed the motion; earnestly deprecated "the *time* and the spirit" of Mr. Sheridan's motion; and got rid of it by the "previous question."

Thus, at the moment when Catholics were told to despair of ever being admitted to the privileges of the Constitution, they were to be disarmed and cöerced on suspicion and hearsay; and all inquiry into the causes of their discontent was refused, because the right time had not come. And, in fact, it has never come. We have said the *Catholics* were to be disarmed and cöerced; for although no religious distinction is made in the acts, yet every one knew then, as now, that such laws are never enforced against a Protestant, unless it be, perhaps, some Protestant like Mr. Wilson, the Tyrone magistrate, who makes himself obnoxious by standing up for his Catholic neighbors.

The stern and eternal negative put upon Catholic claims soon reached France. A certain Bishop of Quimper, in a pastoral to his flock, very naturally drew a striking contrast between the intolerance of England and the regard for religion and absolute toleration shown by the Emperor's Government.* These remarks were, in the eyes of the English Government, a development of the most infamous French principles, or rather a proof of a Franco-Irish conspiracy. Indeed, nothing ever has so bitterly provoked the British public and its Government, as when the eloquent tongue of some illustrious French prelate proclaims aloud the shocking truth about Irish rule, and pours forth the hot torrent of sacred indignation upon the deliberate, cold-blooded atrocities of England.†

Upon the slender foundation of the Bishop of Quimper's Pastoral, Government underlings engrafted a most base fabrication, for the double purpose of raising indignation against the French, and of throwing *odium* upon the body of the Irish Catholics. The Government prints gave out, that a very important document, pregnant with danger to this country, signed by Napoleon and Talleyrand, had fallen into the hands of his Majesty's Ministers, together with a document of still more importance to the Catholic cause in Ireland, asserted to have been solemnly issued from the Vatican. It was falsely asserted, that the Pope had lately issued a Bull, addressed to the titular bishops of Ireland, exhorting them in the most forcible terms to excite in the minds of all people of the Roman Catholic persuasion under their influence and direction, an ardent devotion to the views and objects of Buonaparte, and an expectation, that by his assistance and protection they might eventually obtain an uncontrolled exercise of their rights, religious and political. It was also stated, that this address from the Roman Pontiff, was accompanied by another paper containing a solemn declaration on the part of the French ruler, that it was his firm de-

* The good Bishop of Quimper says amongst other things: "He (the Emperor) shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and your love. They will prove to the eternal enemy of the glory and prosperity of France that all her perfidious intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment she had seduced you—at that unhappy epoch when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples and profaned your altars. She only affected concern for the rëestablishment of your holy religion in order to rend and ravage your country. See the sufferings which England inflicts upon Ireland, which is Catholic like you, and subject to her dominion. The three last ages present only the affecting picture of a people robbed of all their religious and civil rights. In vain the most enlightened men of that nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new persecution has ravished from them even the hope of seeing an end to their calamities. An inflamed and misled (the English) people, dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the Catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that Government, which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, and dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honor. Whilst the Irish Catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august Emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states. He demanded in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship."

†It is but a very few years since Monsieur Dupanloup, the eloquent bishop of Orleans, having given out that he was about to preach a charity sermon, for the relief of the exterminated Irish, Lord Plunket, bishop of Tuam, wrote to Monsieuer d'Orleans that he knew he was going to libel *him*, and fling foul slanders upon him. Efforts were even made through the English Embassy to induce the Emperor to forbid the sermon. It was preached, however, to a vast assemblage, and though his grace of Tuam was not slandered nor named in the discourse, yet it was a most scathing and touching *expose* of the whole course of British policy in Ireland. The English press was bitterly indignant.



W H Bartlett

termination to give the Roman Catholic religion the ascendancy in Ireland.

By foul means such as these the "No-Popery" cry was stimulated to its most savage pitch of blood-thirsty ferocity. Even the rural organizations, calling themselves "Shanavests," and "Caravats," which arose this year in Tipperary, and who were nothing in the world but White-Boys and Threshers, under local names, were carefully given out to be secret political societies, which were going to bring in the French. In truth, those unhappy people had their thoughts much more occupied about the tithe-proctor than about the Emperor Napoleon; and knew more about County-cess than about French principles. Unfortunately, however, the Shanavests and Caravats were not *one* agrarian faction, but two; and sometimes, when they ought to have been threshing the tithe-corn, they threshed each other at fair and market. Mr. Plowden says:—

"Both parties seemed to be indiscriminately sore at the payment of tithes; both complained of the exorbitancy of the advanced demands of rack-rents for lands out of lease. Both manifested symptoms of a natural and interested attachment to the soil they had occupied, by their undisguised hostility to every competitor for the farms of the old occupiers. They had not then begun (as they were afterwards charged,) to fix a general rate of tithe and rent, and to enforce the observance of it by threats of visiting those who should dare to exceed it. They assumed no appellation expressive of, or appropriate to, any of those objects which they have since pursued to the disgrace and disturbance of the country. When the Insurrection and Arms bills passed into laws, it is no less true, than singular, that in all the counties, then said to be disturbed, *not a single charge* was to be found on the calendar, *of sedition or insurgency*, at the preceding assizes. Widely as the Threshers had extended their outrages, they had been completely put down and tranquillized by the arm of the common law, without recourse to the violent measure of suspending the Constitution. The objects of their outrages had been ascertained by the judges, who had gone into the disturbed parts on the late special commission; and not even a spurious whisper had reached their ears, that there was amongst them anything describable as an *existing French party.*"

These miserable writhings of a crushed peasantry, under the heel of local tyrants, were, however, eagerly seized and dwelt upon, as both justifying the cöercion bills, and exhibiting the unchangeable, ineradicable wickedness of Papists; so that when Parliament met, on the 21st of January, 1808, *No-Popery!* and *Church in Danger!* rung fiercely through the Three Kingdoms.

Two days before Parliament assembled, there was a large meeting of Catholics in Dublin, Lord Fingal in the Chair. On motion of Count Dalton, it was resolved to petition Parliament for the repeal of the remaining Penal laws. Some gentlemen, as Mr. O'Conor, of Belanagare, moved an adjournment of the meeting, as they despaired of any success, under the existing *regime;* but O'Connell, who now constantly attended these meetings, and took a leading part in them, had already adopted his well-known maxim — *Agitate! Agitate!* He supported the resolution to petition; so did John Byrne, of Mullinahack. The resolution of adjournment was withdrawn, and that for a petition unanimously passed. O'Connell's influence was, even thus early, very powerful in softening down irritation, soothing jealousies, and inspiring self-abnegation, for the sake of the common cause. It was this great quality, not less than his commanding ability, which made him, soon afterwards, the acknowledged head of the Catholic cause.

The petition was intrusted to Lord Fingal, who went to London and asked Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan, to present it, after the Duke of Portland, to whom it was first offered, had coldly refused to have anything to do with it. And humiliating enough it must have been, to that Peer of ancient race, to be obliged to hawk round among "Liberal" members of both Houses the humble petition of himself and his countrymen, to be admitted to the common civil rights of human beings, and to see the representative of one of King William's Dutchmen turn his back upon the importunity of the Irish Papist Nothing came of this

petition. It was laid on the table of the Lords; but when Mr. Grattan offered it in the Commons, the sharp eyes of Canning and Perceval detected an informality—several of the names appeared to be written in the same handwriting--a fatal objection, as they insisted, and the petition was not received. Evidently, the right way had not yet been discovered, to command the attention of that House to Catholic claims; and it was not till twenty-one years later that the right way was suddenly found out by O'Connell.

It is agreeable to have here to record, that the furious bigotry of the Ministry and the studied excitations to religious animosity, were not responded to by the Irish Protestants altogether as had been expected. The Duke of Cumberland had entirely failed to induce or intimidate the University of Dublin into petitioning against the Catholic claims, as Oxford had done. The Protestant inhabitants of many of the counties in Ireland presented petitions in favor of the claims of the Catholics. There were nine counties that had shown the noble example of liberality and sound policy. The Counties of Clare and Galway had, at meetings convened by the sheriff, expressed their ardent wish for admitting their Catholic brethren to the benefits of the Constitution. In the Counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, Roscommon, Waterford, and Meath, and in the town of Newry, resolutions to the same effect were entered into, as well by the Protestant gentry and inhabitants, as by the great bulk of Protestant proprietors of land. That recommendation was owing partly to the growing influence of liberality and confidence, partly to the absence of all suspicion of any real intention to invade the landed property of the county on a convenient occasion, but more particularly to the strong and immediate feeling of danger which a divided country would have to encounter in case of hostile invasion. On that principle did wise Protestants deprecate the terrible privilege of an exclusive monopoly of Constitutional right and political power.

The Duke of Cumberland, indeed, had the gratification of presenting to the House of Lords one petition from the Orange Corporation of Dublin against the Catholics; but the example was not generally followed. One reflection arises upon these facts:—That the most potent and unrelenting enemy to the Irish Catholics, *at all times*, was not the Irish Protestants, but the British imperial system. It was the English Parliament, in King William's time, then assuming to bind Ireland by its own acts, which first violated the treaty of Limerick, by excluding Catholic Peers and Commoners from Parliament. It was while the English Parliament completely controlled the action of that of Ireland, (by requiring the heads of bills to be sent over,) that the dreadful Penal Code was successively elaborated and maintained in force. But it was Ireland's *free* Parliament which, in 1793, gave the grand shock to that infamous code, admitting Catholics to the bar, to the corporations, to the juries, allowing them to go to school, and to teach school, to bear arms, to own horses, to hold lands in fee, to take degrees in the University;—in short, it was the Irish Protestant Parliament, once free, that swept away, in one day, five-sixths of the oppressions, penalties, and disabilities, accumulated and piled upon the Catholics, during a whole century, by the unappeasable hate of England.

This accounts for O'Connell's frequent declaration, that, rather than remain in the Union, he would gladly take back the Irish Protestant Parliament—consent to repeal of Catholic Emancipation, and take his chance with his Irish fellow-countrymen. And O'Connell was right.

Two of the first things recommended for Ireland by the Duke of Richmond were, the curtailment of the Maynooth Grant, and the appointment of Doctor Duigenan to a seat on the Irish Privy-Council. The whole spirit of the Perceval administration is apparent in these two examples. Doctor Duigenan had devoted his life to raking up all the vile, forgotten slanders that had ever been heaped upon Catholics since the days of Calvin; and was never so much in his element as when pouring forth his foul collection, by the hour, in a full-foaming stream of ribald abuse. The appointment of such a man to such a place, was a public affront and a significant warning to Catholics, showing them in what estimation they and their claims were held by the new Government

The other pitiful manifestation of No-Popery spite was cutting down the appropriation for Maynooth College. This was evidently a subject of difference and discussion in the Cabinet. Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, in Committee on the Supplies, stated, that additional buildings were in progress at Maynooth; that the establishment was capable of accommodating two hundred and fifty students; and that it was his intention to move that the sum of £9,250 should be granted to that institution for the current year. Sir John Newport moved that it should be £13,000, which was the annual grant fixed by the late administration, as will be remembered, in their alarm lest the Irish College of Paris should again attract Irish pupils. A warm debate ensued. Mr. Perceval, as a matter of course, opposed the larger grant, upon strictly evangelical principles; so did William Wilberforce, (a gentleman whose sympathies were strongly excited by the degradation of oppressed people, provided they were of a black color.) General Mathew, a good and generous Irishman, earnestly supported the proposal to grant the larger sum.

He had been, within the last ten days, at Maynooth, and he could assure the House, that, unless the whole of the last year's grant should be voted, the buildings upon which former grants had been expended, would fall. There was no lead on the roofs, and the rain penetrated through them. He alluded to the offer made by order of Napoleon, to induce Irish students to go for education to France from Lisbon and Ireland, upon a promise of the restoration of all the Irish *Bourses;* and read an extract from the answer of the Irish Catholic Bishops, stating their gratitude to the Government for the liberal support of Maynooth, and denouncing suspension against any functionaries, and exclusion from preferment in Ireland against any students, who should accept the offers of the enemy of their own country. Would any one say after that, that the Catholics were not to be confided in? If they were not to be trusted, why not dismiss them from the army and navy? Why allow them to vote at elections?

But this was not the act of Ministers. He was sorry to be obliged to allude to the conduct of any of the Royal family. But, however, it was rumored, that even Ministers were disposed to agree to the grant, till they went to St. James' Palace, and were closeted for several hours with a Royal Duke, after which they resorted to the present reduction. That Royal Duke was the Chancellor of the University of Dublin; he was Chancellor of a Protestant school, and might wish to put down the education of the Catholics; but no man, who knew or valued Ireland, as he did himself, could countenance such a project.

Ministers, however, had a sure majority, and succeeded in cutting down the proposed grant to Maynooth. One can only wonder that the Catholic body, clergy and laity, persisted in such an obstinate "loyalty" to the British Government, and did not turn to France, and hearken to the liberal invitation of the Emperor Napoleon.

Amongst the bitter opponents of the Maynooth Grant was Doctor Duigenan, the new Privy-Councillor, who was member for an Irish Borough. He vented some of the venom, of which he had plenty, upon his Catholic countrymen; said they were always traitors in theory, and wanted but the opportudity to be traitors in action. This gave rise to some sharp debating.

Mr. Barham could not contain his execration of such scandalous and wicked sentiments. This drew from Mr. Tierney the question to Mr. Perceval, whether the official order for making Doctor Duigenan a Privy-Councillor had been sent over to Ireland. On a negative answer from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir A. Wellesley apprised the House, that the Right Honorable and learned gentleman had been specially recommended by the Lord-Lieutenant to be a Privy-Councillor, as from his knowledge of ecclesiastical business he could be of great service in Ireland in that situation. This induced Mr. Barham on a subsequent day to move the House, that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that he would order to be laid before the House, copies of the extracts of the correspondence, which passed between the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and the Government of England, as to the appointment of Doctor

Patrick Duigenan to a seat in the Privy-Council of Ireland. The question being put, Mr. W. Wynne said he was anxious to hear a vindication of so extraordinary an appointment, and one which was so much lamented. He then alluded to the dismissal and subsequent advancement of Mr. Giffard, and considered the present only as a fresh endeavor to irritate the feelings of the Catholics of Ireland. Sir A. Wellesley repeated, that applications had been made to Government here, to grant to the learned Doctor as Judge of the Prerogative Court, the office of member of the Privy-Council. Till the time of his predecessor this had been the uniform custom, and it was now resorted to again as a matter of convenience. He believed, that the present session was the first time it had been attempted to be argued, that because a man was friendly to the Church, he ought not to be trusted. If the Honorable and learned Doctor had been indiscreet in his language, why was it not taken down at the time, and complaint made to that House? *He did not care of what religion a man was.* If he could be useful in any line, in that line, he was of opinion, he ought to be employed.

There is no doubt that Sir Arthur Wellesley was quite sincere in these declarations; he did not care of what religion a man was; he was always a practical person; he desired, in a privy-councillor, as in a staff-officer or a commissary, precisely such qualities as were serviceable for the business in hand; and as the business in hand at that moment was to trample down and humiliate the Catholics, he approved of Doctor Duigenan for Privy-Councillor.

The Catholic petition which had been rejected by the House of Commons, on a point of form, had been sent back to Ireland to be signed anew. In the meantime, Lord Fingal remained in London, and had frequent interviews with the friends of the Catholics, particularly with Mr. Ponsonby. It was now that the delicate subject of the *veto* first took a tangible shape. Lord Fingal was an amiable, high-minded, and unsuspicious man; but a weak one. The success of the petition, he was assured by the friends of the Catholic cause, would be greatly forwarded by an admission of the royal *veto* in the nomination of the Irish prelacy. This negotiation, which has since produced effects of great national importance, though then unforseen, was of a private nature; and the particulars of it would not have reached the public, had not subsequent events induced the parties to it to make them public. Never was a point of *politico-theological* controversy so fiercely contested, and, consequently, so misconceived and misrepresented as this question of *veto*. Lord Fingal had certainly received no specific instruction concerning it from the Catholic meeting, which voted him the sole delegate, guardian, and manager, of their petition; and the subject of a *veto* was not in contemplation of that meeting.

The history of this affair proves, in a most striking manner, how dangerous it is for any national Church, in matters affecting its discipline, government, and independence, to take counsel of any one outside of itself. In the present case, Lord Fingal, only anxious for the emancipation of his countrymen, and credulous enough to believe that the English Parliament would grant it upon fair terms, without the strongest cöercion, acted by the advice of Doctor Milner, an English Vicar-Apostolic, and author of a learned controversial work; and as Doctor Milner was a kind of agent in England for the Irish Bishops, though not with any such purpose as this, the two together took it upon them to authorize Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan (as both those gentlemen affirmed,) to reinforce the prayer of the Catholic petition, by offering the *veto* power to the Crown.

The petition having returned from Ireland, duly signed, was presented by Mr. Grattan, on the 25th of May. The only remarkable passage in his speech, is that in which he proposes the *veto*. He said:—

"The influence of the Pope so far was purely spiritual, and did not extend even to the appointment of the members of his Catholic hierarchy. They nominated themselves, and looked to the Pope, but for his spiritual sanction of such nomination. But if it should be supposed, that there was the smallest danger in this course, he had a proposition to suggest, which he had authority to state, which, indeed, he was instructed

to make; namely, that His Majesty may interfere upon any such occasion with his negative. This would have the effect of preventing any Catholic ecclesiastic being advanced to the government of that Church in Ireland, who was not politically approved of by the Government of that country."

Mr. Ponsonby, in supporting the petition, made the same proposal; and said he did so upon the authority of Doctor Milner, who was a Catholic Bishop in England, and who was authorized by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland to make the proposition, in case the measure of Catholic Emancipation should be acceded to. The proposition, he said, was this: That the person to be nominated to a vacant Bishopric should be submitted to the King's approbation; and that, if the approbation were refused, another person should be proposed, and so on, in succession, until His Majesty's approbation should be obtained, so that the appointment should finally rest with the King.

Mr. Perceval, as might have been expected, earnestly and prayerfully opposed Mr. Grattan's motion, and all other possible concession to Papists, whether on the condition of *veto*, or any other condition. Not that he would be averse, he said, from giving contentment to his Catholic brethren, whom he loved as a Christian, as much as any man; and "should not conceive himself precluded from supporting their claims under different circumstances, in the event, for instance, *of a change taking place in the Catholic religion itself*." On the division upon Mr. Grattan's motion, the Minister had a majority of one hundred and fifty-three—one hundred and twenty-eight having voted for going into committee, and two hundred and eighty-one against it.

Lord Grenville presented the same petition in the Lords; made the same offer of the *veto*, and the petition met the same fate as in the Commons.

These debates at once raised an immense controversy both in England and in Ireland; which lasted many years, and produced innumerable books and pamphlets; discussing the limits between spiritual and temporal power; the meaning of loyalty, and of the oath of supremacy, and the "liberties of the Gallican Church"—which ought rather to be termed the "Slavery of the Gallican Church," because it means the subordination of the government of tha Church to the civil power. *That* civi power, indeed, is native and not foreign; but when it comes to be a question of subordinating the government of the Catholic Church in Ireland to a Protestant King of England, one must only wonder that even the eagerness for civil emancipation could ever have made any Irish Catholic entertain such an idea for a moment. Into the merits of the question we do not here enter; but it is matter of history that when Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh were intriguing for support to the Union, in 1799, they had deluded certain Irish Bishops into accepting the principle of the *veto*, by holding out to them the bait of immediate emancipation after the Union.*

The alarm and indignation excited in Ireland, both amongst clergy and laity, by the *veto* project, were quite vehement. The conscientious Catholic historian, Plowden, says:—

"The prospective view of a national religion, preserved with a virtuous hierarchy, without any *civil* establishment or state interference, through three centuries of oppression and persecution, produced alarm in

* The Rev. Mr. Brenan, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, narrates the circumstances thus:—

"During the course of that year, ten of the Irish Bishops, constituting the Board of Maynooth College, happened to be convened in Dublin, on the arrangement of some ecclesiastical business, when Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for Ireland, availed himself of their presence, and submitted for their adoption two vitally momentous measures, originating from the British Ministry.*

"By the first of these it was proposed, that His Majesty should be invested with the power of a veto in all future ecclesiastical promotions within this kingdom, and agreeably to the second, the Catholic clergy of Ireland were to receive a pension out of the treasury; at the same time, assurances were solemnly pledged by Government, that on the acquiescence of the Irish hierarchy in these state measures, the fate of that great national question, Catholic Emancipation, entirely depended. They beset by the proffers of the Minister on the one hand, and by the alarming posture of the country on the other, the Bishops already alluded to agreed, 'that in the

* The prelates composing the board were as follows:—Richard O'Reilly, R. C. A. B., Armagh; J. T. Troy, R. C. A. B., Dublin; Edward Dillon, R. C. A. B., Tuam; Thomas Bray, R. C. A. B., Cashel; P. J. Plunkett, R. C. B., Meath; F. Moylan, R. C. B., Cork; Daniel Delaney, R. C. B., Kildare; Edmund French, R. C. B., Elphin; James Caulfield, R. C. B., Ferns; John Cruise, R. C. B., Ardagh.

every reflecting mind. The proposed innovation of introducing *Royal and Protestant* connection, influence, and power into the constitution and perpetuation of a Catholic hierarchy, to the utter exclusion of which the Irish Catholics ascribed that almost miraculous preservation, threw the public mind into unusual agitation. The laity abhorred the idea of the ministers of their religion becoming open to Court influence and intrigue, and shuddered at the prospect of prostituting the sacred function of that apostolic mission and jurisdiction, to which they had hitherto submitted as of divine institution, to its revilers, persecutors, and sworn enemies. At the same time, the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland were driven by a common electric impulse into more than ordinary reflection upon the stupenduous efficacy of that evangelical purity and independence by which the spiritual pastors had so long, and under such temptations and difficulties, preserved their flocks in the religion of their Christian ancestors.

"The general voice of the people crying out against religious reform, was an awful warning to the clergy; and although the insidious concordat of 1799, was still clothed in darkness, the Irish Catholic prelates met in regular National Synod on the 14th and 15th of September, 1808, in Dublin, and came to the following resolutions:—

"It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, which mode, long experience, has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

"That the Roman Catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rules by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided; namely, to recommend to His Holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct." These Synodical resolutions were signed by twenty-three prelates. Three only (they were three of those who had signed the resolutions of 1799,) dissented."*

Immediately were held many meetings of Catholics throughout Ireland, who, by their resolutions and addresses, protested vehemently against the whole project of *veto*, and thanked the Bishops for their firm resolutions. When the real nature of the proposal was explained, and fully known, the Catholics of Ireland indignantly resolved rather to remain unemancipated, than suffer their Church to be enthralled. O'Connell was a strong opponent of the *veto* from the first; the more active and educated of the laity repulsed the plan with scorn; the press teemed with pamphlets, of which none made so much impression as the republication of Burke's letter to a peer in Ireland, in which he treats of a similar project, of giving the Crown a voice in the nomination of Catholic Bishops.†

appointment of Roman Catholic prelates to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to;' this statement was accompanied with an admission, 'that a provision, through Government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.'"

This transaction remained a secret for many years. Mr. Plowden speaks of "the long and mysterious suppression from the knowledge of the Catholic body, of the resolutions of the Clerical Trustees of Maynooth College in 1799, which never came fully to light till 1810. It is not surprising," he adds, "that respectable prelates should wish to conceal them from the eyes of the public, and particularly of such of their friends as they wished to engage in their cause, and whose esteem and confidence they subsequently courted. They were the base offspring of their unguarded connection with Mr. Pitt, whilst he was meditating the Union; which they have been sorely lamenting from the hour they found themselves windled out of the stipulated price of their seduction."

It should be stated, in justice to Doctor Milner, that, after the use of his name in Parliament, as authorizing the offer of a *veto*, he published a statement that he had no authority to sanction such an offer; and that he had been misquoted. After the Irish Bishops passed their Synodical resolutions, there was no more ardent opponent of the *veto* than Doctor Milner.

* Plowden. *Post-Union History*, p. 395, *et seq.*

† Edmund Burke, who was as warm a friend to his Catholic countrymen as Grattan, and a much wiser friend, says, in his letter to a Peer: "Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint pastors to another. Those, who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. The Seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, whether Catholics or Protestant; and where their own sect is concerned, full as religious; but the sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek Church, the factions of the Harem, to which they make them subservient, the continual sale to which they expose and reëxpose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy is nearly equal to all the other oppressions to

The project of enslaving the Irish Catholic Church to the English Protestant State, was for that time defeated; but it was brought forward again and again, during the struggle for emancipation, and for many years, greatly agitated the Catholic public.

In the course of this session, Lord Grenville made his motion to make Catholic merchants admissible as Governor and Directors of the Bank of Ireland. Lord Westmoreland opposed the motion, on the general ground that *no further concessions* whatever should, under the present circumstances, be granted to the Catholics. But to this not very intelligent argument, his lordship added a sensible observation. He said "he was surprised to see such motions so often brought forward by those who, when they were themselves in power, employed every exertion to deprecate and prevent such discussions." This was true. Ireland and her grievances, the Catholics and their wrongs, had become, in the Imperial Parliament, a stock-in-trade for Whigs out of place; and have so remained ever since. When these politicians are in power, they still "deprecate such discussions." Lord Redesdale, late Chancellor of Ireland, was alarmed at the danger to the Protestant interest which would arise, from allowing Catholics to be Bank Directors. He said he had only to repeat his former objections to such claims "The more you were ready to grant them, the more power and pretensions you gave to the Catholics to come forward with *fresh claims*, and *perhaps to insist* upon them. His lordship then launched out into a general invective against the Catholics, and particularly the priests."

gether, exercised by Musselmen over the unhappy members of the Oriental Church. It is a great deal to suppose, that the present Castle would nominate Bishops for the Roman Church of Ireland, with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps dare not do it." And in another letter to Doctor Hussey, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, he said: "If you (the Catholic Bishops,) have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off, one by one. I am sure, that the constant meddling of your Bishops and Clergy *with the Castle, and the Castle with them*, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight, which the clergy have hitherto had to keep the people quiet will be wholly lost, if this once should happen. At best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind, and I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued."

This debate about the Bank of Ireland, is not, by any means, worth recording (for the motion was rejected, as its mover knew it would be,) save to illustrate the party tactics of the Whigs, and the cool and stupid insolence of the "Ascendancy."

The Dublin Police bill was carried, creating eighteen new places for police magistrates; and Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of July, 1808.

CHAPTER L.

1808—1809.

The Duke of Richmond's Anti-Catholic Policy—The Orangemen Flourish—Their Outrages and Murders—Castlereagh and Perceval Charged with Selling Seats—Corruption—Sir Arthur Wellesley—Tithes—Catholic Committee Reorganized—John Keogh on Petitioning Parliament—O'Connell and the Convention Act—Orangemen also Reorganized—Orange Convention—More Murders by Orangemen—Crooked Policy of the Castle—Defection of the Bandon Orangemen—Success of the Castle Policy in Preventing Union with Irishmen.

The administration of the Duke of Richmond showed a venomous determination to keep down the Catholic people, and to rule the island most strictly through the Orange Ascendancy, and for its profit.

The legislative rejection of the Catholic petition had been aggravated by the restoration of a certain Mr. Jacob, a notorious Orangeman, to the magistracy, the appointment of Mr. Giffard to a more valuable situation than that from which he had been displaced, the admission of Doctor Duigenan to the Privy-Council, and the curtailed grant to Maynooth College. A fostering countenance was given to the Orangemen, that tended more to foment and encourage, than to put down or punish their atrocities.

It is certainly not an agreeable part of our duty to narrate and to dwell upon these Orange outrages; because this helps, more or less, to keep alive the religious animosities between the two religious sects; which was the very object of the English Government in encouraging those outrages. Much more pleasing would it be to draw a veil of oblivion over them, and to think of them no more. But for two reasons this cannot be: first, the modern history of Ireland would be al

most a blank page without the villanies of Orange persecution, the complicity of Government in those villanies, and their consequences upon the general well-being of the island ; next, because however well-inclined to forget those horrors, we have not been permitted to do so for a moment down to the present day. It was as late as 1848 that Lord Clarendon secretly supplied the Orange Lodges with arms ; as late as '49, that a magistrate of Down County led a band of Orangemen and policemen to the wrecking and slaughter of a Catholic townland.* Later still, the records of assizes in the northern circuits show us the frequent picture of an Orange murderer shielded from justice by his twelve brethren who have been carefully packed into the jury-box by a sheriff who is an officer of the Crown. All this odious condition of society being a direct product of British policy, and now flourishing and still bearing its poisonous fruit, a student of Irish history is bound to look at, and to study, the wretched details.

On the evening of the 23d of June, 1808, a considerable number of men, women, and children, were assembled round a bonfire at Corinshiga, within one mile and a half of the town of Newry. They had a garland, and were amusing themselves, some dancing, others sitting at the fire, perfectly unapprehensive of danger, when in the midst of their mirth, eighteen *yeomen*, fully armed and accoutred, approached the place, where they were drawn up by their sergeant, who gave them the word of command to "present and fire," which they did several times, leveling at the crowd. One person was killed ; many were grievously wounded. The magistrates of Newry, although far from being friendly to the Catholic people, were scandalized at this atrocity. They offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators ; inclosed a copy of their publication to the Duke of Richmond, and prayed him to take some measures for the protection of the Catholics, who they said were all unarmed, while the very lowest class of Protestants were well provided with fire-arms. The Duke made a civil, but unmeaning, reply, expressing his "regret" at the sad circumstance. Some weeks elapsed ; and still no measures were adopted. In the meantime, one of the persons concerned in the outrage was apprehended, but was allowed to escape by the yeomen, to whose custody Lord Gosford had intrusted him ; and a number of the same corps, to which the murderers belonged, so far from showing any shame or regret at the conduct of their comrades, one day returning from parade, fired a volley (by way of *bravado*) over the house of M'Keown, (father of the deceased,) the report of which threw his wife into convulsions.

Several inhabitants of the townland of Corinshiga, came to the magistrates and made depositions as to the continual terror and danger of themselves and their families, and the atrocious threats of the Orange yeomen who lived near them. Mr. Waring, one of the magistrates, who appears to have exerted himself earnestly in this affair, sent to the Castle copies of these depositions, and entreated the Government to issue a proclamation, offering a reward for the assassins, and to take some measures of repressing open outrage.

Mr. Secretary Traill replied, coldly, that the Government declined to do anything in the matter. Mr. Waring again wrote, still more earnestly, "that the magistrates had expected that Government would have issued a proclamation offering a reward for prosecution, and pardon to some concerned for evidence against the others ; that if this had not the desired effect, still much good might be expected to arise from the marked disapprobation of Government of an outrage of so dangerous and alarming a tendency ; that it might appear not unworthy the consideration of his grace, whether such a measure might not even then (the 3d of August, 1808,) be adopted with propriety, and that this procedure so far from having a tendency to supersede the exertions of the local magistracy, could not but prove an efficient aid to them." This last letter was not answered, and so the business dropped.* The advertisement or proclamation of the Newry magistrates

* It is true that the magistrate was dismissed from the Commission. He had somewhat exceeded the intentions of the Castle in getting up a "loyal demonstration." Yet the arms of that banditti had been furnished out of the Castle vaults.

* See abstract of the whole correspondence in Plowden's (Volume III,) *Post-Union History*.

was sent to the *Hue and Cry*, but was not inserted. Not the least notice was taken of it, or the letter accompanying it. Such was the unblushing tenderness of the Duke of Richmond for the band of eighteen Orangemen, each and every one of whom was guilty of open murder. Not one of them was ever brought to justice ; and to this day the inhabitants of that and many another Catholic neighborhood in Ulster, when the anniversaries of the 1st and 12th of July come round, either bar themselves up in their houses and put out all lights, or else prepare for defensive battle.

The foregoing incident is related in detail, because it is a characteristic example of many similar cases ; save, indeed, that the local magistrates, instead of seeking to bring offenders to justice, as in this case, have generally sought to screen them. If an atrocity like this had been at any time done by Catholics, troops would immediately have been sent down to quarter themselves upon their houses, and a special commission would have issued to hang at least eighteen, guilty or innocent.

It was not merely in the way of direct encouragement to lawless Orangeism, that Lord Richmond's administration showed its settled design of trampling down the Catholics. We have seen that in Dublin, the wealthiest and most respectable merchants were insultingly kept out of the Bank Direction, because they were Catholics. In the counties, Catholic gentlemen, whose property and position entitled them to be called upon the Grand Juries, were studiously excluded. If any High Sheriff of a county was not a supporter of the Ministerial policy, or was known to be favorable to his Catholic neighbors, his name was carefully excluded from the next list. And in all these measures, Sir Arthur Wellesley was unusually active and rigorous. The time, indeed, had almost come, when his services would be required in the Spanish Peninsula ; and his native country could well spare him.

During this year, (1808,) corruption seems to have been almost as rife in Ireland as it had been immediately before the Union ; and seats in Parliament were bought and sold. Early in the session of 1809, Mr. Maddox brought forward a specific charge of this sort of corruption, criminating Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Perceval, stating, amongst other things, that at the last general election, a sum of money was paid by Mr. Quintin Dick to Lord Castlereagh, through means of the Honorable Henry Wellesley ; and that gentleman (Mr. Dick) was thereby returned member for Cashel, and Mr. Spencer Perceval was also a party to the transaction. Upon occasion of the late investigation as to the Duke of York, Mr. Quintin Dick waited upon Lord Castlereagh, and informed him of the vote he meant to give, and the noble lord not approving of that mode of voting, suggested to him the propriety of relinquishing his seat in Parliament.

Mr. Perceval, indeed, refused to plead to the charge ; said it was an insidious plan to lay the foundation for a measure of Parliamentary reform—which it certainly was—and so bowed to the Speaker, and went out. Lord Castlereagh followed his example ; but it is quite evident the charge must have been true, otherwise, there would not have been, in a House of six hundred and fifteen, in the teeth of all Ministerial influence, the large minority of three hundred and ten for a motion to inquire. There is every reason to believe that Sir Arthur Wellesley, during his Secretaryship, took the largest share in all this traffic for seats and votes and influence. He had a mind of the character usually termed "eminently practical ;" and thought he had a right, as he declared long after, speaking of his administration in Ireland, "to turn the moral weakness of individuals to *good* account ;" that is, to the account of his party.

In the session of Parliament, in 1809, little or no attention was given to the affairs of Ireland. An attempt was made by Mr. Parnell, to carry a motion for inquiry into the mode of collecting tithes in this country. The grievances and oppressions connected with the Church establishment, and the irritating spoliation of the people, for support of clergymen whose ministrations were of no use to them, were but too well known already, and needed no Committee of Inquiry at all. On this very ground, the motion was opposed by Ministers, who, having no idea whatever of giving any relief, or

redress, naturally enough refused the empty formality of an inquiry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer "did not think that the House was in ignorance, with respect to the subject of tithes in Ireland, but that the difficulty was, how to find out a practical mode of securing the property of the Church. He could not be persuaded, that any inquiry, either by commission or committee, would do any good; for they did not *want information*."

In the short debate on this motion, Sir John Newport observed, that he thought Lord Castlereagh bound, by his former professions at the Union, to find out some modifications to lighten the burdens of the poor, oppressed people of Ireland. Instead of doing so, that noble Lord appeared to forget all his pledges for the public good, and merely to attend to those that went to provide for individuals, whom he had taken care to seduce to his own standard. Lord Castlereagh arrogantly asserted, that he knew of no pledge made, either by Mr. Pitt or himself, upon the subject of tithes, *or the Catholic question.* He most distinctly denied, *that he had ever made any pledge whatever* as to Ireland. Mr. C. Hutchinson deprecated the conduct of Lord Castlereagh as to Ireland. He was the parent of the Union, and, in order to effect it, he had made many promises; but whenever any question as to the amelioration of the situation of Ireland came to be agitated, he either put a negative upon it, or moved the previous question. And, in fact, by the "previous question," the whole question was put aside upon this occasion also.

On the 24th of May, was held in Dublin a numerous meeting of the Catholics, to consider what step they should take to further their claims. The requisition convening the meeting was signed by Lord Netterville, Sir Francis Goold, Daniel O'Connell, Richard O'Gorman, Edward Hay, Denis Scully, Doctor Dromgoole, and many others, whose names have since been familiar, in connection with the Catholic cause. Mr. O'Gorman opened the proceedings with a speech, in which he proposed to petition Parliament. This was opposed by the veteran John Keogh, who spoke with great bitterness of the treachery practiced towards the Catholics in the matter of the Union, and deprecated petitioning altogether, at least while the existing Ministry remained in power. Mr. Keogh observed, that, with respect to the existence and oppressiveness of their grievances, they were unanimous; and differed only as to the means most likely to remove them. He was ready, on his part, to sacrifice, to burn, with his own hands, the resolution, which he was about to propose to the meeting, if any man could show him what was likely to be more effectual to promote the object of all their wishes. A petition at the present moment, must, if presented, be presented to decided enemies, or lukewarm friends; upon neither of whom could be placed any reliance for success. Mr. Perceval and his colleagues were admitted into office, upon the express condition of excluding the Catholic claims from the relief of the Legislature; and their predecessors had very willingly consented to give up a bill, nominally only in favor of the Catholics, rather than resign their places. Mr. Keogh adverted in strong and pointed terms, to the double imposition practiced upon the Catholics at the time of the Union. He insisted, that the proposals for their support from the Unionists and the Anti-Unionists, were equally hollow, and equally insidious. Had it been otherwise; had the Catholics been liberally treated by their Parliament, they would have raised a cry in its defence that would have been heard, and would have shaken the plan of Union to atoms. No man had a right to suppose, that he wished to relinquish the Catholic claims. With his dying breath, with his last words, as a testamentary bequest to his countrymen, he would recommend to them never to relinquish, never even to relax, in the pursuit of their undoubted rights. No man could expect success to the petition. Without that expectation, he saw nothing likely to accrue from the measure but mischievous and injurious consequences. He resisted the measure, not for the purpose of retarding, but of forwarding the Catholic claims.

Mr. Keogh, therefore, moved a resolution in accordance with these views, which was passed; but the meeting then proceeded to organize a new Catholic Committee, consist-

ing of the Catholic Peers, and the survivors of the Catholic Delegates of 1793, together with certain gentlemen who had been lately appointed by the Catholics of Dublin to prepare an address. It was resolved that these persons "do possess the confidence of the Catholic body."

This new committee was to be permanent; and was to consider the expediency of preparing a petition, not to the then sitting, but to the next session of Parliament. The committee, undoubtedly, was capable of being regarded as a virtual representation of the Irish Catholics, and, therefore, as coming under the penalties of the "Convention act;" for which reason Mr. O'Connell, who knew that the Government was watching their proceedings with a jealous eye, endeavored to guard against this legal peril by introducing a resolution which was carried unanimously: "That the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof."

We thus find Mr. O'Connell, from the first of his long series of agitations, always anxiously steering clear of the rocks and shoals of law; and find, also, that the most dangerous of those rocks and shoals was always the same "Convention act." It embarrassed the Catholic Committee in 1809; it stopped the "Council of Three Hundred," in 1845—and, in fact, it had been passed for the very purpose of preventing all organized deliberation, and all effectual action, by Catholics for the attainment of their rights. There is no doubt that the Government might at any time have prosecuted to conviction the members of this Catholic Committee as *delegates*, (notwithstanding their disclaimer,) by means of a well-packed Castle jury; but, in the meantime, the affairs of the Catholics seemed to acquire some consistency and strength from the permanent organization of the committee and the respectability of its members. Of course, this circumstance alarmed and infuriated the Orangemen; who are generally believed to have at the same time remodeled and improved their societies. It is not easy to arrive at the exact truth regarding all the secret tests and oaths and "degrees" of this mischievous body—the precise forms have been from time to time altered; and their "Grand Masters" and their organs at the press have boldly denied what is alleged against the Society, although such allegation had been true very shortly before, and was substantially true when denied, even if some trifling form may have been altered, to justify the denial.

Mr. Plowden, writing in 1810, says, very distinctly, that "a renovation of the system (of Orangeism) actually prevailed in the year 1809," and that new oaths were introduced. He says, further:—

"It was reported, believed, and not contradicted, that about the time, at which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland were assembled in National Synod to oppose the *veto*, the Orange associations met by deputation in Dawson street, Dublin, in order, as may be naturally presumed, to counteract the presumed resolutions of that Episcopal Synod, and to make head generally against the alarming growth of Popery. A deputy from the seventy-two English (almost all Lancastrian) Lodges came over in unusual pomp of accredited diplomacy to the Irish Societies. Through the gloom of Orange darkness it would be presumption to ascertain the points of debate within their strictly-guarded sanctuary in Dawson street." The same writer observes:—

"So much undeniable truth has lately been brought before the public concerning the Orange institution, so glaringly has the illegality and mischief of the system been exposed, such weighty and fatal objections urged against it, that it has become fashionable with many Orangemen, of education and fortune, to affect to disclaim everything objectionable in the system, and to throw it exclusively upon the incorrigible ignorance and bigotry of the rabble, who are alike in every country, and of every persuasion. This was base artifice to disguise or conceal the countenance and support which the Orange societies have uniformly and unceasingly received from Government. If the obligations and oaths of Orangemen were of a virtuous and beneficial tendency, why not proclaim them aloud? If illegal and dangerous, why criminally conceal them? Whilst

the Orange aristocracy thus affects to disclaim their own institute, in detail, their activity in keeping the evil on foot is supereminently criminal. Nor can they redeem their guilt without revealing in detail the whole mischief of the system, by enabling others, or cöoperating effectually themselves, (as far as they possess power,) to expose and effectually extinguish it."

Upon the subject of the new and alarming development of the Orange system which took place at this date, we may further cite the language of O'Connell, at an aggregate meeting, in May, 1811. He said:

"From most respectable authority I have it, that Orange Lodges are increasing in different parts of the country, with the knowledge of those whose duty it is to suppress them. If I have been misinformed, I would wish that what I now say may be replied to by any one able to show that I am wrong. I hold in my hand the certificate of an Orange purple man, (which he produced,) who was advanced to that degree as lately as the 24th of April, 1811, in a Lodge in Dublin. I have adduced this fact to show you, that this dreadful and abominable conspiracy is still in existence; and I am well informed, and believe it to be the fact, that the King's Ministry are well acquainted with this circumstance. I have been also assured, that the associations in the North are rëorganized, and that a committee of these delegates, in Belfast, have printed and distributed five hundred copies of their new constitution. This I have heard from excellent authority; and I should not be surprised if the Attorney-General knows it. Yet there has been no attempt to disturb these conspirators; no attempt to visit them with magisterial authority; no attempt to rout this infamous banditti."

In truth, the "banditti" were so useful and indispensable an agency of British domination in Ireland, that they were perfectly safe from the law and the Attorney-General; and that functionary was not in the least obliged to O'Connell for his information. It was against Catholics only that penal statutes were made. Thus, although the Convention act makes no distinctions between Catholic and Protestant, the Orange Lodges were never at all embarrassed about sending delegates to a meeting in Dublin. And although the acts against administering secret oaths, especially apply to the oaths of Orangemen, no Orangemen was ever prosecuted by the Crown under those laws. The oath which Government punished, was not an oath to extirpate one's neighbors, but an oath to promote the union of Irishmen.

It would be easy to accumulate examples of Orange outrages at this time in many parts of the country; but these incidents have a wearisome sameness. On the 12th of August, 1808, fifty unarmed men of the King's County militia, who had volunteered into the line, marched from Strabane into Omagh, in Tyrone County, where fifty of their comrades occupied the barracks. As they came into the town, it happened that three hundred Orange yeomen had assembled, and were celebrating the battle of Aughrim. A yeoman began operations by knocking off and trampling upon the cap of one of the militiamen, because it was bound with *green*, which, though regimental, was not considered "loyal" enough for that occasion. The militiaman resented the out rage by a blow. A general assault was made by the whole body of yeomanry upon the fifty unarmed men; they retreated in good order to the barrack, where they were attacked again; but as they were now supplied with arms, they defended themselves to some purpose, and killed four of their assailants. Thomas Hogan, a corporal of the King's County militia, was tried for the *murder* of those four men, and was actually found guilty of manslaughter.

Again, at Mountrath, the annual return of the Orange festival, in July, 1808, had been disgraced by the most atrocious murder of the Rev. Mr. Duane, the Catholic priest of that parish; and it was followed up in the succeeding year by the no less barbarous murder of a Catholic of the name of Kavanagh, into whose house the armed yeomen rushed, and barbarously fractured his skull, in the presence of his wife and four infant children. On the first day of this same July, at Bailieborough, in the County Cavan, the Orange armed yeoman went in a body to the house of the parish priest, at whom they fired several shots, and left him for dead. They then wrecked

the chapel, and wounded and insulted every Catholic they met.

None of the persons guilty of these outrages, either at Mountrath or Bailieborough, was ever punished, or even questioned

But while the government of the Duke of Richmond thus encouraged Orange outrage, and screened the perpetrators, his grace sometimes affected to deprecate violent demonstrations of the Society, at least in his own presence. For example, he made a tour through Munster in the summer of this year, 1809; and as the object of his excursion was chiefly to conciliate the Catholics of that province, (many of whom were wealthy and influential,) and so to prevent them from joining in the agitation for their own rights, he issued orders that no distinctively Orange displays should take place on his line of route. The town of Bandon was in those days a great stronghold of Orangeism, in the South, and possessed a "legion" of six hundred yeomanry, all brethren of the Order. On the first of July, the yeomanry being assembled, according to custom, to celebrate the battle of the Boyne, and to flaunt before the eyes of the oppressed Catholics the emblems of their defeat, they were astonished at being addressed by their Commander and Grand-Master, Lord Bandon, in a very unusual strain: He said, "those Orange emblems were calculated to keep up animosities, and his grace the Lord-Lieutenant did not wish anything of the sort *on the present occasion*." The men suddenly dispersed in high indignation. The next parade-day was the 6th, and they again assembled; but to show how they valued the homily of Lord Bandon, every man of them appeared decorated with Orange lilies.

The Earl of Bandon and Colonel Oriel, the inspecting officer of the district, observed, that if they wished to be considered really obedient and loyal, they would attend to the orders of their officers, as Government seemed particularly anxious to prevent the further wearing of any emblem of this kind. They then ordered them, either to take these marks of distinction down, or else to ground their arms. The corps for some time remained undecisive, when at length, with the exception of twenty-five, they indignantly threw down their arms and accoutrements, sooner than obey the command of Government, delivered through their officer. The whole yeomanry of Bandon amounted to about six hundred men. On the 24th of July, 1809, the members composing the Boyne, Union, and True-Blues corps of yeomanry, under the denomination of the Loyal Bandon Legion, openly declared the cause for which they laid down their arms.*

This "defection of the Bandon Orangemen," as it was called, made the Government very cautious for long afterwards how it showed the least displeasure against these "loyal" displays, or the outrages which nearly always attended them. Indeed, Grand Masters and Ascendancy journals often coolly reminded the successive Chief-Governors of Ireland that English dominion could not be maintained one day in Ireland without the Lodges, which was true; so that Lords-Lieutenant and Ministers, while feeling themselves bound in common decency to affect, at least, to deprecate violence, and hypocritically to advise concord and good feeling, have been exceedingly tender of wounding the sensibilities of those people, who were, and are, their only support in the country.

So well had the Castle succeeded, during the administration of the Duke of Richmond, in undoing all that the volunteers and United Irishmen had done, and in making impossible that *union* of Irishmen, which was the only thing the Castle feared in the world.

CHAPTER LI.

1810—1812.

Duke of Richmond's "Conciliation"—Orange Oppression—Treatment of Catholic Soldiers—The *Veto* again—Debate on *Veto* in Parliament—Catholic Petition Presented by Grattan—Rejected—O'Connell's Leadership—New Organization of Catholics—Repeal of the Union First Agitated—Insanity of the King—Treachery of the Regent—Prosecution of the Catholic Committee—Convention Act—Suppression of the Committee—New Measures of O'Connell—Mr. Curran at Newry Election—Effects of the Union.

THE Duke of Richmond was one of our "conciliatory" Viceroys. In his tour through

* For a fuller account of these transactions at Bandon, see Plowden, Vol. II, of *Post-Union History*.

the South, he rendered himself more than usually affable and urbane ; and having a frank and gracious manner, he was not without some success in soothing the Catholics, whom long oppression had rendered too credulously impressible by a few words of hollow and hypocritical kindness. At a moment when it was notorious that he was acting as the zealous agent of a *No-Popery* administration ; that he was excluding Catholic gentlemen from the Grand Juries, Catholic merchants from the bank, that Catholic soldiers were regularly punished by their officers for going to Mass, and that his grace's Orange banditti were killing and maiming their Catholic neighbors with a perfect certainty of impunity, we find that at the entertainment given by the Corporation of Waterford to the Lord-Lieutenant, his grace's affability and attention to all were conspicuous. He took an opportunity of addressing Doctor Power, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, whom in a gracious and cordial style he thanked, for his and his flock's conduct in putting down the disturbances in their county. He openly and distinctly assured him, that he had it in special instructions from His Majesty, to make no distinction between Protestant and Catholic, which injunction he emphatically declared he had punctiliously complied with, ever since he had undertaken the government of the country, as far as the laws would allow of. Those laws, he lamented, it was not in his power to deviate from. Such was the traveling style of the Vice-regal Court. At the dinner given to his grace by the Mayor and Corporation of Cork, at the Mansion House, amongst the regular Corporation toasts, was announced, in its order, the *Protestant Ascendancy of Ireland*, on which his grace arose and declared, he wished to see no ascendancy in Ireland but that of loyalty ; and strongly recommended the same line of conduct to be pursued by all good subjects.

At another dinner in Cork, given by the merchants, traders, and bankers, his excellency had even the sanctimonious audacity to express his wonder, that religion being only occupied with a great object of eternal concern, men should be excited to rancorous enmity because they sought the same great end by paths somewhat different. This kind of language, which has been the common style of Irish Viceroys ever since, was first brought into vogue by the *No-Popery* Duke of Richmond ; and what is very remarkable, it so far imposed upon many simple-minded Catholics, that they were afterwards but slow and reluctant in even coming forward to petition for their withheld rights and franchises.

In the meantime, the daily and continual oppressions and humiliations which were inflicted upon the Catholics, not only by Orange magistrates and yeomen, but by the Government itself, were too notorious and too galling to be soothed away by the fair words of a conciliatory Viceroy. The treatment of Catholic soldiers in the army (of which they already constituted nearly one-half,) excited the strongest and bitterest feelings of discontent. At Enniskillen, a Lieutenant Walsh turned a soldier's coat, in order to disgrace him, for refusing to attend the Protestant service ; others were effectually prevented from attending the service of their own church, by an order not to quit the barracks till two o'clock on the Sunday, when the Catholic service was over, as at Newry. The case which acquired the most publicity, and produced the strongest effect upon Ireland, was that of Patrick Spence, a private in the County Dublin militia, who had been required (though known to be a Catholic,) to attend the divine service of the Established Church, and upon refusal, was thrown into the Black Hole. During his imprisonment, he wrote a letter to Major White, his commanding officer, urging, that in obeying the paramount dictates of conscience, he had in no manner broken in upon military discipline. He was shortly after brought to a court-martial, upon a charge that his letter was disrespectful, and had a mutinous tendency. He was convicted, and sentenced to receive nine hundred and ninety-nine lashes. Upon being brought out to undergo that punishment, an offer was made to him to commute it for an engagement to enlist in a corps constantly serving abroad ; this he accepted, and was transmitted to the Isle of Wight, in order to be sent out of the kingdom. The case having been represented to the Lord-Lieutenant, by

Doctor Troy, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, Mr. W. Pole wrote him a letter, which stated, that the sentence had been passed upon Spence for writing the disrespectful letter; not denying (therefore admitting,) that the committal to the "Black Hole" was for the refusal to attend the Protestant Church; but that, under all the circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief had considered the punishment excessive, and had ordered the man to be liberated, and to join his regiment. When Spence arrived in Dublin, he was confined several days, and then discharged altogether from the army. The copy of Spence's letter, which he vouched to be authentic, contained nothing in it either disrespectful or mutinous. The original letter was often called for, and always refused by those who had it in their possession, and might, consequently, by its production determine the justice of the sentence of nine hundred and ninety-nine lashes.

Many other examples of this kind of petty tyranny occurred about the same time; and as no officer was ever punished or reprimanded for any of them, they are sufficient to indicate the real feelings of the Government, and how much sincerity there was in the after-dinner liberality of the Duke of Richmond. In short, it was the settled design of the British Government, not only to break the promises made for carrying the Union (as it had formerly broken the treaty of Limerick,) but also to make the Catholics feel in their daily life the whole bitterness of their degradation.

They had, of course, no representative in the British Parliament; and it appeared, in the course of the year 1810, that such Protestant friends and advocates as they possessed in that Assembly, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby for example, desired to effect their emancipation only on the terms of enslaving the Catholic Church to the State, by means of the *veto*. The subject of *veto* was now revived, both in Parliament and in the country. The English Catholics, in *their* petitions for relief, offered to accept emancipation on such terms; that is, on the terms of giving to a Protestant State a discretion as to the appointment of their Bishops In Ireland, that idea was now universally repulsed, by the clergy and laity; although, as before stated, it had once been favorably received by a few of the higher clergy.

Late in January, 1810, was held a large meeting of the Catholics of Dublin. The Secretary, Mr. Hay, stated, that the most Rev. Doctor Troy had received from an English member of Parliament (Sir John Cox Hippesley) a letter, accompanied by an explanatory printed copy of a sketch of proposed regulations, concurrent with the establishment of a state provision, for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland.*

It was the project of *veto* in all its nakedness, but recommended both by the prospect of civil emancipation and by a state provision for the clergy. To the credit of the whole Catholic body (for it must be admitted that the bribe was high,) all proposals of this nature were rejected, and rejected with indignation. A petition was prepared for presentation to Parliament asking for unconditional emancipation, intrusted to Lord Fingal, who carried it to London and presented by Mr. Grattan. But, although he presented it, he said that it was merely in order to have the claims of the Catholics put on record; that he had hoped the Irish Catholics would be willing to allow, on the appointment of their Bishops, a *veto* to the Crown; "he was sorry to see that at present no such sentiment appeared to prevail." Mr. Grattan had still the same violent horror of "French influence," which had formerly prevented him from joining the United Irishmen. "The Pope," he said, "was almost certain now to be a subject of France; and a subject of France, or French citizen, could never be permitted to nominate the spiritual magistrates of the people of Ireland." In short, Mr. Grattan,

* The Catholic historian, Plowden, says: "This deep-laid plan, suggested by Sir John Cox Hippesley, fathered by Mr. Pitt, adopted by Lord Grenville, palmed by Lord Castlereagh upon the duped or intimidated trustees of Maynooth College, in contemplation of the Union, was now brought forward with the privity and approbation of several of the leading members of the Board of British Catholics. The concluding sentence speaks in full its primary intent: "All confirm the principle, that the sovereign power in every State, of whatever religious communion, has considered itself armed with legitimate authority in all matters of ecclesiastical arrangement within its dominion."

in both the speeches which he made in this session, spoke *against* the petition which he had presented. It would be tedious to make even an abstract of the debate; and it will be sufficient to say that on the motion for going into committee with the Catholic petition, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, and Sir John Cox Hippesley, were in favor of the motion, *subject to veto;* Mr. Hutcheson, Mr. Parnell, and Sir John Newport, in favor of it, *without veto*—Lord Castlereagh wholly against it in every shape; so, of course, were Mr. Perceval, and all other members of the No-Popery administration; and the motion was lost by a majority against the Catholic claims of one hundred and four.

In June, the petition was presented by Lord Donoughmore to the Lords, in a very fair and just speech. He said, speaking of the Catholic Church: "No man was so ignorant as not to know, that its professed unity in doctrine and in discipline, under one and the same declared head was the essential distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic Church, and yet they were told, that the Irish Catholics were the most unreasonable of men, because they would not renounce, upon oath, this first tenet of their religion, and consent to recognize a new head of their Church in the person of a Protestant King. The Irish Catholic, under the existing tests, solemnly abjures the authority of the Pope in all temporal matters, pledges himself to be a faithful subject of the King, and to defend the succession of the Crown, and the arrangement of property as now established by law, and that he will not exercise any privilege, to which he is, or may become, entitled, to disturb the Protestant religion or Protestant government. What possible ground of apprehension could there be, which was not effectually provided against by the terms of this oath. With respect to that ill-fated *veto*, the introduction of which, into the Catholic vocabulary, he witnessed with sincere regret; he could only say for himself, that he wanted no additional security; but he was equally ready to acknowledge, that it was the bounden duty of the Catholic, whenever the happy moment of conciliation should arrive, to go the full length his religion would permit him, to quiet the scruples, however groundless and imaginary, of the Protestant Legislature."

After a short debate, in which we find Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Grey, speaking in favor of going into committee on the petition; against it, Lord Liverpool, Lord Clancarty, Lord Redesdale, and the Lord-Chancellor—there appeared on a division: for the motion, sixty-eight; non-contents, one hundred and fifty-four; majority against the Catholics, eighty-six.

It was now at last tolerably evident that there was no use in petitioning that Parliament to acknowledge the rights of Catholics; that the insidious promises made by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of carrying the Union, were to be deliberately disregarded; and that the Catholic cause must be either abandoned altogether, or must be taken up by some more potent hand than any of those which had guided it up to that time. Daniel O'Connell was to be the new leader of the Irish Catholic cause, and may be said to date the commencement of his wonderful career of agitation from the Parliamentary defeat sustained by the petition of 1810. In a month after the rejection of that petition, the general committee of the Catholics, after passing a vote of thanks to the worthy old John Keogh "for his long and faithful services to the cause of Catholic Emancipation," issued an address to all the Catholics of Ireland, urging upon them a new and more combined form of political action, and bearing the signature of "Daniel O'Connell, Chairman." The programme of action presented in this address is substantially the same which was followed up by Mr. O'Connell, under several successive names, throughout all his agitations—local organizations holding frequent meetings, and corresponding with a central committee in Dublin. All proceedings were to be peaceful and legal; yet there was the *hint* of a possibility that millions of people steadily denied their rights, might in the end be driven to extort them with the strong hand. Here is an extract:—

"Still, *whilst time and opportunity yet remain for peaceful counsels*, the virtuous Catholic will deeply revolve in his mind the

wisest course for his redemption. He will prefer that success, which promises the greatest permanent enjoyment to himself and his family; the most salutary to his country; the most conformable to the best laws and dearest precepts of civil society. He will prefer to opposite courses—those of peace, of reason, and of temperate, but firm perseverance, in well-regulated efforts.

"The committee, sir, consulting not merely local, but general feelings, entertain every wish and hope, of calling into fair and free exercise the unbiased judgment and independent opinions of the Catholics of Ireland, thinking and acting for themselves throughout their respective counties, districts, cities, and towns, and deciding upon such measures as shall appear to them most eligible.

"They hope that the Catholics will take frequent opportunities, and as early as possible, of holding local meetings for these purposes; and there, unfettered by external authority, and unaffected by dictation, apply their most serious consideration, to subjects of common and weighty concern, with the candor and directness of mind, which appertain to the national character.

"The establishment of permanent boards, holding communication with the General Committee in Dublin, has been deemed in several counties highly useful to the interests of the Catholic cause.

"Nothing is more necessary amongst us than self-agency. It will produce that system of coherence of conduct, which must insure success.

"In the exercise of the elective franchise, for instance, what infinite good might not result from Catholic coherence? What painful examples are annually exhibited of the mischief flowing from the want of this coherence?

"The Catholic Committee have, therefore, every reason to expect the most beneficial effects to the general cause, from local and frequent meetings."

During this same summer, was heard the first loud cry for a *Repeal of the Union.* In the Corporation of Dublin—then, of course, an exclusively Protestant body—Mr. Hutton, pursuant to notice, made an impressive speech, in which he powerfully depicted the ruin, bankruptcy, despair, and famine, that were apparent in every street of Dublin—pointed out that the debt of the nation was then *above ninety millions;* that two millions sterling, wrung from the sweat of Irish peasants, were squandered in a foreign country, by absentees,* and that £2,500,000 more was drained away to pay the interest on that insupportable debt. He proposed resolutions to the effect, that the cure for all these evils was the repeal of the Union. Of course, he was vehemently opposed by Giffard and his party; but the resolutions were carried by a majority of thirty.

The next step was a requisition from the Grand Jurors of Dublin, to the two High Sheriffs, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir James Riddall, to call a meeting of the freemen and freeholders, to consider "*the necessity that exists* of presenting a petition to His Majesty and the Imperial Parliament, for a repeal of the act of Union." Stanley declined to call such a meeting; he said it "would agitate the public mind." But Riddall called the meeting. On the 18th of September, at the Royal Exchange, was held this memorable meeting, at which both Protestants and Catholics were unanimous, not only in affirming the universal misery and beggary of the country, but in attributing the whole to that fatal and fraudulent measure called the Act of Union. O'Connell delivered, on this occasion, a speech of the most concentrated power and passion, which deeply impressed his audience, and the entire nation. It was at once printed on a broadside, surmounted with a portrait of the orator; and O'Connell was from that moment the leader to whom all Catholics turned with pride and hope. The resolutions for the preparation of a petition for repeal of the Union, were adopted unanimously.

What we have to remark is, that in these first movements favoring repeal of the Union, all speakers concurred in representing the material and financial effects of that measure as disastrous in the extreme to Ire-

* Dean Swift estimated the absentee rents in his time at half a million sterling, and thought that same a great grievance. In 1848, Mr. Smith O'Brien, always moderate in his statements, said the drain through this single channel amounted to five millions.

land ; yet those speakers do not appear to have bethought them that the impoverishment of Ireland was the exact measure of the profit to England ; that this was the specific object for which England had demanded, contrived, and accomplished the Union ; and that the existing relation between the two countries, was the accurate fulfillment of the prediction made by that honest Englishman, Samuel Johnson, to an Irish acquaintance—"Sir, we shall rob you."

The Catholics of Ireland were by this time quite unanimous in favor of repealing that Union, the perpetration of which they had been induced to regard with indifference, or almost with complacency. At least, they knew how treacherously they had been dealt with on that occasion by the English Government and its agents, Cornwallis and Castlereagh ; and the natural soreness which they felt at being duped, aggravated the sufferings which fell upon them, as well as upon the Protestants, in consequence of depressed trade and ruined manufactures.

"Repeal" was, therefore, fairly before the country ; but it was too late for any peaceful redress. When the shark has once made his *union* with his prey, he does not easily disgorge ; for this there needs, either a miracle, as in the case of Jonah's fish, or else that the shark be killed and cut up. *Petitioning* for restitution of that rich prey, is, perhaps, the most imbecile idea that ever possessed any public man since the beginning of the world.

Catholic Emancipation, however, was another kind of question ; and one quite susceptible of a peaceful solution ; because to emancipate Catholics would cost England nothing ; but, on the contrary, would probably win over many of the leading, educated, and professional Catholics, who might be induced, by the prospect of honors and emoluments for themselves, to abandon their people to plunder and extirpation, and to sell the cause of their country to its enemies ;—an anticipation which we have unhappily seen realized on a large scale.

Catholic Emancipation, then, although a minor question, was the immediately-practical one for an Irish agitator ; and O'Connell saw that it was so, and devoted himself to it accordingly.

In October, King George III. fell into his final and irremediable insanity ; and the Prince again became Regent ; this time with almost full regal powers. It was a matter of no interest whatsoever to Ireland ; save that many Catholics were simple enough to believe that it removed the only real obstacle to their emancipation ; namely, the stupid scruples of the idiot King as to his Coronation oath. The Prince had made many professions, even distinct promises and pledges, afterwards minutely specified by O'Connell, that so soon as he should enjoy actual power, he would do all that in him lay to bring about Catholic Emancipation. In 1806, he had made such a pledge, through the Duke of Bedford, then Viceroy, in order to induce the Catholics to withhold their petitions ; his good friends, the Catholics, were to trust all to *him*, the Prince. Mr. Ponsonby, then Chancellor, had, in the same year, promulgated a similar promise in the Prince's name. He had himself given such a pledge to Lord Kenmare, at Cheltenham. Finally, he had given a formal verbal pledge to Lord Fingal, in presence of Lord Petre and Lord Clifford, which was reduced to writing by those three noblemen, and signed by them soon after the interview ended. The Prince had now uncontrolled power ; and, as usual, the Catholics found themselves cheated. He retained as his Prime Minister, the *No-Popery* Perceval, and was surrounded by advisers intensely hostile to the Catholic cause ; his mistress at that time was the wife of the Marquis of Hertford ; and the conscience of that lady could not reconcile itself to the thought of conceding any right to persons who believed in Seven Sacraments. Even the two Protestant Sacraments were one too many for her ladyship.*

* Certain resolutions passed in the Catholic Committee but too plainly referred to this woman, when they spoke of the "fatal witchery" which had led the Regent to form a Ministry hostile to liberty of conscience in Ireland. The enchantress was over fifty years of age ; and her husband and her son were the closest boon-companions of the lover of the father's wife and of the son's mother. These famous "witchery" resolutions were supposed to have so strongly aroused the Protestant feelings of the Prince as to adjourn all thought of Catholic Emancipation for many years, and to have been the cause of the exceedingly bad grace with which King George IV at last assented to that measure.

Almost the first act of any consequence done in Ireland, after the Prince became Regent, was a State prosecution, instituted against the Catholic Committee, in the persons of two of its members, Mr. Kirwan and Doctor Sheridan, who were charged to have been elected as delegates, in breach of the Convention act. The Government had been long watching for this chance, and now the Castle strained every nerve to insure a conviction. Mr. Saurin, Attorney-General, commenced his speech thus: "My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury—I cannot but congratulate you and the public, *that the day of justice has at last arrived*;" surely a most extraordinary expression, under the circumstances; seeing that these Catholics were but peacefully claiming their manifest right; and seeing that the crime of which they were now accused was unknown to the law of England. Mr. Bushe, then Solicitor-General, afterwards Chief Justice, speaking of the committee, constituted as it was, thus concluded his speech upon that trial: "Compare such a constitution with the established authorities of the land, all controlled, confined to their respective spheres, balancing and gravitating to each other—all symmetry, all order, all harmony. Behold, on the other hand, this prodigy in the political hemisphere, with eccentric course and portentous glare, bound by no attraction, disdaining any orbit, disturbing the system, and affrighting the world!" The remedy for this horrible comet was a packed jury; which is one of those "established authorities—all symmetry and harmony—" spoken of by Mr. Bushe. A conviction was obtained; and the Catholic Committee, in that form, ceased to exist. Mr. Sheil says: "A great blow had been struck at the cause, and a considerable time elapsed before Ireland recovered from it."

But although that organization was at an end, many angry meetings were held; and the Catholic press assumed a tone of aggression and defiance which had not been usual with it. Mr. O'Connell, in conjunction with Mr. Scully, a gentleman of large property and high talent, established a newspaper; and both in the press and in public assemblies there was manifested by the popular leaders, so much boldness and activity, as assured all men that the cause of the nation was now in a fresh and vigorous hand.

Mr. Wellesley Pole, had been appointed Irish Secretary of State, as successor to his brother, Lord Wellington; and his administration was chiefly noted for his circular letter against meeting in conventions, with a view to the suppression of the Catholic Committee. Mr. Wellesley Pole was soon after succeeded by Mr. Robert Peel, who proved himself during many years after the most deadly, and, indeed, most fatal foe the Irish nation ever encountered. He was but twenty-four years of age; and continued Chief Secretary for six years, during which he closely studied the character and wants of the people; so that of all English statesmen, in modern times, Sir Robert Peel may be said to have understood Ireland best, to Ireland's bitter cost.

In 1812, Mr. Perceval, the "No-Popery" Prime Minister, was assassinated by a maniac, in the lobby of the House of Commons; and a change of administration became necessary. But the new arrangements had little interest for Irishmen, and presented no hope of any approach to justice, in the treatment of that country. Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister, and both Canning and Castlereagh were members of the Cabinet. A dissolution of Parliament and general election followed, at which several additional "Liberals" were returned from places in Ireland. Mr. Curran was persuaded by his friends, and invited by the Liberal electors of Newry, to permit himself to be placed in nomination for that borough. He had never, since the Union, sought to enter the British Parliament; and it was with no sanguine hope of being able to effect any good there for his country, that he now essayed to enter public life once more. He was defeated at Newry; defeated by General Needham, one of the military tyrants who had dragooned the people into insurrection, in 1798. But in Mr. Curran's speech, on that occasion, to the electors of Newry, though imperfectly reported, is found a passage most vividly depicting the condition of Ireland twelve years after the Union, and Curran's estimate of the nature and effects of that measure. He said: "The whole history of man-

kind records no instance of any hostile Cabinet, perhaps, even of any Cabinet, actuated by the principles of honor or of shame. The Irish Catholic was, therefore, taught to believe that if he surrendered his country he would cease to be a slave. The Irish Protestant was cajoled into the belief that, if he concurred in the surrender, he would be placed upon the neck of a hostile faction. Wretched dupe! you might as well persuade the jailer that he is less a prisoner than the captives he locks up, merely because he carries the key in his pocket. By that reciprocal animosity, however, Ireland was surrendered—the guilt of the surrender was most atrocious—the consequences of the crime most tremendous and exemplary. We put ourselves into a condition of the most unqualified servitude; we sold our country, and we levied upon ourselves the price of the purchase; we gave up the right of disposing of our own property; we yielded to a foreign legislature, to decide whether the funds necessary to their projects, or their profligacy, should be extracted from us, or be furnished by themselves. The consequence has been, that our scanty means have been squandered in her internal corruption, as profusely as our best blood has been wasted in the madness of her aggressions, or the feeble folly of her resistance. Our debt has, accordingly, been increased *more than ten-fold*—the common comforts of life have been vanishing—we are sinking into beggary—our poor people have been worried by cruel and unprincipled prosecutions; and the instruments of our Government have been almost simplified into the tax-gatherer and the hangman." This dismal picture of the condition of his country, could not have been made in so public a manner, and by a man of Curran's character, unless it had been true. He could not have ventured to tell a large assembly of his countrymen, that they were ground down by taxes and sinking into beggary, if they could all have risen up and contradicted him on the spot. Besides, the evidence from other quarters is too clear and strong to allow us to doubt of the accuracy of any one feature in the sombre scene he depicts. The country was during all those years, as usual, disturbed now and then by a vindictive murder of some bailiff, or agent, who had turned poor families adrift, and pulled down their houses; or some tithe-proctor, who had seized on a widow's stack-yard. And all these acts of vengeance or despair were uniformly treated as seditious "insurrections." Ireland, therefore, remained under an almost uninterrupted *Insurrection act* The act of *Habeas Corpus* had been suspended in 1800 by the act *for the suppression of the rebellion;* that act had been continued in 1801, and again in 1804; and had been replaced in 1807 by another martial law (substantially the same law,) called Insurrection act, which was maintained until 1810. It will be seen hereafter, how steadily the same exceptional cöercion laws —but with ingenious variations of name, have been continued down to this day.

When Mr. Curran mentioned that the people were "worried by cruel and unprincipled prosecutions," he had in his thoughts the long series of "special commissions" sent down in state to the country, to hang up some scores of haggard wretches, and to terrify the rest; he was thinking of the many fathers of poor families, who were often dragged to jail, without a charge against them, and without the right to demand a trial; he was thinking of the free course which suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* gave to the vindictive outrages of Orange magistrates, and to the fanatical rage of packed juries.

So uniform has been the long passion of Ireland—generation after generation, wasting and withering under the very same atrocity which calls itself "Government;" the children losing heart and hope, as their fathers had done, and begetting a progeny to pine way under the same miseries still—until they are tempted to doubt whether a just God reigns over the earth.

CHAPTER LII.

1813—1821.

Grattan's Emancipation Bill—More *Veto*—Quarantotti—Unanimity in Ireland against *Veto*—Mr. Peel and his New Police—Stipendiary Magistrates—Close of the War—Restoration of the Bourbons—Waterloo—Evil Effects on Ireland—The Irish Legion in France—Its Fate—Miles Byrne and his Friends—Effects of the Peace in Impoverishing the Irish—Cheap Ejectment Law Passed—Beginning of Extermination—"Surplus Population"—Catholic Claims Ruined by the Peace—O'Connell and Catholic Board—Board Suppressed—O'Connell in Court—His Audacity—His Scorn of the Dublin Corporation—Duel with D'Esterre—Distress in Ireland—Famine of 1817—Cöercion in Ireland—"Six Acts" in England—Mr. Plunket's Emancipation Bill—Peel and the Duke of York—Royal Visit to Ireland—Catholics Cheated Again.

Mr. GRATTAN made his final effort to effect the emancipation of the Catholics in the first session of the new Parliament, in 1813. The bill which he proposed was a very imperfect and restricted one; but it provided that Catholics should sit in Parliament, and hold certain offices—excepting those of Lord-Chancellor—either in England or in Ireland, and that of Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord-Deputy, in Ireland. It did not include a provision for the royal *veto* upon Catholic Bishops. The debate which ensued is scarce worth recording, inasmuch as after several amendments, providing for *veto*, and at last an amendment, striking out the clause enabling Catholics to sit and vote in Parliament, the bill was withdrawn, and finally lost.

The *veto* amendments proposed by Castlereagh and Canning were the work of Sir John Hippesley, that indefatigable patron of *veto*. They proposed to constitute a Board of Commissioners, to examine into the *loyalty* of those proposed for Episcopal functions, and to exercise a *surveillance* and control over their official correspondence with Rome. But the Irish Catholics were now fully alive to the insidious nature of this proposal; and both clergy and people, with great unanimity, rejected all idea of emancipation upon any such terms. But the English Catholics, not having any *national* interest at stake in the matter, were quite favorable to the project, and used their utmost endeavors to have it accepted at Rome, and recommended from thence. English influence was then very strong at Rome; the Pope was a prisoner in France; and it was to the cöalition of European sovereigns against Buonaparte, that the Court of Rome looked for its rëestablishment. A certain Monsignor Quarantotti exercised, in the year 1814, the official authority of the Pope; and was induced, under English influence, to recommend submission to the *veto*, in a letter, or rescript, to "the Right Rev. William Poynter," Vicar-Apostolic of the London District. As the question of *veto* at that period occupied so large a share of public attention, both in England and in Ireland, it may be but just to let this Monsignor Quarantotti state, in his own way, the view which was taken of it at Rome; and, therefore, we give an extract from the most material passage of his rescript:—

"As to the desire of the Government to be informed of the loyalty of those who are promoted to the dignity of Bishop or Dean, and to be assured that they possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject; as to the intention, also, of forming a board, for the ascertainment of those points, by inquiring into the character of those who shall be presented, and reporting thereon to the King, according to the tenor of your lordship's letter; and, finally, as to the determination of Government to have none admitted to those dignities, who either are not natural-born subjects, or who have not been residents in the kingdom for four years preceding; as all these provisions regard matters that are merely political, they are entitled to all indulgence. It is better, indeed, that the Prelates of our Church should be acceptable to the King, in order that they may exercise their Ministry, with his full concurrence, and also that there may be no doubts of their integrity, even with those who are not in the bosom of the Church. For, 'it behoveth a bishop (as the Apostle teaches, 1 Tim., iii: 7,) even to have a good witness from those who are not of the Church.' Upon these principles, we, in virtue of the authority intrusted to us, grant permission, that those who are elected to and proposed for Bishoprics and Deaneries by the clergy, may be admitted or rejected

by the King, according to the law proposed. When, therefore, the clergy shall have, according to the usual custom, elected those whom they shall judge most worthy in the Lord to possess those dignities, the metropolitan of the Province, in Ireland, or the senior Vicar-Apostolic of England and Scotland, shall give notice of the election, that the King's approbation or dissent may be had thereupon. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be acceptable to the King; but if approved of, the Metropolitan or Vicar-Apostolic, as above, shall send the documents to the Sacred Congregation here, the members whereof having duly weighed the merits of each, shall take measures for the obtainment of canonical institution from His Holiness. I perceive, also, that another duty is assigned to the board above-mentioned, namely, that they are charged to inspect all letters written by the ecclesiastical power to any of the British clergy, and examine carefully whether they contain anything which may be injurious to the Government, or anywise disturb the public tranquillity. Inasmuch as a communication on ecclesiastical or spiritual affairs with the head of the Church is not forbidden, and as the inspection of the board relates to political subjects only, this also must be submitted to. It is right that the Government should not have cause to entertain any suspicion with regard to the communication between us. What we write will bear the eyes of the world, for we intermeddle not with matters of a political nature, but are occupied about those things which the divine and the ecclesiastical law, and the good order of the Church, appear to require. Those matters only are to be kept under the seal of silence which pertain to the jurisdiction of conscience within us; and of this, it appears to me sufficient care has been taken in the clauses of the law alluded to. We are perfectly convinced, that so wise a Government as that of Great Britain, while it studies to provide for the public security, does not on that account wish to compel the Catholics to desert their religion, but would rather be pleased that they should be careful observers of it. For our holy and truly-divine religion is most favorable to public authority, is the best support of thrones, and the most powerful teacher both of loyalty and patriotism."

This did by no means suit the views of the Irish Catholics, or their idea of "loyalty and patriotism." As they did not themselves "possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject," they naturally thought that their clergy should not. They believed, indeed, and not without reason, that loyalty and faithful attachment on the part of the Irish Catholic clergy towards a foreign and hostile Government, meant neither more nor less than a formal abandonment of the people to the mercy of their enemies, and a desertion of the cause of those faithful and devoted Catholics who had stood by their clergy in the worst of times, when a price was set upon a priest's head. In fact, the sequel proved that the Irish clergy of that day were not so base as it was hoped they would be. The Bishops sent a strong remonstrance to Rome, by the hands of Doctor Murray, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin; which, however, was not regarded in the least—so powerful was the political influence of England in the councils of the Holy See. Doctor Murray returned to Ireland. At a meeting of the Prelates, very energetic resolutions were adopted, one of which ran in these terms: "Though we sincerely venerate the Supreme Pontiff as visible head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can or ought to be removed by any determination of His Holiness, adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Rev. Doctor Murray—who, in that quality, was more competent to inform His Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland *than any other with whom he is said to have consulted.*"

This last phrase meant the emissaries of the English Catholics, then busy at Rome; and the English Catholics have been at all times as zealous and resolute to keep Ireland subject to English domination, in all respects, as any "No-Popery" Briton or

Orange Grand-Master could be. The resolutions were signed by all the Catholic Bishops in Ireland, and transmitted to Rome by the same Doctor Murray, accompanied by the Bishop of Cork. A vehement agitation was aroused in Ireland; which extended to the laity as well as the clergy; and under the potent impulse of O'Connell, a resolute spirit of resistance manifested itself in the whole Catholic population, against any orders or recommendations coming even from Rome itself, tending to enchain their national Church.

While this *veto* commotion agitated the Catholics, Mr. Robert Peel, the Irish Secretary, was engaged in rëorganizing and greatly increasing the Constabulary force, with a view to render it a more efficient instrument in the hands of the English Government for the cöercion of the country, and the detection of seditious proceedings. With the same view, Mr. Peel invented and established the class of stipendiary or police-magistrates, who were to take their instructions from the Castle, and whose business was to control and direct, as far as possible, the proceedings of justices of the peace at petty sessions and quarter-sessions, and to guard against any movement of independent feeling on the part of country gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace. The men chosen for this office of stipendiary magistrate have been usually briefless barristers, or broken-down politicians in a small way, to whom the salary was a desirable livelihood; and as they have at least legal phrases at their command, a supposed acquaintance with the views of the Castle, and great self-importance of manner, it has been found in practice that these paid officials have really to a great extent controlled and managed the local administration of justice; which, in all conscience, had been bad enough before. Mr. Peel's police arrangements were extremely unpopular; and his new constables and stipendiaries were popularly termed *Peelers;* but although the Irish, by an infallible instinct, abhorred the new system, they were yet far from suspecting to what a deadly use Mr. Peel would eventually put his new force.

In the meantime, the grand war of cöalized Europe against the French Empire drew to a close. The French armies were driven out of Spain by the patriotic efforts of the Spanish people, aided by a British force under Lord Wellington—for the English Government, with the great object of crushing the French, was willing, in a distant country, to ally itself even with patriotism The Emperor Napoleon, after the tremendous slaughter at Leipsic, (in which he fought all Europe,) had been obliged gradually to withdraw his forces into France; but though he made a most brilliant and fierce resistance to the advance of the allies, they surrounded Paris in overwhelming numbers; and the great Emperor was forced, in an evil hour, to abdicate at Fontainbleau. The cöalized kings and oligarchies of Europe triumphed; and the expelled Bourbons came back to sit on the throne of France for a while. The "Congress of Vienna" was called, to settle Europe upon the basis of a distinct denial of every human right and every national aspiration; and the fitting representative of England in that Congres was no other than Lord Castlereagh, the artizan of the Irish Union.

It does not enter within the compass of this narrative to detail the wonderful series of events which followed—the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, the enthusiastic uprising of France in his favor, the tricolor flying from steeple to steeple, the reign of a Hundred Days, the renewed concentration of the forces of the allies, and the sad disaster of Waterloo—Waterloo, like every other triumph of the arms and policy of England, was, of course, a fatal misfortune to Ireland. It confirmed the odious rule of an insolent oligarchy, both in England and in Ireland, and placed it high, as was hoped and believed, above all apprehension of revolution and democracy. Waterloo put an end at once to all interest in Catholic claims on the part even of the "Liberals," and adjourned for fourteen years all thought either of emancipation or of reform. The defeat of Waterloo was not, indeed, so much a defeat for France, as for other oppressed countries of Europe; for in France, the great revolution had been accomplished, and its work could not be undone. In France, all religious sects were equal, and

remained equal, before the law; all feudal privilege was, and remained, abolished; and all men, like all religions, were on an equal footing; in France, the people were in possession, and remained in possession, of the great confiscated estates, each one of which made hundreds or thousands of farms for free peasants; in France, tithes were, and remained, abolished; the highest dignity of the state was open to the meanest mechanic; the highest grade in the army to the humblest private. It was earnestly hoped, indeed, by the cöalized allies of the Bourbons, that the forcible restoration of that family would speedily reverse and abolish all these dangerous privileges of the French people—but that was impossible. The sentiment and practice of justice and equality had entered too deeply into the life and soul of France, to be eradicated even by foreign bayonets. But for Ireland, the case was very different. The apprehension of a triumph of "French principles"—that is, principles of equality and justice—which had been for twenty-five years a dreadful bugbear to the British oligarchy—was now at an end; and *privilege*, and Church and State, and the "Ascendancy," reigned supreme.

Of the armies which triumphed on the field of Waterloo, about one-fourth consisted of British troops; and of these "British" troops, nearly one-half were Irish. It is a shame to be obliged to confess it. Their country can take no pride in those Irishmen; Irish history refuses to know their names. They fought under a commander who always opposed and denied their right to rank on an equality with his other soldiers; they fought to perpetuate a domination which oppressed and despised them; fought against their own enfranchisement, and their own right to land and life on their own soil; and to establish, on an immovable basis, that odious British system which has since degraded, impoverished, and almost depopulated their country. While a vestige of genuine Irish feeling remains amongst our people, Irishmen will speak with pride of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, and with shame and repugnance of the Irish regiments at Waterloo.

There were, indeed, some true Irishmen in the service of France at that period; the Irish Legion, the relics of '98, as the old brigades were the relics of Limerick. In this Legion and its gallant officers, Ware, Allen, Byrne, Corbet, Lawless, MacSheehy, centred the genuine military renown of the Irish race at that day. But the Legion was not present at Waterloo; it had fought through the Peninsular campaign, and had taken part in some of the last battles of the campaign of 1814. It had thus been sadly reduced in numbers; and during the first Restoration, (before the Hundred Days,) it had been entirely rëorganized and reduced to a regiment. At the time of the final struggle on the plains of Belgium, the regiment was stationed at Montreuil, on the shore of the British Channel; and after the calamity of Waterloo, and the treacherous capture of Napoleon, the Irish regiment, as well as all the rest of the army, was disbanded; and the officers were allowed at first to retire upon their half-pay to any town they might select in France, where, says the venerable Miles Byrne, "they hoped at least to enjoy their pittance and the protection of the law." But it is mortifying to learn that through the paramount influence of Castlereagh with the new Government, and through the base compliance of Clarke, Duc de Feltre, (himself the son of an Irishman,) these forlorn exiles were persecuted with a mean malignity, which only the spite of Lord Castlereagh could have suggested. Before quitting Montreuil to be disbanded, orders had been given to deface and destroy all their insignia and memorials of service—a bitter ordeal for the veteran heroes. Colonel Byrne, in his lately published memoirs, gives some account of the affair. He says:—

"Two beautiful standards were sent to Spain by the Emperor in 1810, for the second and third battalions of the Irish regiment, but they were left at Valadolid, as those battalions were then in Portugal These standards were brought to the depôt of the regiment and were destroyed by Lieutenant Montague at Montreuil. They were green, with a large harp in the centre. On one side, in gold letters, "Napoleon I. to the second Irish Battalion." And on the other, "The Independence of Ireland." The third

the same. The Eagle was carried by the first battalion, which, of course, had its colors like the others.

"The officers of the council left at Monreuil received two-thirds of their pay until the February following, and when all was finished, they retired on half-pay like the other officers, hoping, at least, to remain unmolested But soon after the battle of Waterloo, the brave regiment was disbanded by Louis XVIII., and the Irish officers were made to feel that Lord Castlereagh and English influence prevailed in the French councils.

"Commandant Allen, who had retired to Melun, was ordered from that town to Rouen, and passing by Paris, was there arrested by order of the Duke of Feltre, and informed he must quit the French territory without delay. Thus, without trial or judgment, one of those officers, whose gallant actions had gained such renown for the Irish regiment, both in Spain and Silesia, was to be banished from his adopted country, by the orders of General Clarke, the son of an Irishman."

Many others of the officers, including Miles Byrne himself, were in like manner ordered in the harshest manner to quit France; but long afterwards we find most of them again upon active duty in the French service. Scarcely one was base enough to offer his services to England; and nothing could irritate these gentlemen so much as any suggesion of seeking a British pardon, or accepting a British favor.*

Poor Curran, when near his last, and in great misery of body and mind, had made a visit to Paris in August 1814, and had met there some of the Irish officers. In a letter to a friend, which afterwards was made public, he had spoken of his wish to see *mercy and compassion* shown them by the English Government. Miles Byrne tells us in his memoirs :—

"I recollect a coincidence. In August, 1814, whilst at Avesnes, Inspector-General Burke was preparing his report to the Minister of War on the merits and claims of the brave Irish officers returning from the Russian prisons of Siberia, as well as those officers who escaped from Flushing, and from the English pontons, Curran's very ill-timed and most silly letters from Paris, in August, 1814, to his friend, Counselor Denis Lubé, were published in the Dublin newspapers. The following extract is from one of them on the Irish exiles :—

"'I had hopes that England might let them back. The season and the power of mischief is long past; the number is almost too small to do credit to the mercy that casts a look upon them. But they are destined to give their last recollection of the green fields they are never to behold, on a foreign deathbed, and to lose the sad delight of fancied visits to them in a distant grave.'

"It caused no little indignation amongst the Irish officers who had read it, and several of them met at dinner at the Trois Frères, in the Palais-Royal, to talk it over. These were General Lawless, who came in from Saint Germains for the meeting, Commandant O'Reilly, Captain Luke Lawless, Edward Lewens, and John Sweetman, &c. We were a mixture of civil and military at dinner.

"General Lawless asked Arthur Barker, as the youngest, (for he was still astuden tat the Irish College,) to read those famous letters. When read, General Lawless, turning to Lewens, said: 'You must have told Curran that our number was not worth the commiseration of Castlereagh.' 'Me, Sir!' cried Lewens, in a great passion; 'how could you think me capable of any such thing?' General Lawless rejoined: 'Of the exiles at Paris, Curran only saw you and Corbet.' It would have been better had he vented his spleen and ill-humor on something else; he might have let the brave Irish officers who have escaped the dangers of their various campaigns, be again placed on active service."

Indeed, to the very last, we find the survivors of these noble Irish exiles looking forward with anxious hope to a renewal of war between France and England, that they might have one other chance of striking a mortal blow at the enemy of their country.

* The officers of the Legion were almost all restored afterwards to active service in the armies of their adopted country. Corbet became a Major-General, and for some time commanded at Caen. Miles Byrne was commandant of Patras, in the war of Greece; and died in 1862; his rank was that of *Chief de Bataillon* in the Fifty-sixth Regiment of the line.

We may be excused for giving one other characteristic extract from the Byrne memoir. Speaking of Corbet, (who died a French Major-General,) Colonel Byrne says :

"General Corbet was officer of the Legion of Honor, Knight of Saint Louis, and Commander of the Order of the Saviour in Greece. He valued those distinctions as highly honorable, no doubt, but he would sometimes say : 'How much the more valuable would they have been, had they been gained in the cause of my native country !' And to his last moment he lamented that her independence was not obtained ; and he seemed ever anxious for something to arise between the governments of France and England, which might prove beneficial to his own country.

"In 1840, we frequently consulted about the way we could be best employed to serve Ireland, in the event of a war between France and England, which was then on the point of being declared. I remember one day, after an audience he had had with the Minister of War, on the situation of Ireland, he told me that the Minister, General Schneider, was very desirous to have a conversation with me, respecting the reliance which could be placed on the then leader of the Irish, when a French army should land in Ireland. When he saw that there was to be no war with England, he would speak to me of going to the United States of America, being sure, he said, that from that country, one day or other, Ireland would receive ultimate assistance."

So the wholesome tradition is handed down unbroken ; any and every foe of England is the Irish exile's friend ; and the power of Britain must be, indeed, broadly and deeply based, if it forever withstand the long-gathering tempest of just wrath which has been laid up against the day of wrath.

The close of the great war on the Continent had certain direct effects upon Ireland. The immense demand for agricultural produce for victualing of armies and fortresses, had maintained high prices ; and as large numbers of the small farmers then possessed leases—granted by landlords in order to manufacture voting freeholders—the people generally lived with some approach to comparative comfort. Immense contracts for the provisioning of the English navy were also made at Cork ; and thus the war-prices, one way and another, brought money into the country, which was not all immediately sent out again, but actually circulated, to some extent, amongst the people. It is true, that landlords, wherever they had tenants from year to year, steadily raised the rents as prices advanced, but still the good-natured and kindly people helped one another ; and, on the whole, there was not very much of either extermination or emigration. In 1815, however, and the few following years, prices of grain, cattle, and other produce, fell very low, and rents were not reduced in proportion. The increase of population—for there were now six millions of people in Ireland—produced that deadly competition for small farms which has enabled Irish landlords to wring the vitals out of a helpless peasantry, who had been left no other resource but labor on the land. Extermination may properly be said to have begun in good earnest, just after "French principles" were crushed at Waterloo ; and to facilitate this process for the landlords, by recommendation of Mr. Robert Peel, the first of the series of cheap ejectment laws was passed in this very year, 1815. It provided that, in all cases of holdings, the rent of which was under £20—which included the whole class of small farms—the assistant barrister, at sessions, could make a decree, at the cost of a few shillings, to eject a man from house and farm. Two years after, the proceedings in ejectment were still further simplified and facilitated by an act making the sole evidence of a landlord or his agent sufficient testimony for ascertaining the amount of rent due. By these two acts it was rendered very easy to sweep out on the highways the whole population of a village or a townland ; and this was very often done towards tenants-at-will—a race of beings which exists in no country of Europe save Ireland. As for the possessors of a forty-shilling freehold, their leases and their voting capacity protected them for a time. It is about this date that we first meet with the expression, "surplus-population in Ireland ;" although, indeed, the idea itself had been common enough nearly a

hundred years earlier, when Swift published his "*Modest Proposal.*" At all events, it is evident that from this moment, and for many years after, every English statesman, publicist and political economist, held it as the grand fundamental maxim, in treating of Irish affairs, that there was a surplus-population in that island; and the steadiest and most earnest aim of every administration, of every party, has been to devise and execute some sure method of removing —that is, extirpating or killing the said surplus. The young Irish Secretary, Mr. Peel, who was destined to become one of England's greatest statesmen, had, of course, turned his attention to this momentous object, and had commenced operations, as we have seen, by laws providing for cheap and easy ejectment; but he had yet other methods in his mind, which were not then matured, or for which the time was not yet come.

The effect of the peace upon the prospects and claims of Catholics was altogether adverse and discouraging. England felt not only secure, but triumphant; and, according to the invariable rule, it fared ill with Ireland. The English oligarchy, and its dependant, the Irish Ascendancy, were absolutely drunken with an insolent and malignant pride. *Concession* of anything, was no longer to be thought of; and if any person presumed to hint that there existed such a thing as human rights, he was set down as a Jacobin. A "Catholic Board" had maintained its struggling existence until the middle of summer, 1814. But whenever the news of the capitulation of Paris and imprisonment of Napoleon arrived in England, orders were at once sent to Lord Whitworth, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to suppress the board summarily by proclamation; which was, accordingly, done upon the 3d of June, in that year. The board met no more; but, under O'Connell's direction, the agitation took the form of "Aggregate Meetings;" thus avoiding all possibility of incurring the penalties of the Convention act; while the meetings were even more useful than the board in arousing the people, diffusing sound information as to their rights and their wrongs, and keeping up a continual public commentary upon current events. There ensued, however, differences and dissensions amongst the Catholic leaders, as to the most expedient policy to be pursued. The *veto* question had not yet entirely subsided; and something of the old jealousy between the aristocratic Catholics and the mass of the people revived. Lord Fingal, in fact, together with some other Catholic gentlemen of rank, and others who courted rank and position, retired from all participation in public affairs for some years. On the other hand, O'Connell led and stirred the Democracy. But it must he confessed that it was a most arduous and difficult enterprize for him, although then in the full vigor of his vast powers, to keep alive the cause of Catholic Emancipation at all in those days of triumphant bigotry and tyranny. Richard Lalor Sheil, speaking of this gloomy period, scruples not to say: "*The hopes of the Catholics fell with the peace.* A long interval elapsed in which nothing very important or deserving of record took place. A political lethargy spread itself over the great body of the people; the assemblies of the Catholics became more unfrequent, and their language more despondent and hopeless than it had ever been."* And never before, for half a century, had the "Protestant interest" shown itself so aggressive and so spiteful towards the Catholic people. O'Connell, by his activity and audacity, concentrated upon himself the greater part of this Protestant wrath. For he made no scruple, whether in a public harangue to the people, or in a speech to a jury, (where the trial had anything of a political character,) to denounce, with a rough and rasping tongue, all kinds of injustice and bigotry, packed juries, church-rates—in short, the most cherished principles and practices of "our glorious Constitution in Church and State." In the celebrated speech for John Magee, proprietor of the *Evening Post*, who was prosecuted for a seditious libel upon the Government, O'Connell had not only adopted and repeated the "libel," but aggravated it a thousand fold. With a fierce and vindictive energy he laid bare the whole atrocious system which in Ireland passes for government. He thundered into

* Notice of "Catholic Leaders and Associati ns," in *Sketches of the Irish Bar*

the ears of the judge, that he had first advised this prosecution, which he was now pretending to try;—and as for the twelve pious Protestants in the jury-box, (all "saints," and members of the "Society for the Suppression of Vice,") he told them, with cruel taunts, that they knew they were fraudulently *packed*, that they should find a man guilty (so help them God!) for stating what they knew to be true.

Mr. Sheil, in his admirable sketch of O'Connell, says: "The admirers of King William have no mercy for a man who, in his seditious moods, is so provoking as to tell the world that their idol was 'a Dutch adventurer.' Then his intolerable success in a profession where many a staunch Protestant is condemned to starve,—and his fashionable house in Merrion Square,—and a greater eyesore still, his dashing revolutionary equipage, green carriage, green liveries, and turbulent, Popish steeds, prancing over a Protestant pavement, to the terror of Protestant passengers—these and other provocations of equal publicity, have exposed this learned culprit to the deep detestation of a numerous class of His Majesty's hating subjects in Ireland. And the feeling is duly communicated to the public; the loyal press of Dublin teems with the most astounding imputations upon his character and motives." The provocation of the "Popish horses prancing over a Protestant pavement," was more serious than it may now appear; for the pavement was strictly Protestant; and so were the street-lamps. No Catholic, though he might drive a coach-and-four, could be admitted upon any paving or lighting board in that sacred stronghold of the Ascendancy, the Corporation of Dublin.* O'Connell was in the habit of speaking with supreme contempt of the little municipal close-borough; and in one of his speeches of this year, 1815, he termed it "a beggarly Corporation." "One of its most needy members," says Sheil, "was Mr. D'Esterre"; and he, thinking the epithet "beggarly" too scurrilous, and too closely personal, at once sent a challenge to the speaker. O'Connell committed his conduct as to the reception of the challenge, to the decision of his friends. The parties met; fought with pistols, and D'Esterre was killed, to the very great and lasting sorrow of his slayer. Mr. Shiel does not say expressly—but says "it is understood"—that D'Esterre was induced to attempt O'Connell's life, by the expectation that if he should rid the Government of so formidable an agitator, he would be rewarded with a place; and he adds: "His claims would probably not have been overlooked by the patrons of the time." On what precise evidence Mr. D'Esterre was charged with undertaking the base job of a mercenary assassin, we have not been able to satisfy ourselves. At any rate, no dishonorable practice in the conduct of the affair was ever imputed.

In the year 1816, Sir John Newport moved in Parliament for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, which was then suffering greatly from scarcity of food. Sir Robert Peel steadily and successfully resisted the proposed inquiry. That prudent statesman had not been several years Chief Secretary of Ireland for nothing. He had no need of inquiry, being quite well aware of what was passing in Ireland, where he knew that things were falling out exactly according to his calculations. If there was some extermination of starving wretches, it was because his cheap ejectment laws were working well. If there was some disturbance, and "agrarian crime," he had his new police ready to repress it. Better than all, he had procured the renewal of the "Insurrection act" in 1814—had caused it to be continued in 1815, and it was now (1816) in full vigor, filling the jails with persons who could not give a good account of themselves, and transporting men for possessing a fowling-piece. He felt that an assiduous Irish Secretary could do no more; and naturally, resisted Sir John Newport's meddling motion for inquiry.

But, in truth, the low price of produce had made thousands of farmers unable to pay the rent; then they had been ejected; and then that lowness of price could not en-

* It was at the height of the Catholic agitation that a Town-Councillor, who was a tailor, said at a Corporation Dinner: "My Lord, these Papists may get their emancipation—they may sit in Parliament—they may preside upon the Bench—a Papist may become Lord Chancellor, or Privy Councillor;—but never, *never* shall one of them set foot in the ancient and loyal guild of tailors.

able them to procure food, because they had no money. Then there was an occasional murder, or attempt at murder. Magistrates would meet, and write to the Castle for immediate proclamation of the county, under the Insurrection act. It is useless to go through the unvarying detail of torturing oppression which has continued and repeated itself year after year, and will never end while the British Empire stands. But in sad earnest, this year, 1817, was a season of dreadful famine and suffering; and, of course, the Cöercion act of the year before was carefully renewed. The potato-crop had failed; and although Ireland was then largely exporting grain and cattle to England,* yet this good food was not supposed to be sent by Providence, for the nourishment of those who sowed and reaped it on their own soil. It is instructive to remark the constant similarity of the circumstances attending the series of Irish famines—the wholesale export of the Irish crops to England—the wholesale disappearance, also, of the money received as the price of those crops, in the shape of absentee rents, of "surplus revenue," &c.—and the never-failing Cöercion acts. If in the famine of 1847-8, there was a much greater destruction of the people—and, at the same time, a much larger export of their food and their money to England, it is only because the British system was then more fully perfected in all its details, than in 1817.

In that year, however, the suffering from famine and typhus fever was already dreadful enough; and in the most fertile counties of Ireland, multitudes of people fed upon weeds of various sorts—some boiled nettles; others subsisted upon the wild kail, called in Irish, *prashagh*. All political movement was suspended for several years, both in Ireland and in England, and in 1819, Lord Sidmouth introduced and carried his celebrated "Six acts," principally to quell the "seditious" aspirations of the English people. These acts imposed heavy penalties upon the possession of arms, and upon "blasphemous and seditious libels"—meaning all plain and truthful comments upon the proceedings of Government. A horrible military massacre was perpetrated this year at Peterloo, near Manchester, by the onslaught of a body of troops upon a perfectly peaceable meeting of the people to demand reform. This bloody day was the 16th of August, 1819, and one of the "Six acts," passed immediately after, prohibited, under cruel penalties, the assembling of more than fifty persons together, unless at a meeting called by the magistrates. In short, it was the British "Reign of Terror," not inaugurated, as in France, by the people, to rid themselves of their oppressors, but by the oppressors, to crush the people and their French principles into the earth.

On the 28th of February, 1821, Mr. Plunket brought up in Parliament a bill for Catholic Emancipation. It was at an unfavorable time; all the governing and controlling opinion of England was averse to any kind of claim for *rights*. The bill was vehemently opposed by the Tory party, and especially by Sir Robert Peel. In the House of Lords, the Duke of York, heir presumptive to the throne, made a furious speech against it; saying, amongst other things, that "there is a great difference between *allowing* the free exercise of religion, and the *granting* of political power"—as if there could be any freedom without political power, or as if freedom and political power were things to be allowed and granted, by persons who might lawfully withhold them. It was in the same year, in the month of August, that King George IV. condescended to make a triumphal visit to Ireland; and that Mr. O'Connell, with certain views of "policy," which will not be universally appreciated, testified an enthusiastic loyalty to that individual, and drank at a public dinner the "Orange Charter toast." Overpowered by the cordiality of his reception, the King quitted the soil of Ireland with tears of emotion in his eyes. On the spot where he embarked stands a granite monument, surmounted by a crown; and Dunleary changed its name to Kingstown. It would be agreeable not to record these incidents; but they form, unhappily, part of the history of Ireland.

Touching this royal visit—not to insist in this place upon the savage comment of Lord

* In this year, 1817, the export to England, of grain alone, was 695,651 *quarters*.—*Thom's Official Tables in Directory*.

Byron, we may give the more moderate prose of Richard Lalor Sheil: "Sir Benjamin Bloomfield arrived in Dublin before his master, and intimated the royal anxiety *that all differences and animosities should be laid aside.* Accordingly, it was agreed that a public dinner should be held at Morrison's, where the leaders of both parties should pledge each other in libations of everlasting amity. This national festivity took place; and from the vehement protestations on both sides, it was believed by many that a lasting reconciliation had been effected. Master Ellis and Mr. O'Connell almost embraced each other. The King arrived; the Catholics determined *not to obtrude their grievances upon him.* Accordingly, our gracious sovereign passed rather an agreeable time in Dublin. He was hailed with tumultuous hurrahs wherever he passed; and in return for the enthusiastic reception which he had found, he directed Lord Sidmouth to write a letter recommending it to the people *to be united.* His Majesty shortly afterwards set sail, with tears in his eyes, from Kingstown. For a little while the Catholics continued under the miserable deception under which they had labored during the royal sojourn, but when they found that no intention existed to introduce a change of system into Ireland—that the King's visit seemed an artifice, and Lord Sidmouth's epistle meant nothing—and that while men were changed, measures continued substantially unaltered, they began to perceive that some course more effective than a loyal solicitude not to disturb the repose of His Majesty should be adopted."

In short, the Irish Catholics were once more cheated; and it is not saying much for their perspicacity—for they were twice cheated by the same cheat. Neither can we ever look back with pleasure on the scenes of "loyal" servility enacted at that period by leading Irishmen — O'Connell toasting the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the "Dutch adventurer," and presenting a huge bunch of shamrocks to he discreditable being who then represented the desolating British domination. Doubtless these hypocritical demonstrations of "loyalty" to an enemy, were transacted with an idea that it was a cunning policy to conciliate tyrants in England, and to disarm animosities at home. In these views they failed utterly, and have their place in history only as a signal example of gratuitous crouching and crawling.

The senseless gala of 1821 passed away; the horrible famine of 1822 immediately followed.*

CHAPTER LIII.

1822—1825.

Famine of 1822—Its Causes—Financial Frauds upon Ireland—Horrors of the Famine—Extermination—Suspension of *Habeas Corpus Act*—Castlereagh Cuts his Throat—Marquis Wellesley Viceroy—Sir Harcourt Lees—The Bottle Riot—Catholic Association Formed—Dr. Doyle; "J. K. L."—Progress of Catholic Association—"Catholic Rent"—Maynooth Professors "Loyal"—Rage of the Orangemen—"O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil"—Passiveness of the Dissenters—O'Connell's Appeals to Them—Intellectual and Literary Power of the Movement—Act to Suppress "Unlawful Associations"—First Attempt to Cheat the Catholics—A Relief Bill, with "Wings"—Defeated—Catholic Deputation in London—O'Connell and the Whigs—Strong Feeling in Ireland against "Wings."

Before proceeding to the details of this dreadful famine of 1822, it is needful to consider the financial relations of the two islands since the period of the "Union."

In 1816 was passed the act for consolidating the British and Irish Exchequers—it is the 56th George III., chap. 98. It became operative on the 1st January, 1817.

The meaning of this consolidation was, charging Ireland with the whole debt of England, pre-union and post-union; and in like manner charging England with the whole Irish debt.

Now the enormous English national debt, both before and after the Union, was contracted for purposes which Ireland had not only no interest in promoting, but a direct and vital interest in contravening and resisting — that is, it had been contracted to crush American and French liberty, and to destroy those very powers which were the natural allies of Ireland.

* John Philpot Curran died in 1817, on the 14th of October. His remains were buried first in London; afterwards removed to the cemetery of Glasnevin. Grattan died three years after, and had the very doubtful honor of a tomb in Westminster Abbey. These two great Irishmen left the country they loved in one of the gloomiest periods of her gloomy story

But this is not all: we have next to see the proportions which the two debts bore to each other. It will be remembered that by the terms of the so-called "Union"

I. Ireland was to be protected from any liability on account of the British National Debt contracted prior to the Union.

II. The separate debt of each country being first provided for by a separate charge, Ireland was then to contribute two seven'eenths towards the joint or common expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years; after which her contribution was to be made proportionate to her ability as ascertained at stated periods of revision by certain tests specified in the act.

III. Ireland was not only promised that she never should have any concern with the then existing British Debt, but she was also assured that her taxation should not be raised to the standard of Great Britain until the following conditions should occur:—

1. That the two debts should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland; and,
2. That the respective circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation.

It must be further borne in mind, that previous to the Union the National Debt of Ireland was a mere trifle. It had been enormously increased by charging to Ireland's special account, first, the expenses of getting up the rebellion; next, the expenses of suppressing it; and, lastly, the expenses of bribing Irish noble lords and gentlemen to sell their country at this Union. Thus the Irish Debt, which before the Union had been less than three millions sterling, was set down by the act of Union at nearly twenty-seven millions.

On the 20th of June, 1804, (four years after the Union had passed,) Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, observed, that, whereas, in 1794 the Irish debt did not exceed two millions and a half, it had in 1803 risen to forty-three millions; and that during the current year it was increased to nearly fifty three millions.

During the long and costly war against France, and the second American war, it happened, by some very extraordinary species of bookkeeping, that while the English debt was not quite doubled, the Irish debt was more than quadrupled; as if Ireland had twice the interest which England had in forcing the Bourbons back upon France, and in destroying the commerce of America.

Thus, in 1816, when the consolidation act was passed, the whole funded debt of Ireland was found to be £130,561,037. By this management the Irish debt, which in 1801 had been to the British as one to sixteen and a half, was forced up to bear to the British debt the ratio of one to seven and a half. This was the proportion required by the Act of Union as a condition of subjecting Ireland to indiscriminate taxation with Great Britain—a condition equally impudent and iniquitous. Ireland was to be loaded with inordinate debt; and then this debt was to be made the pretext for raising her taxation to the high British standard, and thereby rendering her liable to the pre-union debt of Great Britain!

By way of softening down the glaring injustice of such a proposition, Lord Castlereagh said that the two debts might be brought to bear to each other the prescribed proportions, partly by the increase of the Irish debt, but partly also by the decrease of the British. To which Mr. Foster thus answered, on the 15th of March, 1800: "The monstrous absurdity you would force down our throats, is that Ireland's increase of poverty, as shown by her increase of debt, and England's increase of wealth, as shown by diminution of debt, are to bring them to an equality of condition, so as to be able to bear an equality of taxation."

But bad as this was, the former and worse alternative was what really befel. The given ratio was reached solely by the increase of the Irish debt, without any decrease of the British.

We take from the excellent pamphlet of Mr. O'Neill Daunt,* already quoted in a former chapter, a passage presenting a summary of the financial dealings of England with Ireland:—

"The following facts stand unshaken, and should become familiarly known to every man in Ireland:—

* "Financial Grievances of Ireland." Publications of the *Irish National League*

"1. The British Debt in 1801 was about sixteen and a half times as large as the Irish Debt.

"2. It was promised by the authors of the Union, and the promise was embodied in the Seventh Article, that as Ireland had no part in contracting that debt, so she should be forever preserved from all concern with the payment of its principal or interest.

"3. In order to give effect to this promise, Great Britain was to be separately taxed to the extent of her separate pre-union debt-charge. But Great Britain is *not* thus separately taxed; and Ireland is consequently made to contribute to the payment of a purely British liability, from which she was promised perpetual exemption.

"4. Ireland has never received from Great Britain one farthing, by way of compensation or equivalent, for being thus subjected to the pre-union British Debt.

"5. By the fifth clause of the Seventh Article of the Union, Ireland was guaranteed the benefit of her own surplus taxes She has never, during the sixty-four years of Union, received one farthing in virtue of that clause. Her taxes, after defraying her public domestic expenses, have been uniformly abstracted by England; and the clause that professes to secure to Ireland the use of them has been rendered a dead letter by the Parliamentary management I have described.

"6. The amount of Irish taxes annually drawn from this kingdom is a very large item in the general pecuniary drain. Mr. Dillon, in his able and carefully-compiled Report to the Dublin Corporation, shows that the Irish taxes expended out of Ireland in the year 1860, amounted to £4,095,453; and that in 1861, they amounted to £3,970,715."

But even this direct drain of Irish money into England, under pretence of paying interest on a debt, represents very small part of the systematic plunder of the country. When to this is added the absentee rental, the interest paid out of incumbered estates to Jews in London, and the cost of manufactured articles and colonial produce which Ireland ought to manufacture—or import—for herself, we may begin to understand why the mass of the Irish people is always on the verge of starvation, and why the failure of the meanest kind of food throws them at once into the pangs of famine.

This is what befel in 1822. Alison, the Scotch historian of modern times, attributes the dreadful havoc of the Irish in this year entirely to "the contraction of the currency, and consequent fall of the prices of agricultural produce fifty per cent." But the Scotch historian does not mention that the grain-crop of 1821 had been carried off to England, to the amount of nearly two million quarters, (1,822,816,) and that of 1822, to the amount of more than one million quarters,* not to speak of countless herds of cattle, sheep, and swine. No wonder, then, if we see in Ireland perennial misery and beggary, with occasional paroxysms of murderous famine.

On the 27th of June, in this year, Sir John Newport, of Waterford, in his place in the House of Commons, endeavoring to awaken that assembly to some sense of the horrors which were to be seen in Ireland, described one parish in his neighborhood, where fifteen persons had already died of hunger; twenty-eight more, he said, were past all hope of recovery, and one hundred and twenty (still in the same parish) were prostrated by famine-fever;—and the same speaker mentioned another parish where the priest had gone round and administered extreme unction to every man, woman, and child, *all* in *articulo mortis* by mere starvation.†

* *Thom's Official Directory*, for 1853.

† In Cobbett's "Register" we find that writer's contemporary comment upon the debate in the House. He says: "Money, it seems, is wanted in Ireland. Now, people do not eat money. No, but the money will buy them something to eat. What? The food is *there*, then. Pray, observe this; and let the parties get out of the concern if they can. *The food is there;* but those who have it in their possession will not give it without the money. And we know that the food is there; for since this famine has been declared in Parliament, thousands of quarters of corn have been imported every week from Ireland to England."—*Register, July*, 1822. Mr. Cobbett, however, was not placing "the parties" in so embarrassing a position as he imagined, when he defied them to get out of it if they could. It has always been a matter of congratulation with English Ministers, that whether the Irish be starving or not, England can still draw from the country her full tribute of grain and cattle. In reading of all these transactions of 1822, one might almost imagine that he is reading of what befel twenty-five years later.

A certain Colonel Patrickson was quartered that season in Galway, with his regiment. He reports to his superior officer: "Hundreds of half-famished wretches arrive almost daily from a distance of fifty miles, many of them so exhausted by want of food that the means taken to restore them fail of effect, from the weakness of the digestive organs, occasioned by long fasting."* Official statistics were not then so much attended to as they have since been; but certain returns, such as they were, stated, that in the month of June, there were in Clare County alone, 99,639 persons subsisting on daily charity, and in Cork, 122,000.† We have no record of the estimated number of deaths in this hideous famine; and if we had any such estimate, compiled as it would be under the direction of the Irish authorities, by aid of their police, it would not be trustworthy. Neither are there any census-tables, showing the decrease of the population. In *Thom's Official Directory*, the population of the island in 1821, is given at 6,801,827; and there is no statement of the population afterwards for ten years.

Of course, there was again a good deal of extermination of tenantry; and some desperate men did certainly kill here and there an ejecting landlord or agent. It appears, also, that there were "nocturnal outrages;" men with faces blackened, and wearing shirts more or less white, did come to some houses in search of arms, to defend their lives, or to avenge their wrongs; but in all this there was no trace or tittle of political, seditious, or revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the first thing that occurred to the British Government, to meet this great calamity, was a new and improved *Insurrection act*. This new act, together with another, for the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, was introduced and at once carried by Lord Castlereagh, then Marquis of Londonderry. It was almost the last public act of his evil life. On the 12th of August, in that same year, he executed justice upon himself by cutting his own throat with a knife. Never lived a more deadly foe of the human race, and especially of the country which gave him birth. He was almost as much hated in England as in Ireland; for he had been a warm supporter of the "Six acts," and of every measure of despotism The body of the suicide, instead of being staked at Cross-Roads, was borne in solemn pomp to Westminster Abbey (where the bones of Henry Grattan must have shrunk aside,) and the Duke of Wellington and the proudest Peers in England were his pall-bearers;—but as the coffin was removed from the hearse to be carried into the Abbey, the multitudes around could not repress a hoot of execration, a long, loud and hideous yell of horror and hatred. The Tory historian, Alison, reluctantly records that "savage miscreants raised a horrid shout;" but future ages will probably pronounce, that in all the mob of London was no such dreadful miscreant as the man then borne to his grave.

It must not be omitted to state, that the Parliament of 1822—in addition to a Cöercion act and *Habeas Corpus* Suspension act, voted an appropriation of £500,000 for relief of Irish distress, by employing destitute people on public works. It by no means amounted to one-tenth part of the Irish money annually drained from Ireland into England, and applied to English purposes; and even this appropriation was, as usual, corruptly and absurdly expended by English officials, principally upon useless and unproductive works, like the unmeaning obelisk upon Killiney Hill. The British press, and speakers in Parliament at that period, as at a later date, spoke of this appropriation out of the Consolidated Exchequer, as so much alms given by England, and assumed immense credit for the generosity of the gift. Under this form and color, the transaction has passed into history. Sir Archibald Alison, of course, glorifies the magnanimity of England upon this occasion—"England no longer remembered the crimes of Ireland—thought only of her sorrows," and so forth. The Marquis Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant this year; but although invested with terrible powers for the suppression of outrage and insurrection, he is not charged with exercising too savagely the extra legal authority with which the British

* Letter of Sir D. Baird to Sir H. Taylor, *Memoirs of Lord Wellesley*. VIII.

† Alison *History of Europe*, since 1815.

Parliament was so prompt to clothe him. Indeed, the Marquis, from the conciliatory and mild way in which he spared the suffering people, and from his courtesy towards the Catholic leaders, some of whom he entertained at the Castle, soon became unpopular with the Orange faction. The most prominent Orange agitator was then a certain Sir Harcourt Lees. He was a clergyman by profession, and held preferment in the Church; but occupied himself chiefly in discovering Popish plots for the massacre of Protestants, denouncing, in the newspapers, "O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil," and sending petitions to Parliament, praying to "put down Popery," and send O'Connell to the Tower. Sir Harcourt was slightly insane; but his morbid visions of Jesuit conspiracies, and wild stories from "Fox's Book of Martyrs," were well enough suited to excite the ignorant Orangemen of Dublin. These pestilent people soon began to suspect that Lord Wellesley was in league with "O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil;" and the city resounded with their imprecations. At length, on the night of the 14th of December, their rage broke out in the form of a riot at the theatre. Some ruffians threw a bottle and a piece of wood at the Vice-regal box, but failed to strike the Marquis. Three Dublin tradesmen were arrested, charged with participating in the riot, and indicted. The Grand Jury of Dublin, (all Orangemen,) ignored the bill. The Attorney-General, Mr. Plunket, then proceeded, *ex officio*, and sent them up for trial. As might have been anticipated, the jury would not convict; and in short, no person was ever punished for the "bottle riot."

The year 1823 is notable for the formation of the "Catholic Association." Its foundations were laid by Mr. O'Connell, in conjunction with Mr. Shiel, then a very young barrister, but already remarkable for a certain kind of polished, figurative, and antithetical rhetoric. These two gentlemen met at the house of a common friend in the Wicklow mountains; "and after exchanging their opinions," says Mr. Shiel, "on the deplorable state to which the Catholic mind had been reduced, and the utter want of organization in the body, it was agreed that they should both sign an address to the Irish Catholics," and inclose it to the principal people of that religion. The result of this procedure was for a time not very encouraging. "A very thin meeting," says Mr. Sheil, "which did not consist of more than twenty individuals was held at a tavern in Sackville street; and it was there determined that something should be done." The work, in truth, was difficult. The old alienation between the Catholic Peers and the democratic masses still subsisted. Old Lord Fingal, Lord Gormanstown, and others of the highest rank and influence, who would have been glad to accept emancipation even on the terms of the *veto*, were somewhat scandalized at the violence with which O'Connell and the famous Dr. Dromgoole repudiated that project of enslaving the Church. Yet a combination of all the sections and elements of the Catholic community, however difficult, was precisely the indispensable condition of effecting any very notable good to the cause. To this, then, O'Connell bent all the energies and resources of his mind. Happily the Earl of Fingal had a son, Lord Killeen, who not only did not share all the prejudices or apprehensions of his father, but longed to throw himself heart and soul into the movement by the side of O'Connell. Lord Killeen had good abilities, and was free from those habits of submission which the Catholic aristocracy had contracted at the period of their extreme depression. His example was soon followed by Lord Gormanstown, a Peer of ancient descent, and hitherto of retiring habits, so far as political agitation was concerned. He conceived that the course of the aggressive agitators had the effect only of irritating enmity; and, therefore, had very much secluded himself amongst his woods near Balbriggan. Next came in the Earl of Kenmare; who, though he did not formally join the association, (having an aversion to public appearance,)—sent in the authority of his name and his pecuniary contribution. From this time the union of the aristocracy with the rest of their countrymen was assured. Another and still more powerful element in the confederacy was the Catholic priesthood. The celebrated and very able and energetic Doctor Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, was

the first Prelate who openly joined the association—his potent pen was devoted to its service; and the whole world was long familiar with the signature "J. K. L., (the initials of his Episcopal office,) signed to many a vigorous pamphlet and letter. Other Bishops and the great body of the clergy soon became members of the association, and the movement which had begun so humbly swelled into a puissant and apparently-irresistible torrent of public opinion. O'Connell was at last in his element; and ably supported by Sheil and Wyse, labored continually to give a practical character to the meetings; and to bring under calm and well-considered discussion all great questions arising in the state.

In structure, the Catholic Association much resembled all the other political societies instituted by Mr. O'Connell. It consisted of members paying a guinea each year, and of associates paying one shilling. The executive consisted of a standing committee. The regular meetings were weekly each Saturday; and the proceedings consisted in the reading of correspondence, perfecting organization, the discussion of public questions which bore any relation to the cause, and deciding on petitions. There was little or no oratorical display at these weekly meetings; the members rather applying themselves to treat subjects of discussion with a moderate and business-like calmness, so as to develope facts and diffuse sound information. Still the proceedings attracted little attention during the first year. Indeed, Mr. Shiel informs us that "the association in its origin was treated with contempt, not only by its open adversaries, but Catholics themselves spoke of it with derision, and spurned at the walls of mud which their brethren had rapidly thrown up, which were afterwards to become *altæ mœnia Romæ*." It was only in the course of the following year, that Mr. O'Connell instituted the new system of monthly subscriptions of one penny (which he called 'Catholic Rent,") when it became evident both to friends and enemies how deep a hold the cause had upon the hearts of the Catholic masses, and how wide-spread was their determination to achieve their liberties. The Ministry began to take some alarm. The Cabinet at that time was extremely Anti-Catholic; Lord Liverpool being still First Lord of the Treasury and Premier; the Duke of Wellington, Master-General of the Ordnance; Lord Eldon, (an extreme example of the narrowest bigotry,) was Lord Chancellor; and Mr. Peel, (not yet Sir Robert,) was the Home Secretary. It is true that Canning, well understood to be a friend of the Catholic claims, was in the Ministry, but his place was that of Foreign Secretary, so that he could have little special influence upon that great question which was now agitating the three kingdoms, and at length disquieting seriously His Majesty's advisers; for, in truth, no phenomenon like this had ever been seen in Ireland before; within two years after its origin, the penny subscriptions to the rent averaged £500 a week, which represented half a million of enroled associates, and produced a fund quite sufficient to pay the expenses of defending men unjustly accused, to prosecute Orange violators of the law, (but this was generally a hopeless enterprise,)—to pay the expenses of Parliamentary and election agents, and even to afford considerable appropriations for the support of Catholic schools for the poor.

But not even these evidences of imposing numbers and close organization so much alarmed the Government, as the determined attitude taken by some of the clergy, and the bold writings of Doctor Doyle. He broached doctrines which not only startled the "Protestant Ascendancy," but even affected the nerves of some of the Maynooth Professors. In his letter to Mr. Robertson, after speaking of the possibility of a rebellion and a French invasion, he says: "The Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic priesthood; they have been ill-treated; and they may yield for a moment to the influence of nature, though it be opposed to grace. The clergy, with a few exeeptions, are from the ranks of the people; they inherit their feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic governments; and they have imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley more deeply than those of Bellarmine, or even of Bossuet, on the divine right of kings. They know much more of the principles of

the Constitution than they do of passive obedience. *If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic Prelate.*"

This announcement produced some consternation ; and to counteract the effect of such perilous declarations from a Bishop, Lord Wellesley, it was said, applied to Maynooth ; and from Maynooth (which receives money from the Treasury,) was, in fact, issued a protest ; from which it was known that the students and Doctor Crotty, the President, dissented altogether. It bore, however, the names of five professors of theology ; and the persons who were chiefly instrumental in getting it up were two old French doctors of the Sorbonne ; who had belonged, in their own country, to the old *régime* ; "and, with a good deal of learning, imported into Ireland a very strong relish for submission." * The publication of the five professors produced no effect whatever ; the people and clergy now saw the most eminent of their Prelates in the ranks of the association ; and Doctor Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, not only joined that body, but sometimes used very energetic language, tending to excite his people to be zealous in the cause. "The contemplation of the wrongs of my country,"—he exclaimed, in his stately cathedral in Marlborough street —"the contemplation of the wrongs of my country makes my soul burn within me."

It is needless to say that the progress and power of the Catholic Association excited the Orangemen of Ireland to frenzy ; Sir Harcourt Lees saw visions, and dreamed dreams ; and many petitions were sent to Parliament "to put down Popery," and save the Protestant State from O'Connell, the Pope, and the Devil. Ministers, indeed, began to perceive that they must yield ; and that emancipation could not be far off. It had, in its favor, not only the entire Catholic population of Ireland, but also in England, a small but very wealthy and influential group of nobles and gentry of that ancient faith, who, of course, expected their own restoration to civil rights from the success of the movement, then in such rapid progress. The Dissenting population of the North of Ireland, it must be said, to their credit, were favorable to the claims of the Catholics, although their grandfathers had gladly submitted to the Test and Corporation acts, which excluded Nonconformists from most offices, rather than make common cause with their fellow-sufferers, the Catholics, to shake off the yoke of the Ascendancy. O'Connell had often appealed to them to give him their moral aid in his struggle ; representing to them that the great reform he sought was a breaking down of *all* barriers of exclusion under pretext of men's religious belief ; that if the last penal laws which oppressed the Catholics were dashed to the earth, the last penal laws which injured and insulted Dissenters, must come down along with them ; and if the Catholics and Nonconformists of Ireland were once united in the assertion of their rights, there would soon be an end of tithes, and church-rates, and Minister's money, and every other paltry imposition which bolstered up the "Ascendancy." Language like this had its effect, a large proportion—and that the most educated and enlightened—of the Presbyterians, gave their entire sympathy to the Catholic movement ; and if but few amongst them aided it actively, they at least remained passive, and left all the fanatical howling, all the pious imprecations and vaticinations of wrath to come, to the Orange Grand Masters, and raving rectors and curates.

But amongst the forces which were now giving impetus to the Catholic cause, must also be classed the English Reformers, and their powerful organs at the press. Indeed, during this whole controversy, nothing was more observable than the great literary superiority of the advocates of the Catholics, and the utter nullity of anything which was attempted on the other side, in the shape either of argument or satire. Most of the wisest and wittiest pens of the two islands, were wielded in favor of emancipation. Trenchant reasoning from Jeffrey, in the Edinburgh *Review*—the *piquant* humor of Sidney Smith, in "Peter Plymley's Letters" —the brawny might of William Corbett

* Sheil's Sketches: *Catholic Leaders*. Mr. Sheil gives at full length what he calls "the Sorbonne manifesto ;" and adds, that "it was laughed at by the Irish priesthood."

who wherever tyranny and intolerance showed their head smote it amain with his knotted club;—the exquisite satire of Moore, like a rapier of the finest edge, that cut clean and drew blood, and often with the lightest and most graceful movement, as if in play, searched the very vitals of some villain in high places and made him howl;—Sheil's brilliant shafts of wit shot from the *New Monthly Magazine*;—all these were aimed at the monster called Protestant Ascendancy in Church and State; and there was nothing of the kind to oppose them—nothing but the raving letters of Sir Harcourt Lees and his friends, or the bitter spite of the Tories in *Blackwood* and *Fraser* and the *Quarterly*.

However, if the Government had but little to say for itself in the literary way, it could still produce acts of Parliament and compose indictments. Early in 1825, Mr. Goulburn, then Secretary for Ireland, brought into Parliament and carried through both Houses a bill for suppression of "Unlawful Associations in Ireland." This law was, of course, aimed against the existing Catholic Association, which was not at all "unlawful." Immediately when it passed, the association, under the legal advice of O'Connell, dissolved itself—it was no longer in existence—the law was satisfied—and then immediately constituted itself again, under the title of the New Catholic Association. This was an usual expedient of O'Connell, through his long series of agitations, in avoiding the penalties of penal enactments. He boasted that he could "drive a coach and six through an act of Parliament;" and the practice of evading or practically annulling such tyrannous laws cannot certainly be condemned, seeing that the Irish people would at any time have been justified (if they had the needful force) in openly breaking, defying, and resisting them. This law against the Catholic Association was never in fact enforced, nor any enforcement attempted; and it continued its proceedings precisely as before, until emancipation was secure.

But while the Government thus made a show of cöercion on the one hand, they had on the other prepared a bill for granting the Catholic claims in a certain stinted and very guarded manner; and the bill for this purpose—which happily never became law—is, indeed, an instructive sample of British statesmanship with respect to Irish affairs. It proposed to admit Catholics, both in England and in Ireland, to Parliament and to municipal corporations; but provided for Ireland two very important safeguards for the perpetuation of English supremacy in that island. In the first place, the entire class of county voters having freeholds worth forty shillings, were to be disfranchised. These made the great bulk of the rural voters. The other measure was to pension the Catholic clergy. The bill was prepared under the inspiration of Sir Robert Peel—this shrewd statesman had perceived when in Ireland, that the large increase of the *Regium Donum* to Presbyterian ministers had had the effect of quieting down the republican aspirations and quelling the "French principles" which had made those clergymen nearly all rebels in 1798; and that whatever influence they exercised over their flocks was now exerted in favor of "loyalty," that is, of British dominion. And as for the Catholic clergy, we have in fact seen that the only members of that body who came to the rescue of British loyalty against Dr. Doyle's audacious declaration, were five professors of an institution endowed by the State. He prudently calculated that to salary them all would buy them away from their people, and give England an efficient corps of clerical detectives in the interest of the British Government. Accordingly, this bill provided, that they were to be paid out of the Treasury at the rate of £1,000 to each bishop; £300 to a dean; £200 to a parish-priest, and £60 to a curate. It was a scale somewhat in proportion to the tariff of rewards which had been offered for the *discovery* of Catholic clergymen, and which had kept the "priest-hunters" in good business for many years. It may be thought that times had greatly altered for the better; yet the *intention*, in the latter case, was quite as deadly hostile to the Irish people and their clergy as it had been in the former—and so they felt it; for both priests and people were resolutely opposed to this bribe, and most desirous for the defeat of the bill. It was defeated. After passing the Lower House,

it encountered most infuriated opposition in the Lords; and the Duke of York made a peech of the intensest malignity, which had the more serious effect, as he was heir presumptive to the Crown of England. He declared in the most solemn manner that he never would consent to allow the claims of the Catholics—"*never, so help him God!*" On the second reading in the House of Lords the bill was defeated.

There was at this time in London a very imposing deputation of Irish Catholics. O'Connell and Sheil had been requested by the Catholic Association to go over and demand to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill for suppression of the "Unlawful Associations in Ireland." The motion that they should be heard was made by Mr. Brougham; but was rejected; and that part of their mission failed. Several distinguished gentlemen had been associated with the deputation; amongst others, Mr. O'Gorman and Sir Thomas Esmonde. They were very warmly welcomed and courteously entertained by many leading Whigs, Brougham, Burdett, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Sussex, the "Liberal" member of the royal family.

An incident occurred during the discussion upon Mr. Brougham's motion to hear O'Connell and Sheil at the bar, which gave occasion to one of the very few imprudent things which Peel committed in his Parliamentary life. He was opposing the motion with much vehemence, and denouncing the association as a treasonable body; alluding to a friendly address which it had presented to the venerable patriot Archibald Hamilton Rowan; "he became heated with victory," says Mr. Sheil, "and cheered, as he was repeatedly, by his multitudinous partizans, turned suddenly towards the part of the House where the deputies were seated, and looking triumphantly at Mr. O'Connell, with whom he forgot for a moment that he had been once engaged in a personal quarrel, shook his hand with scornful exultation, and asked whether the House required any better evidence than the address of the association '*to an attainted traitor.*'" This language was held to be in very bad taste; and Mr. Brougham made a fierce and damaging reply. The incident, however, showed in very strong light the bitter feeling of Sir Robert Peel towards the Catholics.

Before the deputation quitted London, the other bill for emancipation, with payment of the clergy and disfranchisement of forty-shilling freeholders, was pending. These two conditions were called the "wings" of the bill; and the deputies, especially Mr. O'Connell, had much conversation with leading Whig politicians upon the terms of the proposed measure, and upon the way in which it might, probably, be received in Ireland as a final settlement Those Whig politicians were naturally desirous that the measure should pass, wings and all—for they cared nothing about the independence of the Church, or the rights of electors. What they thought of was, that some Irish Catholic members coming into Parliament would be an accession of force to their party, and might carry them into office. Mr. O'Connell did not then, probably, so fully know as he afterwards came to know—that British Whigs regard all Irish questions solely with a view to the interests of the Whig party. The courtesies also, and the persuasive phraseology of those courtly "Liberals," and of the English Catholics, who were all for the bill, certainly imposed somewhat upon O'Connell's mind; insomuch that he is known to have signified to some principal Whig statesmen his willingness to take the bill as it stood, with the two offensive "wings." The fortunate loss of the measure in the House of Lords prevented any evil consequences arising from this unaccountable weakness; and when the deputation returned to Ireland, and found what was the state of feeling amongst the Catholics; and when O'Connell found that his complying disposition was very likely to injure his popularity and his power for good, he very promptly and frankly retracted, and took his position again with his countrymen. It had been well, indeed, if he had firmly held his ground against both those Wings to the last.

CHAPTER LIV.

1825—1829.

Action of the Catholic Association—Waterford Election—Louth Election—Change of Ministry—Canning Premier—Lord Anglesea Viceroy—The "New Reformation"—Pope and Maguire—Death of Canning—Goderich Cabinet—Catholic Petition for Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts—Acts Repealed—Clare Election—O'Connell Returned—Its Results—Suppression of Catholic Association—Peel and Wellington Prepare Catholic Relief Bill—Rage of the Bigots—Reluctance of the King—O'Connell at the Bar of the House—Passage of the Emancipation Act—Disfranchisement of the Forty-Shilling Freeholders—Abstract of the Relief Act—The New Oath—Meaning and Spirit of the Relief Act.

The Catholic Association continued its operations and extended its organization, with even greater vigor and success than before. It had a machinery which extended not only into every county but into every parish. Its funds were given to employ lawyers to protect the people in cases of extreme oppression; and in such cases as the wrecking of a chapel, or an Orange riot in the North—cases which the magistrates at petty and quarter-sessions had been in the habit of treating upon the general principle that Papists had no rights which Protestants were bound to respect, their worships were now sometimes thunderstruck by the apparition of clever barristers or attorneys from Dublin, who not only knew more law than the whole bench of justices, but were attended by newspaper reporters, sure to publish abroad to the world any too-outrageous instance of magisterial partizanship. But the machinery of the association, both central and provincial, was capable of being employed with more striking effect in the elections of representatives in Parliament; and its efficiency began to be proved in the general election of 1826. It was resolved in the association that all its efforts should be concentrated upon favoring the return of certain liberal Protestants (seeing that Catholics were not eligible,) for some counties which had been up to that time controlled absolutely by a few great families of the old colonial aristocracy. The Beresfords, for example, had long represented Waterford in the person of some member of their family; the idea of opposing the Beresford interest in that county seemed the wildest dream; and the Beresford, who was Marquis of Waterford, naturally thought that he did not more clearly own the demesne of Curraghmore than he owned the representation of his county. At the election of 1826, Lord George Beresford was boldly opposed by Mr. Villiers Stuart, another large proprietor of the county, and a friend to the Catholic claims. The latter was supported by the parochial organizers and by the Catholic clergy, and won his election, to the intense mortification of the house of Curraghmore, and perfect consternation of the whole Protestant interest.

While society in Dublin was much agitated by the progress of this contest in the South, news arrived in that city of a still more stirring nature: Louth County was in like manner, held to be an apanage of the two noble houses of Foster and Jocelyn; their titles were Oriel and Roden. Lord Oriel was that John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons at the time of the Union, with whom this history has already had much to do; all his life a high place holder, and bitter opponent of the Catholics. The politician of the family was now John Leslie Foster, who had long sat in Parliament as one of the members for the county, and consistently on every occasion, resisted the slightest concession to the Catholics. The Jocelyns had as their nominee for the other seat, Mr. Fortescue, a politician of the same deep Orange hue. At the election in 1826, there presented himself to the people to ask their suffrages, a Mr. Dawson, a retired barrister of some fortune, who was favorable to the enfranchisement of six millions of his countrymen. He was attended to the polls by immense multitudes of the worthy forty-shilling freeholders, who marched with him into Dundalk with green banners flying in the wind. The contest was close; for the influence of the great landlords was nearly irresistible, unless at mortal peril. It needed all the energy of the local managers of the association to bring up the voters, and get them to defy those potent despots. Mr. Sheil went down from Dublin as counsel for Dawson; in short, at the close of the poll, Dawson was declared duly elected; Mr. Foster was the second member,

and Fortescue, nominee of Lord Roden, stood defeated.

Some few other successes of a similar character, showed what the association could do. The effect of such events upon the public mind in England was very great. As for the "Ascendancy" faction in Ireland, it was as usual in a foam of rage; the great family interests—the mighty Orange houses which had been long a rock and strong tower to Protestant monopoly and religion, were now, as it seemed, to be assailed, not by sap or mine, but by open storm and escalade. The Protestant mind of that day could not help believing that there was some Jesuit conspiracy at work in this matter, and that the Waterford election was won virtually by the Pope of Rome. Sir Harcourt Lees demanded of Parliament whether his vaticinations would be at length listened to—Popery "put down," and O'Connell sent to the Tower.

Early in the first session of the new Parliament, Lord Liverpool, the Premier, was struck with paralysis. He was a helpless and timorous creature; afraid to read his letters in the morning, lest they should bring news of an insurrection in some part of the country; and his only idea of government was to disturb nothing, to reform nothing, (sufficient unto the day being the evil thereof,) and only praying that all mankind might remain precisely as it was, for his day. In short, he was a "Conservative" of the stupidest sort.* On his death, which followed very soon, Mr. Canning, who had been Foreign Secretary in his administration, was sent for by the King, and received his commands to form a Cabinet. But Mr. Canning, only a month before, had made a powerful speech in favor of Catholic Emancipation; the King, therefore, must have known that in making this statesman his Prime Minister, he was taking an almost irrevocable step towards that clearly-inevitable consummation. Accordingly, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, and other Tory members of the outgoing Cabinet, refused to serve with Mr. Canning; who, thereupon, formed a Ministry which was generally in favor of concession. Lord Wellesley was succeeded in the Viceroyalty of Ireland by the Marquis of Anglesea, formerly Earl of Uxbridge, a very brilliant cavalry officer, but not much of a statesman. The Chief Secretary was Lord Francis Leveson Gower.

When Lord Anglesea arrived in Ireland, he found the Ascendancy faction in high excitement. The very Orangemen began to perceive the ominous signs of the times. They were making preparations to celebrate with great pomp the grand Orange anniversary of the 12th of July; being resolved, if they could not much longer trample on their fellow-countrymen, to insult them to the last. As the time approached, however, Lord Anglesea prohibited by proclamation the customary procession in Dublin, and the garlanding with Orange lilies the statue of King William in College Green. In Ulster, however, the anniversary was celebrated with even more than the usual show of insolent triumph. In every town and village the brethren assembled in great numbers, marched from town to town, all flaunting with purple and orange sashes, generally halting in the midst of districts inhabited by Catholics, firing a volley over their houses, and playing "The Protestant Boys," and "Croppies Lie Down."

The prohibition of the Dublin procession, and other alarming signs of an approaching compromise with Jezebel—for such was held to be the meaning of the threatened admission of Papists to Parliament and the Corporations—aroused all the "No-Popery" animosities of their hereditary oppressors; and the clerical agitators projected a "New Reformation." If the Catholics could but be convinced of their idolatry and superstition, (which seemed so manifest to those clerical persons,) it was thought that they could no longer persist in their audacious pretensions. In general, this new scheme of proselytism was carried on by mere ribald abuse of everything held sacred in the ancient religion, and by repeating the old stories out of "Fox's Martyrs;" but certain of the new reformers challenged public discussion with the most learned Catholic theologians in every diocese; and at first some

*His order of Conservatism is admirably characterized by Paul Louis Courier, who, speaking of one of Lord Liverpool's character, said: "If he had been present on the morning of the creation he would have cried: *Mon Dieu! conservons le chaos!*

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

of these challenges were promptly met by Catholic clergymen, who thought, on their side that their religion could lose nothing, and might gain much by public exposition and defence of its tenets. Several oral discussions took place accordingly, of which the most notable was that between a Rev. Mr. Pope, an English clergyman, and Father Maguire, a parish priest of Leitrim County. The bold acceptance of the challenge by "Father Tom," was thought by his own partizans rather unfortunate, as he had never debated in public, though known to be a learned theologian, while Mr. Pope was a practiced controversialist. The discussion was to take place in Dublin; each champion to defend three articles of his own and assail three of his adversary's faith. The occasion excited intense interest. Not only the public room where the meeting took place, but all Sackville street was thronged with eager sympathizers. As the two disputants argued within the building, thousands of minor "oral discussions" were taking place on the streets, and the talk of Dublin carmen was of Two Sacraments and of Seven. This scene lasted many days: the debate was carried on with sufficient courtesy: Father Maguire proved himself a master of theological learning, and Mr. Pope of controversial declamation: and the affair ended, as might have been expected—that is, Catholics were convinced that Mr. Maguire had demolished the Protestant religion, and Protestants were satisfied that Mr. Pope had not left Popery a leg to stand on. Nobody was converted on either side.

Many other similar discussions, in which laymen sometimes bore a part, raged in each province of the island, and generally rather inflamed intolerance than advanced any good cause; the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle disapproved of them, and soon interdicted the clergy of his diocese from engaging in them. So did the Archbishop of Armagh, and then the other Bishops. Soon not a priest could be found to accept a challenge—and their opponents took this as a plain proof that the Catholic religion was afraid of the light of day. They eagerly pressed their invitations, but in vain. They urgently offered to their Catholic friends to prove the Mass a plain sacrifice to idols, and Purgatory a lamentable infringement on the prerogatives of Hell—the Catholic priests would no longer strip for this polemical prize-ring; although still ready and willing to expound their faith by the old methods of theological argument.

The year 1827 was remarkable for the first great example of the emigrant Irish in every foreign country, and in every colony taking an active part in the struggle for liberty of their friends at home. And the sympathy and substantial aid were not confined to Irishmen alone; nor even to Catholics alone. The bold attitude of O'Connell; the mighty power he had created and directed; the vigor and wisdom of that agitation now so evidently shaking the deep-rooted and broad-based structure of the British Empire, attracted the admiration of the world. The powerful French press occupied itself warmly in the struggle; and from French Catholics, as well as from Americans of all religions, came addresses and subscriptions to the Catholic Association. Multitudinous meetings of "Friends of Ireland" were held in all considerable American cities; and a large part of the business of the association began to be reading foreign correspondence, and receiving addresses from not only France and America, but from various German States, from Italy, from Spain, even from British India. All these things, while they violently irritated the national pride of the English, suggested to them at the same time the impossibility of continued resistance, in so very bad a cause.

Mr. Canning died in August, after a very short tenure of office. He had to contend with a compact and very acrimonious opposition, consisting not only of the Tories, but of the aristocratic party of the old Whigs, headed by Lord Grey—a party which was jealous of Canning, because it sincerely believed him an interloper upon the prescriptive right of a few great families to govern the country.*

* Canning was a man of strong passions and high spirit, with great talent for satire; and of course had made many enemies—and without enemies, no man is entitled to have friends. He had been a Tory too, and had written pungent squibs in the "Anti-Jacobin" against "French principles;" for example the very clever satire of the "Needy Knife-Grinder" In one of these *jeux d' esprit*, he had contrasted the statesmanlike qualities of certain Tory Lords with

"——The temper of Grey
And treasurer Sheridan's promise to pay."

But the head and the heart of this venomous opposition was Sir Robert Peel, who saw that Canning was destined, if his government lasted, to carry the great measure of Catholic Emancipation, and who was determined, if possible, to supersede him and carry that inevitable measure himself—a policy not unfamiliar to this prudent statesman, which he afterwards pursued in the other signal case of the repeal of the Corn laws. Mr. Canning, too, was in failing health, and had lost most of the original energy of his nature. Peel, therefore, "hounded him to death," as Lord George Bentinck long afterwards bitterly declared in Parliament.

Mr. Canning was succeeded by Lord Goderich, a statesman of little talent or influence, who did not succeed in forming a Ministry which could hold together; and in January 1828, this feeble administration gave place to the Duke of Wellington as Premier Minister, and Sir Robert Peel as Secretary for the Home Department—both of them avowed and inveterate enemies of the liberties of Catholics. The Duke, also, was still sincerely and consistently resolute to refuse all concession; while his prudent colleague had already determined to be converted at the right moment, and to have the credit of effecting a revolution which he saw to be inevitable. In this new Cabinet was Lord Palmerston; a man who never cared for Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant, or the rights or wrongs of any class, sect or nation, but was always ready to bear a hand, and that efficiently, in the current events which were for the time being the order of the day.

On the opening of the session of 1828, the Catholic Association was prepared with a petition, signed by 800,000 Catholics, praying—not for any rights of their own or relief for themselves,—but for repeal of the Test act and Corporation act, which had excluded Protestant Dissenters from office for a century and a half. This idea was O'Connell's; but the petition—as he long afterwards delighted to proclaim—was drawn up by the hand of Father L'Estrange, a Carmelite friar. This was an incident well calculated to produce a fine dramatic effect—the proscribed and oppressed Catholics petitioning for the rights of the much *less* proscribed and oppressed Nonconformists! but it is fair to add that many petitions poured in this session from Protestants of all sects in favor of the Catholic claims—so that there was, at least, an appearance of mutual good will, and an universal aspiration towards liberty, equality, and fraternity. The picture was somewhat marred, however, by multitudes of petitions vehemently deprecating all concession to Catholics; and these latter came from the most influential quarters in the three kingdoms of Ireland, England, and Scotland. The British Universities were especially stirred by apprehension and alarm for the Protestant interest; and the corporations, particularly that of Dublin, felt that all was lost if a man of Seven Sacraments became alderman or town councillor.

In that session the Test act and Corporation act were in fact repealed. The measure was introduced by Lord John Russell, a statesman who, then and always, professed "Liberal" principles, and aspired to lead the party of what is called "Progress," but being essentially narrow-minded has often shown himself actuated by the blindest bigotry and intolerance. His measure was carried, chiefly on account of the languid opposition made to it by Sir Robert Peel, who was then in a *transition* state, and was making up his mind to be converted himself to Liberal principles, and even to snatch from Lord John Russell and the Whigs, the credit of carrying the grand Whig measure of that age. The act repealing the Test and Corporation acts became law in April; and a few weeks after, on the secession of several members from the Cabinet, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, then member for Clare County, was brought in to fill a vacancy in the administration, as President of the Board of Trade. This vacated his seat for Clare, until he should be reëlected; and he immediately issued his address to the Clare electors, nothing doubting that he would be at once replaced in his seat; having large influence in the county, and most of the larger landed-proprietors being his political and personal friends. Mr. Fitz

It was generally believed that Lord Grey did not forget this; and that it contributed very much to envenom his opposition to Canning's Ministry.

gerald was a highly honorable and liberal gentleman, and a warm friend to Catholic Emancipation. He was, moreover, the son of that steady Anti-Union patriot, Mr. Prime-Sergeant Fitzgerald, who had spoken at the bar meeting against the Union, and had been thereupon degraded from his office by the Government. He was, therefore, in some sort, a martyr to patriotism ; and his son had good reason to count not only on his own possessions and influence in his county, but also on his personal merit and the traditions of his family, for a warm support in Clare.

The celebrated Clare election followed ; one of the most momentous transactions in the modern history of Ireland, and, indeed, of the other island also. It was no merely local contest for one seat in Parliament ; it was the making up of a decisive issue between the millions of oppressed Catholics, and that potent and insolent "Ascendancy," which had so long trampled upon them in their own land.

At first, however, it was not foreseen what a sharp turning point this Clare election was destined to prove in history. The Catholics had passed a resolution at one of their aggregate meetings, to oppose the election of every candidate who should not pledge himself against the Duke of Wellington's administration. Now here was a proven friend to those Catholics, who had always voted in their favor, actually a member of that administration, and seeking election at the hands of an Irish constituency. The question was, should that worthy gentleman be opposed by the whole power of the association? And whom could they hope to put in his place who would be a better friend to them than Vesey Fitzgerald? An incident now occurred, which gave much additional importance to this question. Lord John Russell, charmed with his own success in repealing the Test and Corporation acts, swelling with self-confidence, as usual, and never doubting that he was about to be the great "Liberal" leader, wrote a letter to Mr. O'Connell, suggesting that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington in the case of the repeal of Test and Corporation acts, had been so fair and noble, as to entitle his grace to the gratitude of "Liberals ;" and that they, the said Liberals "would consider the reversal of the resolution which had been passed against his Government, as evidence of the interest which the Irish people felt, not only in the great question peculiarly applicable to that country, but in the assertion of religious freedom throughout the *empire*."* That is to say, the Whig party of the "empire" would take it very kind, if Mr. O'Connell and the Catholic Association would put aside the consideration of their own country and their own rights, and use their power so as to benefit that *party*. This resembles extremely the many other occasions on which the Whigs of the "Empire" have endeavored to stifle Irish questions, and turn Irish organizations for national purposes to the service of an English faction, which always courted the Catholics when out of office, and always spurned and oppressed them when in power.

And Mr. O'Connell's greatest weakness, (as we have seen in the last chapter,) both then and since, was his too-credulous reliance upon the fair professions of that treacherous party, which he had so often occasion to describe as "the base, brutal, and bloody Whigs." On the present occasion, Mr. O'Connell can scarcely be censured for lending an ear to the suggestion of the Whig—that Mr. Fitzgerald's election should go unopposed ; for O'Connell himself did not yet foresee what a potent engine this Clare election would become in his hands. Therefore, he proposed in the association, that the resolution should be suspended.

But O'Connell did not fully appreciate how deeply his countrymen abhorred both Wellington and Peel, of both of whom, in the capacity of Chief Secretary, Ireland had bitter experience. His motion was vehemently and successfully opposed. After some debate, the original resolution was left standing ; and the association remained committed to oppose the return of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. Mr. O'Connell had reason to rejoice in his failure to rescind that resolution.

Clare, then, was to be contested ; and the next question was, who was to be put forward against Fitzgerald? The association pitched upon Major Mac Namara, one

*See Shiel's Sketches—*The Clare Election.*

of the proprietors of the county, a Protestant, of course, but descended of ancient Irish stock, very friendly to the Catholics; a man of but little weight of character, whose principal care and ambition, seem to have been to dress and wig himself after the pattern of George IV., whom he personally resembled; for the rest, a good landlord, an excellent magistrate, and protector of the poor and oppressed. But this personage, though a friend to his Catholic countrymen, was still more a friend, as it turned out, to his neighbor Vesey Fitzgerald. He allowed many days to elapse, without sending an answer to the association; and as Clare was at a great distance from Dublin, in those days of slow traveling, much anxious delay was thus created. Doubts and rumors began to prevail, not only as to the acceptance of the candidacy, but as to the disposition of the priests of Clare, to act warmly with the association against so estimable and popular a gentleman. Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele were sent post to Clare, to inquire into the dispositions of priests and people, and to bring an answer, if possible, from Major Mac Namara. O'Gorman Mahon came back in two days; the Major's family lay under such obligations to Mr. Fitzgerald, that he could not think of opposing him. Meanwhile, the "Ascendancy" party, as well as the Liberal Protestants of Clare, were actively engaged in working for the candidate already in the field; and boasting that no gentleman in the county would stoop so low as to accept the patronage of the Catholic Association. Those gentlemen of the county, was soon to receive a lesson.

There was earnest consultation one night at O'Connell's house, in Merrion Square; next day Dublin City was startled, and soon all Ireland was aroused, by an address from *O'Connell himself*, to the electors of Clare, soliciting their suffrages, affirming that he was qualified to be elected and to serve them in Parliament, although he would never take the oath, (that the Mass is idolatrous,) "for," continued he, "the authority which created those oaths, (the Parliament,) can abrogate them; and I entertain *a confident hope* that if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies *will see the necessity* of removing from the chosen representative of the people, an obstacle, which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and to his country," At last all the world, friends and foes, saw in one moment what was to be the meaning of the Clare election.

Several members of the association were at once sent down to Clare, in order to excite the people, and prepare them for the great event; also to arouse the spirit of the priests, and induce them to use their influence with the tenantry. The great family "interests," the O'Briens, the Vandeleurs, the Fitzgeralds, the Mac Namaras had, as they thought, organized and drilled their numerous tenantry into proper discipline. They considered the people who lived on their estates almost in the light of serfs; and it was a principle then in Ireland, that if any gentleman interfered with another's tenants, by canvassing them, in order to induce them to vote against their landlords, the interference was to be resented as a personal affront. But a power was now moving these masses, on which those respectable gentlemen had not calculated—the profound and sweeping passion of a highly impulsive and imaginative people, thoroughly aroused by every feeling that could appeal either to their manhood, or their religious enthusiasm—stimulated by the exhortations of priests whom they loved, and inspired by the name and renown of the redoubtable champion who promised to deliver them. All this together, made up such a mass of concentrated power, as was sure to test severely the discipline of the great estates, and the traditionary deference paid by tenants to their landlords.

Mr. Steele and O'Gorman Mahon undertook to canvass the county; and Steele intimated beforehand, his readiness to fight any landlord who should feel himself aggrieved by interference with his tenants. Then they traversed the county, making the most earnest and impetuous appeals to the people; addressing them at all hours, and in all places—in the chapels after Mass, on the hill-sides, in the village markets, by day and by night, until it was clear that the generous and gallant people, were fully resolved to brave this one good time, the ut-

most vengeance of landlord-wrath, and carry the "Man of the People" triumphantly to the door of Parliament.

The famous Father Maguire traveled all the way from Leitrim, that he might help to swell the excitement. John Lawless, (or as he was usually named honest Jack Lawless,) was then editor of a newspaper in Belfast, called the *Irishman;* he left his newspaper to other hands, and hurried to Clare, to put his fiery leading articles, into the form of fiery speeches. The town of Ennis, which had a population of eight thousand, contained thirty thousand human beings, on the day when O'Connell's green carriage was expected in that place. Green flags waved from the windows; priests and agitators addressed multitudes from a balcony or a flight of steps; and the excitement of expectation was at its highest. Yet there was not the slightest appearance of turbulence or disorder. On the contrary, throughout all the exciting canvass, and still more exciting days of the actual poll, old family feuds were suspended, or terminated forever. There was no drunkenness, no angry language, and no man ventured (so strong was public opinion) to raise a hand against another upon any provocation. O'Connell, at length, appeared, with two or three friends; and there was one continuous shout from thirty thousand throats Women cried and laughed; strangers who had never seen one another, wrung each other's hands; and from every window ladies (Mr. Shiel says, "of great beauty,") waved hands and handkerchiefs. No wonder that such a tempest of patriotic zeal, whirled away Mr. Fitzgerald's own tenants out of the hands of their marshaling bailiffs; nor that one wave of O'Connell's arm, left Mr. Vandeleur deserted by his whole army of freeholders. Sir Edward O'Brien's feudal pride was mortally hurt by the defection of his people, and he shed tears of vexation; but his son, William Smith O'Brien, then member for Ennis, though his family pride may have been hurt by such a result, was not inconsolable, being, indeed, a contributor to the "Catholic Rent," and one who at all times, valued justice and fair dealing more highly than the broad acres and high towers of Drumoland.

The details of an election contest, even that of Clare in 1828, need not be related at length. Sir Edward O'Brien proposed Mr. Fitzgerald, who was seconded by Sir Augustus Fitzgerald. O'Connell was proposed by O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele, both proprietors in the county. The speeches were made; the poll proceeded; and at its close the numbers stood, for O'Connell, two thousand and fifty-seven; for Fitzgerald, one thousand and seventy-five. After an argument before the assessor, Mr. Keating, in which it was contended that a Catholic could not be legally returned, the objection was overruled, on the ground that it rested with the Parliament itself, on the oath being tendered and refused, to exclude a representative, and O'Connell was proclaimed duly elected.

It is somewhat difficult, at this day, fully to comprehend the profound impression which this event produced throughout Ireland, as well as in the other island. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, though deeply mortified, took his defeat with a gentlemanlike calmness; but the great proprietors of Clare County, who had supported him, could not conceal their ominous apprehensions. "Where is all this to end?" was a question frequently put in his presence; to which he replied only by looks of gloom and sorrow. In fact, the worthy Protestant "Liberals," disciples and followers of Grattan and Ponsonby, had accustomed themselves to regard the Catholic claims as their affair—*they* were the Parliamentary patrons of the Irish Catholics, and had never dreamed of the possibility of their clients taking the case into their own hands; not only throwing off all dependence upon them, but even flinging aside so decisively one of the most distinguished of their advocates, and coming in their proper person to thunder at the doors of Parliament. Still more fearful and terrible to them was the example of independence now set by the voting tenantry—the hereditary family "interests" were no longer omnipotent; and the end of the world seemed at hand. The exultation of the Catholic people of Ireland was unbounded. O'Connell traveled back to Dublin in the midst of one continued triumphal procession. Mr. Lawless, the Belfast editor, was escort-

ed, on his return to Belfast, by enormous multitudes of the peasantry. Through the plains of Meath they passed in peaceable triumph, and through the southern part of Monaghan ; but in this region the Orangemen were strong, armed, resolute, and infuriated ; and a vast concourse of armed Protestants, excited by the harangues of their preachers, and prayerfully determined to resist this triumph of "Jezebel," at least in *their* county, were assembled at Ballybay, and showed a stern purpose of opposing the passage of Mr. Lawless and his followers. It needed all the exertions of the Catholic clergy, and the friendly expostulations of General Thornton, military commandant of the district, to prevent a collision, and induce the multitudinous escort of Mr. Lawless to disperse and go to their homes. For a week or two there were serious apprehensions of collision, and of civil war ; and large numbers of troops were hastily sent over from England. It was even formally proposed in the Catholic Association that a run should be made on the banks, with a view of disorganizing society and opening the way for armed revolution ; but these counsels were rejected.

The actual results of this election are well known, and may be shortly summarized. The Duke of Wellington, who had a few months before declared that "he could not comprehend the possibility of placing Roman Catholics in a *Protestant* Legislature with any kind of safety; as his personal knowledge told him that no King, however Catholic, could govern his Catholic subjects without the aid of the Pope ;" this Duke, the consistent and conscientious opponent of Catholic liberties, and who had taken office expressly to defeat their claims, became suddenly converted, and felt that the choice lay between Catholic Emancipation and civil war. As for Sir Robert Peel, he had already divined the course of events—his policy was clear ; and his conscience presented no serious difficulty. Lord Anglesea, the Lord Lieutenant, though he had come over to Ireland with no friendly feeling towards the Catholics, had greatly altered his views, and now made no secret of his opinion that the time was come to settle the vexed question in the only way it could be settled—for which expression of opinion he was summarily removed from his government.

The Parliament met in February, 1829. The King's speech, prepared, no doubt, by Peel, recommended the suppression of the Catholic Association, *and* the subsequent consideration of Catholic disabilities, with a view to their adjustment and removal. As for the Catholic Association, there could be no difficulty about that ; it had done its work, and not waiting for the law to suppress it, dissolved itself at once—that is, nominally, for substantially the organization still subsisted, and could easily resume its usual business in case of necessity.

It was Sir Robert Peel who, on the 5th of March, moved for a Committee of the Whole House, "for consideration of the civil disabilities of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects ;" and the motion was carried, after warm debate, by a large majority.

And now arose the most tremendous clamor of alarmed Protestantism that had been heard in the Three Kingdoms since the days of James II. — the last King who had ever dreamed of placing Catholics and Protestants on something like an approach to equality. Multitudinous petitions, not only from Irish Protestants, but from Scottish Presbyteries, from English Universities, from corporations of British towns, from private individuals, came pouring into Parliament, praying that the great and noble Protestant State of England should not be handed over as a prey to the Jesuits, the Inquisitors and the *Propaganda*. Never was such a jumble of various topics, sacred and profane, as in those petitions ; vested interests—idolatry of the Mass—principles of the Hanoverian succession—the Inquisition —eternal privileges of Protestant tailors, or Protestant lightermen—our holy religion—French principles—tithes—and the Beast of the Apocalypse—all were urged, with vehement eloquence, upon the enlightened legislators of Britain.

What may seem strange, one has to admit that a great number of these frightened petitioners were truly sincere and conscientious. The amiable Dr. Jebb, Protestant Bishop of Limerick, for example, writes an earnest letter to Sir Robert Peel, on the 11th

of February, 1829, (so soon as he saw the course that matters were taking,) and says to him: "Infinitely more difficulties and dangers will attach to concession than to uncompromising resistance. . . . . In defence of all that is dear to British Protestants, I am cheerfully prepared, if necessary, as many of my order have formerly done, to lay down life itself." On the other hand, the good Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, had uttered this prayer for O'Connell when he started for the contest in Clare: "May the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you!" What very different—what very opposite ideas of truth and justice had these two excellent Prelates!

Sir Robert Peel, however, had taken his part—the Catholics were to be emancipated; and by *him*. But the King would not yield, save at the last extremity. To assent to an act of justice, seemed to George IV., like the loss of his dearest heart's blood. He endeavored even to get rid of the Wellington Cabinet, and to form a new Ministry, which would pledge itself *not* to do justice. But in this he failed. Sir Robert Peel tells us: "At a late hour on the evening of the 4th of March, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that His Majesty anticipated so much difficulty, in the attempt to form another administration, that he could not dispense with our services; that he must, therefore, desire us to withdraw our resignation, and that we were at liberty to proceed with the measures, of which notice had been given in Parliament."*

Mr. O'Connell, who had arrived in London, to claim his seat for Clare, *as a Catholic*, finding that there was now a Government pledged to emancipation, having *carte blanche* for that purpose, decided not to present himself for the present, lest it should embarrass the administration.

The Emancipation act was forthwith introduced; it was prepared by Sir Robert Peel; it contained neither the provision for *veto*, nor that for bribing the priests; but it was accompanied by a certain other act, as fatal, perhaps, as either of those, namely, for disfranchisement of all the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. Sir Robert was determined at least, not to yield this point. It was the forty-shilling freeholders, who had humbled the Beresford domination in Waterford, and destroyed the Foster monopoly in Louth; it was the forty-shilling freeholders who had carried O'Connell triumphantly to the head of the poll in Clare; and by destroying that whole class of voters, Peel, hoped very reasonably, not only to render the remaining voters more amenable to corrupt influences, but also to take away the motive, which had heretofore existed, for granting leases to small farmers, and thus in good time, to turn those independent farmers into tenants-at-will. He had his own profound reasons for this—which will fully appear hereafter.

The debates on the Relief bill were, as might have been expected, very violent and bitter. The fanatical section of English and Irish Protestantism, was deeply moved. In the mind of those people, all was lost; and Sir Robert Peel and the Duke, were almost directly charged with being agents of the Pope of Rome. However, the bill passed through its two first readings in the Commons; and the third reading was passed on the 30th of March, by a majority of thirty-six. Next day it was carried to the House of Lords; and on the 2d of April, its second reading was moved by the Duke of Wellington, who made no scruple to urge its necessity, in order "to prevent civil war." Sir Robert Peel, in his argument for the law, had been less explicit and straightforward than the Duke — he had only said the measure was needful, to prevent great dangers and "public calamity." †

After violent debates in the House of Lords, lasting several days, the bill was passed a third time, and passed by a major-

* *Memoirs.* By the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. Published by the trustees of his papers, Lord Mahon and Right Honorable Ed. Cardwell, M. P. London: 1856.

† Sir Robert Peel, in his letter to Doctor Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, in February, said: "It is easy to blame the concessions that were made in 1782 and in 1793; but they were not made without an intimate conviction of their absolute necessity in order to prevent *greater dangers*." Sir Robert says again. "I can with truth affirm, that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829, I was swayed by *no fear*, except the fear of public calamity."—*Memoirs*, by Sir Robert Peel.

ity of one hundred and four. It then received the royal assent; and what is called Catholic Emancipation, was an accomplished fact.

O'Connell, in the meantime, presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons, claiming to take his seat as member for Clare. This was before the passage of the bill into a law. But an election petition was pending, sent forward by certain electors of Clare, against the validity of his return. The investigation of this petition consumed time; but, at length, the committee reported Mr. O'Connell duly elected. The Emancipation act was now passed, and was the law of the land. O'Connell, thereupon, held himself entitled to go in and take his seat, subject only to the new oaths. For this purpose, he repaired to the House, on the 15th of May, was introduced in the usual form by Lords Ebrington and Duncannon, and walked to the table to be sworn by the Clerk. But Sir Robert Peel, had prudently provided against this in the new law; which admitted only those who should, "*after the commencement of that act* be returned as members of the House of Commons," to take their seats under the new oaths. It was a mean piece of spite; and its special object was, to give Sir Robert an opportunity of snubbing O'Connell one last time, before yielding finally to his imperious demand.

Accordingly, the Clerk of the House tendered to the new member the now-abrogated oaths—one being the oath of Supremacy, (namely, that the King of England is head of the Church,) and the other, "that the Sacrifice of the Mass is impious and idolatrous," and so forth. He refused to take these oaths: he was then heard at the bar of the House, where he claimed his right to sit and vote: his claim was disallowed by a vote: the old oaths were once more tendered to him: he read over the stupid trash in an audible voice; then said, raising his head, that he declined to take that oath, because "one part of it he knew to be false, and another he did not believe to be true." A new writ was then issued to hold an election for the County Clare.

The series of measures called "Emancipation" consisted of three acts of Parliament. The first, an act for suppression of the Catholic Association, as an illegal and dangerous society; the second an act for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders *in Ireland* (not in England, where that qualification was retained)—and third, the Relief act proper, abolishing the old oaths against transubstantiation, &c., and substituting another very long and ingenious oath (for Catholics only) testifying allegiance to the Crown; promising to maintain the Hanoverian settlement and succession; declaring that it is no article of the Catholic faith "that Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects; that neither the Pope nor any other foreign prince has any temporal or civil jurisdiction within the realm; promising to defend the settlement of property as established by law; solemnly disclaiming, disavowing, and abjuring 'any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law;' and engaging never to exercise any privilege conferred by that act 'to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government.'"

The act admitted Catholics, on taking this oath, to be members of any lay body-corporate, and to do corporate acts, and vote at corporate elections; but not to join in a vote for presentation to a benefice in the gift of any corporation.

The act further most formally affirmed and preserved the great principle of Protestant Ascendancy, by specially excluding Catholics from the high offices of Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor; the former being the officer who makes nearly all appointments in Ireland, and exercises the royal power to pardon—or *not* to pardon; the latter being the person who decides on the guardianship of minors, and orders in what religion they are to be brought up, in the absence of *express* directions from their parents. The Lord Chancellor also has control over the commissions of magistrates, and cancels them at his pleasure, thus controlling, in a very great degree, the administration of justice.

Bearing in mind these important provisions and exceptions—and, further, that the Anglican Church still continued the established religion of the land, and still devoured

the Catholic people by its exactions—it is tolerably clear that by the Relief bill Catholics were not quite half emancipated.

But the most fatal blow to the liberties of the Irish people was the contemporaneous act for disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders; and for raising the county qualification to £10 a year—five times the qualification required in England. Only seventeen members of the House of Commons voted against this grievous injustice. It was introduced by Sir Robert Peel, on the ostensible ground that there was too great a disposition on the part of Irish landlords to divide their land into minute portions; that the franchise was a mere instrument with which the landed aristocracy exercised power and control over the elections; and that this control had lately passed into the hands of the priests, (which was worse,) and he cited as an example what had lately taken place in Louth and Monaghan and Waterford. In other words, he would disfranchise those small farmers *because* they had shown themselves capable of defying landlord control and acting independently. Amongst those who opposed this measure were Lord Duncannon, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Huskisson. Their argument was, "If the forty-shilling freeholders had been corrupt, *like those of Penrhyn*, their disfranchisement might be defended; but the only offence of the persons against whom the bill was directed had been that they exercised their privilege honestly and independently, according to their conscience."*

It is singular that O'Connell said not a word at any meeting, nor wrote any letter, protesting against this wholesale abolition of the civil and political rights of those to whom he owed his election for Clare. He thus consented by his silence to see cut away from under his own feet the very groundwork and material of all effective political action in Ireland; and often, afterwards, had occasion, as Ireland also had, to lament the impotence and futility of all patriotic effort for the real advancement of their country, in consequence of the destruction of the forty-shilling freeholders. Many thousands of these freeholders, and of their children, are now working on canals and railroads in America. The new and cheap ejectment laws were in full force; and were soon to act with fatal effect.

We can now appreciate in some measure the true *spirit* in which "Catholic Emancipation" was effected. It was "to avert civil war" said the Duke of Wellington; it was "to avoid greater dangers" said Sir Robert Peel. It was emphatically *not* to do justice, nor to repair a wrong. In the words of an eminent French writer on Irish affairs † nothing is more certain, than that neither the King nor his Ministers intended to do an act of justice and reparation towards the Catholics; the bill of 1829 was nothing else than a concession wrested from them by *circumstances;* which the King would never have consented to, if he had found Ministers decided—even at the cost of a civil war, to perpetuate an iniquity of three centuries, and which his Ministers would never have proposed if they had not apprehended that civil war, in the interest of the Protestant establishment itself. Now when a concession has been extorted by force, and is not a spontaneous homage to truth and justice, those who grant it may, perhaps, respect it as to its mere letter; but certainly they will not loyally comply with its spirit. When we see their practical application of it, it is evident that they desire to hold back with one hand what they have been obliged to bestow with the other; and that deeply regretting the necessity they have had to obey, when that necessity becomes less urgent, they observe only so much of their engagement as is needful to save them from the charge of perjury. Hence comes it also that there is so little gratitude manifested for this concession—and in truth, those may dispense with gratitude who owe only to fear, "*a little justice and a little freedom.*"

* Account of Debate in *Annual Register* for 1829.

† *Le Pere Perraud. Etudes sur l'Irlande contemporaine.*

CHAPTER LV.

1829—1840.

Results of the Relief Act—O'Connell Rëelected for Clare—Drain of Agricultural Produce—Educated Class of Catholics Bought—The Tithe War—Lord Anglesea Viceroy—O'Connell's Associations——Anglesea's Proclamations—Prosecution of O'Connell—National Education—Tithe-Tragedies—Newtownbarry—Carrickshock—Change of Dynasty in France—Reform Agitation in England—What Reform Meant in Ireland—Cholera—Resistance to Tithe—Lord's Grey's Cöercion Act—Abolition of Negro Slavery—Church Temporalities Act—Repeal Debate—Surplus Population—Surplus Produce—Tithe-Carnage at Rathcormack—Queen Victoria's Accession—Three Measures Against Ireland Poor Law—Tithe Law—Municipal Reform—Castle Sheriffs.

IMPERFECT and stinted and guarded as the Catholic Emancipation act was, it was, nevertheless, felt in Ireland to be a great triumph and noble achievement of O'Connell, who at once rose to the highest pinnacle of popular favor. The Catholics almost worshipped him, as their Heaven-sent deliverer; and the partizans of the good old traditionary Protestant Ascendancy thought the end of the world was at hand. The sword brandished in the hand of Walker's statue, standing upon a lofty column on a bastion of Derry walls, fell down with a crash, and was shivered to pieces, upon the very day when His Majesty, George IV., placed his signature on the Emancipation act; which he did not do, however, without having first broken and trampled upon a pen which was handed to him for that purpose, in a highly dramatic manner, and with the most perfect mimicry of deep feeling. Sir Harcourt Lees, for his part, thought the time was now at last surely come to "put down Popery" by act of Parliament, and to send the "Arch-Agitator" to the Tower.

As for O'Connell himself, and the more thoughtful amongst his friends and supporters of the Catholic Association, they saw too well that little or nothing was gained. Not only was their civil and political inferiority maintained and formally rëasserted; but the great body of brave farmers, who had frightened the "empire" by their independence, was swept out of civil existence at a blow. It at once became evident to O'Connell that there was no salvation for Ireland but in a repeal of the odious and fraudulent Union. On his return to Ireland, as if sensible that what had been already effected for his country was rather apparent than real, he declared openly that the next victory to be achieved must be the repeal of the Union. Both at Ennis and at Youghal he made speeches enforcing the necessity of this great measure, and promising never to rest until it should be accomplished; a pledge which, indeed, he labored all his life to redeem.

On the passage of the law disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, orders had been at once sent to Ireland to commence a "registration" of those who still retained the franchise, possessing a freehold of £10 yearly value. This haste was for the purpose of acting as soon as practicable upon Irish elections, and, if possible, defeating O'Connell when he should again present himself in Clare under the new writ. He was not opposed, however, on his second election at Clare, and was again sent back to Parliament, with all the qualifications required even by the new law. He did not at once take his seat, as Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June.

This year, Ireland was said to be in an "alarming" state—there was "crime and outrage" in several counties, and especially in Tipperary. In fact, the old exaction of tithes not only continued to be enforced, but was pressed with even increased rigor, seeing that Papists had become so insolent. The consequence was the most natural in the world—some tithe-proctors were forced to eat their processes, and also had their ears cut off. The Tipperary magistrates assembled in great alarm, and demanded the immediate application of the "Insurrection act," for they could not understand how people should thus resist payment of their lawful tithes, unless there were a conspiracy to subvert the Protestant government and bring in the Pope.

In truth, there was throughout the island, a very unsettled and uneasy condition of the popular mind. Men were told that they were "relieved" and "emancipated," but they felt no advantage from it whatsoever. They tried to feel pride in the victory, which they were assured they had

won over a British Ministry ; but in the meantime, they found themselves very generally disfranchised ; and what was worse—landlords were refusing to make new leases of farms, and were breaking the existing leases where they could ; having no longer the motive to rear up a small freehold population for the hustings. The chairmen of quarter-sessions, and the sheriffs and bailiffs, were busy with their ejectments ; and pauperism began extensively to prevail. The seasons, indeed, had been for some time rather favorable ; and grain and cattle were abundant ; but the British system had now been so well established in our island, that all this wealth of bounteous nature flowed off instantly to England, and the price of it also. All went the same way. The export of agricultural produce to England out of Ireland, had grown so enormous within the past few years, that it had been judged expedient in 1826, to place that trade "on the footing of a *coasting trade.*" In other words, no custom-house accounts were to be kept of it ; and the amount of it was thus concealed for many years. In that year, 1826, however, the exports to England, had been to the value of almost eight millions in corn and cattle. It was but small benefit to the Irish people to have favorable seasons and plenteous harvests ; their wealth not only made itself wings and flew to England ; but as tenancy-at-will now became *the fashion,* landlords increased rents in proportion to increased produce ; and then went to England—the centre of political action and fashionable life, to spend those improved rents. For all this there was no remedy in emancipation.

It soon became evident also, that the effects of the Relief act would be disastrous in another respect. Parliament and the Judicial Bench being now opened, (always with the exception of the place of Lord Chancellor,) to aspiring Catholics of the educated class, *their* interests and sympathies became separated from those of their countrymen. Undoubtedly, this result had been calculated by the prudent statesman who accomplished the Relief measure ; and his plan succeeded but too well. That plan may by described in general terms, as a plan for corrupting the higher classes, and extirpating the lower ; and emancipation, disfranchising the latter, and offering bribes to the former, was admirably calculated to buy over to the British interests, such as aspired to the offices and emoluments dispensed by England, and to make them forget the duty they owed to their own countrymen, and the honor and welfare of their native land. Since that day, therefore, we have seen constantly more and more of the higher class of Catholics, in various positions *helping* England to govern—that is to pillage and depopulate—this ill-fated island. Since that day, have been many Catholic members of Parliament ;—they have solicited places for useful constituents—Catholic Attorney-Generals—they have packed juries to "do the King's business." Catholic judges—they have sat complacently on the bench, and permitted those juries to be packed, and pretended to try their fellow-countrymen before those packed juries, to glut the vengeance of a government, which cannot bear to be disquieted while clearing off its "surplus population." In other words, those members of Parliament, attorney-generals and judges, have sold themselves for money and station, to a Government which they know to be the mortal enemy of their countrymen and kinsmen, and have abandoned those countrymen and kinsmen to certain slaughter and extermination.

Such have been the substantial results of the "Relief Measures" of 1829 ; and O'Connell had good reason for his conclusion, that no effectual service could be rendered to the country, short of annulling the union with England.

The discontent and disappointment of the people, (who found that emancipation did not save them from starvation,) found vent in occasional deeds of violence ; and, always for the old reasons—ruthless seizures for tithe, and wholesale ejectment of tenants. Many thousands of farmers, now found themselves emancipated, but disfranchised, and in imminent danger of being ejected and thrown out on the highways. They were capable by law of holding high office, but exposed, in fact, to see their children perishing by hunger and hardship. The crimes committed in Ireland, have nearly

always one specific character, and one obvious motive and provocation ; their victims have been almost uniformly tithe-proctors, who seized upon the small store of the poor —or landlords or agents who cleared estates —or incoming tenants, who rented farms from which others had been ejected. Murders for money, from jealousy, or in personal quarrel, have been at all times, much more rare in Ireland than in England ; and, indeed, the lamentable acts of violence which did occur, were generally perpetrated by men who had not previously known the doomed victim ; and in obedience to the decree of a secret society. The hapless people of the country had long felt and experienced that the laws were made not for them but against them ; they had long been accustomed to see law at one side, and justice at the other ; they could not perceive why there should be any law, compelling them to pay clergymen whom they never saw, and at whose services they would shudder to assist ; nor why there should be a law to fling them out from the little farm, which they had improved and rendered fertile by the sweat of their brows. Hence the series of secret combinations, with their own judicial sentences and desperate executions. These proceedings, however, always drew down upon the peasantry of the neighborhood, a most ferocious and disproportionate vengeance, and formed the excuse for keeping Arms acts and Insurrection acts almost in permanence.

The grievance of tithes, and the whole of that monstrous iniquity, called the Established Church, seemed to be felt by the people, with even more intensity of irritation, since they were told that they were now "emancipated," and that there was an end of Protestant Ascendancy. What this emancipation might be, they did not well understand, and knew no other result from it, than that they were deprived of their franchise, and could, therefore, get no more leases. And they thought that they saw Protestant Ascendancy all around them as rampant as ever. Protestant Ascendancy was always at their doors ; it entered their cabins, and carried off their pans and pots, their calves, and pigs, to satisfy a Protestant rector ; Protestant magistrates (who were in the great majority,) were always ready to browbeat them from the bench, and to send policemen to search their beds for concealed arms ; Protestant jurors always met them in the courts of justice, and proved to them that the laws of the land were not for them. If sometimes, therefore, these people desperately took the law into their own hands, or even associated together, to be a kind of law unto themselves, and executive also—dismal as such a state of society certainly is, the whole blame of it rests upon that unjust and savage system of dealing with Ireland, which was called "government," and of which, a faint outline only has been traced in these pages.

King George IV. died in 1830 ; and was succeeded by his brother King William IV. ;—an event of little or no interest to Ireland.

The next year was occupied in England, by a most energetic agitation for a Reform in Parliament ;—an affair which also concerned Ireland extremely little. The Reform was to consist chiefly in disfranchising old boroughs, which had become ruinous and almost uninhabited ; and giving the franchise to large centres of population, which had never returned members of Parliament before. Excitement on this question ran very high throughout the other island, but did not extend in any great measure to Ireland, whose proportions of representation had been fixed by the act of Union. O'Connell and the other Catholic and Liberal Irish members, all supported the "Reform" Ministry, and helped to carry the measure in 1832 ; imagining, probably, that Ireland would thereby establish a claim upon the popular party in England, for support and friendly sympathy in asserting her own rights—an expectation which was signally disappointed.

On the 4th of February, 1830, Parliament opened, but was soon dissolved, and a new election took place. This time, O'Connell abandoned Clare, and achieved another brilliant victory over the Beresford interest at Waterford. A considerable number of Catholics now entered Parliament for the first time ; O'Gorman Mahon for Clare, Richard More O'Ferrall for Kildare, Lord Killeen for Meath, &c. Mr. Smith O'Brien

continued to represent Ennis; and was a most attentive and industrious member of Parliament; acting on most questions with the Whig party, and sincerely cherishing the delusion, (which he afterwards had to give up,) that Whigs were more friendly to right and justice in Ireland, than Tories.

In the beginning of 1830, the Duke of Northumberland was Lord-Lieutenant. On the change of Ministry, the Marquis of Anglesea, was again sent over as Viceroy; and Lord Plunket was made Lord Chancellor, an office which he discharged with great ability for many years. He had by this time forgotten that the Union was a nullity and a fraud, which his sons were to be sworn to resist and annul. One of his sons became a Bishop by the gracious appointment of the King. Yet Mr. Plunket was right in denouncing the Union as a nullity and a fraud; and if he had been thoroughly honest, he would now have been found by O'Connell's side, demanding the restoration of an independent Irish Legislature.

During the course of this year, there was established a "Society of the Friends of Ireland." It was nothing but the Catholic Association under another name; and its object was to agitate the repeal of the Union. But the course pursued by Mr. O'Connell, since the Relief act had occasioned violent irritation in England, amongst both Whigs and Tories. That, after so generous and noble a concession as emancipation was represented to be—which was to have fully satisfied the Irish people, and filled them with rejoicing "loyalty"—that, instead of gratitude and loyal contentment, there should immediately spring up a new and acrimonious agitation, openly aiming at the "dismemberment of the empire," seemed to those Whigs and Tories, an example of the basest ingratitude. O'Connell, too, whose deportment in Parliament was perfectly dignified and business-like, when he came to Ireland, and found himself the centre of a great meeting of his countrymen, often used violent and denunciatory language concerning political opponents; and even sometimes turned into ridicule, some grave and reverend Tory, or some sneaking and intriguing Whig.

In short, it was decided by the administration, all liberal as it was, to put a stop to the "Arch-Agitator's" exciting proceedings; and as the "Friends of Ireland" fell undoubtedly, under the former act, for suppressing illegal associations, the Viceroy was instructed to "proclaim it under that act, and threaten prosecution." The society was, as usual, at once dissolved, and was at once succeeded by the "Anti-Union Association." O'Connell omitted no opportunity of insisting upon a restoration of the Irish Parliament, and demonstrating the necessity of that measure—which made him more popular and powerful in Dublin, than he had ever been before. For it was in Dublin chiefly that the repeal spirit then existed; the country-people, and the provincial towns, were not yet aroused on that question; but the metropolis appreciated it at once. There was to be held on the 27th of December, a great assembly and procession of the trades of Dublin, with the express object of complimenting Mr. O'Connell for his advocacy of an Irish Parliament. The bands were to form at Phibsborough, in the suburbs of Dublin, and march with their banners and *insignia* into the city, to O'Connell's house; where they were to present him with an address. This procession of peaceful and unarmed men, appeared to Lord Anglesea, too perillous a thing to be permitted, with due regard to the peace of the city; and he issued a proclamation absolutely forbidding the assembly. This, of course, implied an intention of dispersing it by force. By O'Connell's advice, therefore, the meeting was not held.

This was but the beginning of a long contest between the Arch-Agitator and the Marquis of Anglesea, the former, using every legal device and contrivance, to make for the people some occasion of meeting, and expressing their sentiments, and the Marquis regularly laying on the heavy hand of power, and menacing unarmed citizens with military violence. Mr. O'Connell was unmeasured enough in the terms of very natural resentment, which he applied to Lord Anglesea, and the whole Whig government, whom he characterized, as "base, brutal, and bloody Whigs." But while he could use indignant language, the Lord-Lieutenant had all the practical advan-

tages in such a contest; he had his sheriffs and juries at hand, and the court of King's Bench always open—so that anything was an "illegal and dangerous association" which he might choose to prosecute;—he had the garrison of Dublin constantly ready for action; and besides these things, the noble Marquis opened O'Connell's letters in the Post Office, as well as letters addressed to him, in order that he might know who were his correspondents, what were his designs, and what were his resources. The Marquis had the letters always resealed with the utmost care, with counterfeited seals, so that the persons receiving the letters should not suspect they had been opened and so be put on their guard.*

The next name under which Mr. O'Connell made his association appear was the Irish Volunteers, for repeal of the Union; but this had no better fate than the rest. When it was "proclaimed," however, and commanded not to meet, Mr. O'Connell, for once, did not submit. He said—and this was true—that a proclamation could not make law; and pledged himself, as a lawyer, that his organization was perfectly legal, as it was. He, therefore, and many of his usual attendants, went and held the meeting. Thereupon, O'Connell, together with Mr. Lawless, Mr. Steele, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Clooney, and two or three others, were forthwith arrested, and brought before magistrates, where they were required to give bail. On issuing from the magistrate's office, the Arch-Agitator found a great crowd in the streets; made them a speech, of course—"Yesterday," he exclaimed, "I was only half an agitator—to-day I am a whole one. Day and night will I now strive to fling off despotism, to redeem my country, to repeal the Union."

The prosecution proceeded; and as Mr. O'Connell knew perfectly well that he could have no chance before a Castle jury properly arranged, which would be sure to find him at once guilty of whatever he should be charged withal, he dexterously delayed the striking of the jury, and gained time. The Orange party was in vehement excitement; and it need scarcely be added that in England all parties were charmed with the idea of having the loud-tongued agitator locked up in a jail for a misdemeanor. After some ingenuity in pleading, O'Connell allowed judgment to go by default upon several of the counts; that is, substantially pleaded guilty on those counts. He knew he might as well do so, as he would be arraigned before a sure jury; and all the world waited till he should be called up for sentence. But he was never called up for sentence. It happened just then that the Whig Ministry was straining every nerve to secure a good majority for their Reform; and O'Connell, and those others whom he could influence, or who would be revolted by any severity exercised towards him, were not allies to be thrown away for the sake of gratifying the Orangemen. For that time, therefore, legal proceedings against the agitator went no further.

The year 1831 was marked by the establishment of the national system of education in Ireland, in pursuance of a bill introduced by Lord Stanley. Two years after, (1833,) the grants of public money for the education of the poor, which had previously been enjoyed by the Kildare Place School Society and other proselytizing institutions, were intrusted to the Lord-Lieutenant, to be expended on the instruction of children of all sects, under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by the Crown, and called "Commissioners of National Education." Two years afterwards, (1835,) these commissioners were incorporated with power to hold lands. The ostensible principles of this new establishment were "Liberal;"

* The Marquis of Anglesea is first on the list of letter-spies, which was laid before Parliament in 1844. But that list extends over a period of only eleven years. It was avowed by Ministers that the Post Office *espionnage* had existed long before Lord Anglesea's time—as it certainly existed long after that of Earl de Grey, in 1843. Earl de Grey is the last of the letter-spies mentioned in the return. That return, however, has taken care not to inform us *whose* letters were thus opened and copied. It only gives a list of the Viceroys, Chancellors, Archbishops, and Lord-Justices, who did order such manipulations of letters, and the years in which they so ordered it. It appears that such warrants were constantly in existence for ten years out of the eleven; but we are not informed as to the numbers of the persons whose correspondence was thus investigated; nor any of their names. O'Connell was, of course, one; and it was in the very height of the contest waged with O'Connell to put down his several associations that the Marquis of Anglesea is first returned as a letter-spy.

there was to be no interference with the religious creed of any pupil ; and clergymen of each denomination were to be allowed the opportunity of giving religious instructions to the children of their respective faiths.

But practically the Government took good care that, both on the first establishment of the board and ever since, the great majority of the commissioners should be Protestants. The scheme was intended to take into the hands of the British Government the formation of the minds of young Irishmen, and the moulding of their first impressions, in such a way that they might forget they were Irish, and feel and think as like English children as possible. Their reading lessons have been carefully edited to this end ; most of them by Dr. Wheatley, an Englishman, and others by Mr. Carlisle, a Scotchman. The intention was not so much to convert Catholic children as to denationalize them.

It had been for long ages prohibited to the Irish Catholics to be educated at all, under heavy penalties. When these penal laws had disappeared, and the British Government found that the Irish were very desirous to educate their children, that Government resolved, if they must be taught, to teach them itself, and especially to keep them as much as possible ignorant of the history of their own country—a very prudent and politic design, if it could only have been accomplished.

For the rest, these national schools have been tolerably well conducted ; but in districts where the population is of mixed religions, Catholic children, for the most part, have received no benefit from them, on account of the objections of the Catholic clergy against mixed education. In other districts, where Catholics form the whole population, these objections did not practically apply.

In 1850, there were nearly five thousand schools under this board, and five hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and thirty nine scholars.

The tithe war raged violently this year—the people were becoming more and more indisposed to pay Protestant rectors, especially in the South of Ireland, where those rectors often have no flocks. On the banks of the Slaney, on the very border between Wexford and Carlow County, and at the foot of the stately Mount Leinster, stand the little town of Newtownbarry. On the 18th of June, 1831, this usually quiet village was the scene of a bloody tithe-tragedy. The Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his tithe ; and by aid of the police and yeomanry, he had seized the crops and goods of several persons in the neighborhood. These things were to be auctioned in Newtownbarry market-place on the market-day. Before that day anonymous written notices were sent to many persons in the country, requesting them to come in and *attend* the sale of their neighbors' pigs, beds and kettles. Considerable numbers of people attended in consequence, but not armed : their object being only to keep all persons back from bidding at this auction. It was known that large crowds had come in and that the forced sale must almost certainly produce a collision. But the Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his rights. The property seized was brought into town guarded by a large force of constabulary, who were to be supported, if needful by another large force of yeomanry. The sale opened ; the people pressed forward, and kept away, by a show of intimidation, the few who might have been disposed to purchase. At last, the police attacked the unarmed multitudes ; were seconded with great alacrity by the yeomanry ; and very soon thirteen slain men and twenty wounded were lying in their blood on the street of Newtownbarry. No person was ever brought to punishment for this slaughter. Indeed, it was felt by the Orange party, that the Rev. Mr. McClintock had only shown proper spirit in vindicating his right—that this course of intimidation had gone too far—and that it was time an example should be made ; more moderate persons, however, even of the Established Church, could not but think it unfortunate that ministers of religion should so often have to wring their blood-stained dues out of the very vitals of parishioners who hate them and all their works

Six months after the affair of Newtownbarry, befel the other tithe-slaughter of Carrickshock. Certain moneys were due for

tithe to the Rev. Hans Hamilton, rector of Knocktopher, in the County Kilkenny; a process-server was sent out to serve the needful documents, and this functionary was protected by a large force of armed police. The people assembled in considerable and still-increasing numbers, their object being to get hold of the bailiff and force him to "eat the latitats"—papers of that nature being supposed in those parts to be the natural food of process-servers. Menacing crowds of country-people gathered around the line of march of the officer and his escort; and when they arrived at a bare and desolate tract called the Common of Carrickshock, traversed by a lane which is bordered by a low wall, in most places broken down, the demands of the people to have the process-server delivered up to them became pressing and loud. At length, a young man sprang into the lane, seized the process-server, and endeavored to carry him off, out of the hands of his protectors. He was instantly shot dead. Then there was a general onslaught—the people had armed themselves with a species of short pikes, and they fell upon the police with fury. Eleven of the constables were killed, and a good many of the people also; but the legal documents were not served that day. It was fast becoming evident that some measures must be adopted to prevent these sanguinary collisions.

In England the resistance of the Irish to levies for tithes was, as usual, represented as the evidence of a deep Popish conspiracy to overturn the Protestant Church; and the Whigs were almost as much excited by this idea as the Tories. The voluminous Tory historian, Alison, discovered indeed, for once that "the Pope's influence in Ireland" was on the present occasion beneficial: inasmuch as "The Vatican threw off the mask, and measures were commenced evidently intended to destroy the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and open the door to the replacing of the Catholic faith in these realms." Thus, English Whigs drew off in some measure from their association with the Irish Catholics; and this weakened the party of reform. The Cholera, also, raged all through the summer of 1832; and this, according to the same historian, was another beneficial event, as it sensibly abated the reform mania.

The King, however, in a speech from the Throne, recommended attention to the question of tithes; and a committee of the Lords was appointed to investigate and report upon it. They reported in favor of commuting the tithe to a charge upon land. In the debate on reception of this report, it was stated that the arrears of tithes due but not recoverable in the four dioceses of Ossory, Leighlin, Cashel, and Ferns, were computed at £84,954. A law was, in the meantime, proposed and carried by Government, authorizing an issue from the consolidated fund of a large sum of money for relief of those clergymen who could not collect their tithes. A part of the county Tipperary was also proclaimed under the Cöercion act then pending; and Lord Grey was preparing a still more stringent Cöercion act for the next year.

Mr. O'Connell vehemently opposed the grant from the consolidated fund, which was accompanied by an authority to *levy* the amount due, in order to repay the advance. This was, in fact, the Government assuming upon itself the function of the tithe-proctor and the bailiff, with the aid of all the troops and police; and it was plainly intended to make a few salutary examples of slaughter. Throughout the Parliamentary discussions on these questions, there does not appear to have been the slightest intention on the part of either party to relieve Ireland from the burden of the Established Church; all their anxiety was how to insure to the clergy their income out of the pockets of the people in some way which it would be impossible to resist or evade. On the other hand, O'Connell declared in Parliament—"The Irish people are determined to get rid of tithes, and get rid of them they will."

But the resistance of the farmers was carried on peacefully; and generally consisted in deterring purchasers at tithe-sales by the demonstration of a resolute public opinion. The same force operated to prevent neighbors from aiding to remove crops or other things, even in case they should have been nominally sold. It cannot be denied that this force was nothing but a very manifest intimidation, and would have been

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quite unjustifiable if the claim for tithe had been just.

The next year Lord Grey brought forward his Cöercion bill, and the Tories not only supported it with alacrity, but hailed it with joy, as a proof that the most "liberal" of English reformers had come round to *their* policy for the government of Ireland; and, in fact, since that day English Tories and English Whigs have generally been in the most gratifying accord upon cöercion bills for Ireland. However, they may differ upon other matters, they are an unit whenever it is a question of dragooning the Irish.

The Cöercion acts are all very like one another; but this one contained the new provision that the Viceroy might suppress and disperse *any meeting* which he should deem dangerous to the public peace. The bill contained the usual powers and penalties—the Lord-Lieutenant might "proclaim" any district—all persons in proclaimed districts to remain within doors from one hour after sunset until sunrise, and also to abstain from attending any meeting whatsoever. No meeting was to be held, even to petition Parliament, without ten days' previous notice to the Lord-Lieutenant, and his sanction to hold such meeting. The proclaimed districts were to be subject to martial law; every offender was to be tried before a court-martial; and all officers of justice and military on duty were (in such proclaimed district,) to have authority to enter houses at any hour and search for arms. The writ of *Habeas Corpus* was to be suspended for three months after the arrest of any person, as respected that person.

These atrocious provisions for torturing the people, and for repressing even all open and peaceful expressions of opinion, continued to be the law of the land for five years. This law was then succeeded by another law of the same kind; and that by another and another. It might be supposed that the British Parliament might as well pass a perpetual Cöercion act for Ireland at once, and take away altogether the writ of *Habeas Corpus;* but such a measure as this would be supposed to be too abhorrent to the spirit of the British Constitution. The Cöercion acts, therefore, are all proposed for a limited time, and a hope is regularly expressed, by the member of the Government who introduces one of them, that the time is approaching when these "exceptional" measures will be no longer needful to the good-government and well-being of Ireland.

In the same session, Parliament passed the act for abolishing negro slavery in the British West Indies, and appropriated twenty millions sterling to compensate the planters. Of course, the money was borrowed, and added to the national debt; and England and Ireland have been paying the interest on it ever since.

"The Church Temporalities act" for Ireland, was passed in the year 1833. It was introduced by Lord Althorpe, and became law on the 30th of July. His lordship stated the entire revenue of the Irish Church at £732,000 sterling. The new act abolished ten Bishoprics, by consolidating their sees with sees adjoining. The consolidation was to take place gradually, on the death of Bishops. "Church-rates" were abolished. The revenues of the sees which were to remain in existence were diminished; and the Church property of the suppressed sees, together with the saving by diminished revenues, were estimated as creating a fund of £3,000,000, to be vested in a board of "Ecclesiastical Commissioners," to be expended for strictly ecclesiastical purposes; the principle being that no Church property could be alienated from its legal owners, and that the country was not to be relieved of any part of the burden of this enormous establishment. Accordingly, the people were not at all benefited by this act; even the abolition of "Church-rates" was only a boon to the landlords, who immediately raised the rents to their tenants-at-will.

Next was introduced and passed another bill, appropriating one million sterling to the parsons, in compensation for the tithes due and unpaid for three years.

In 1834, O'Connell commenced seriously the work of repeal of the Union, in Parliament. His first move was a proposal to appoint a committee to inquire into the conduct of Baron Smith, one of the Irish

judges, whom he accused of introducing politics into his charges from the bench. The committee was refused; because it was held that an Irish judge could not avoid the subject of politics in his judicial addresses, seeing that Irish "crimes" were almost wholly of a political character. On the 23d of April, O'Connell formally brought forward in Parliament, the question of repealing the Union. There followed a debate of four days. His chief opponent was Mr. Spring Rice, (afterwards Lord Monteagle,) who labored to prove that Ireland had largely profited by the Union; and was at that moment enjoying exemption from several specific taxes which pressed upon Great Britain. In truth, according to his statistics, Ireland was growing rich, or at least ought to be, in consequence of the generous forbearance of the English people and Government, in burdening the other parts of the empire with imposts, which she had not to pay.

But, notwithstanding statistics, the notorious truth was, that England was becoming always richer, and her people more luxurious in their style of living, while Ireland was fast sinking into destitution. The Irish rents spent by absentee-proprietors now amounted to more than four millions. Manufacturers in Ireland, (with the single exception of linen,) no longer existed. Extermination of tenantry, (or as the people were now always termed, "surplus population,") had increased to a dreadful extent; and those who had means to emigrate were flying from the country in wild terror. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1833—the writer being no other than Sir Archibald Alison—states that the emigration in 1831, from Ireland, amounted to eighteen thousand. The writer adds: "No reason can be assigned why it should not be one hundred and eighty thousand." From this time the leading idea of English statesmen and economists was, to devise some way of getting rid of the "surplus" people.

Yet while the people were said to be surplus, the island in which they lived was steadily and rapidly increasing her export of provisions; the export of grain and cattle into England, which had amounted in 1826, to nearly eight millions sterling, had now been augmented by about one-half; and this wasting process—shipping off men in one direction, and the food they had raised in another—went on developing itself, as we shall see, until the export of the surplus people reached three hundred thousand a year, and the export of the surplus food amounted to at least twenty millions sterling—Ireland being the only country known in ancient or in modern times, which had these two kinds of "surplus" for export at one time. It was so plainly demonstrated, however, in Parliament, by Mr. Spring Rice and other speakers, that the country was prospering under the Union, that O'Connell's motion was at once voted down. On the same occasion, the House of Peers not only rejected the proposition unanimously, but addressed the King, declaring their firm resolution to maintain the "integrity of the empire."

Various efforts were made in this and the following year to force upon Parliament some just measure for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment. Mr. Ward, an English member, was especially zealous in this cause; but as these proposals were steadily resisted, and came to nothing whatever for several years, we need not occupy ourselves with them here. The Church bill of Mr. Ward, contained what was called the "Appropriation clause," for devoting to state purposes, and the general improvement of the country, the funds to be curtailed from the wealth of the Church. This was the great stumbling-block to the Tories, and to the House of Lords; and the measure was abandoned.

The last scene of tithe-carnage, was enacted at Rathcormack, a village in Waterford County. It was on the 18th of December, 1834. Seizure had been made upon the stackyard of a poor widow, to pay the Protestant rector. Her neighbors became strongly excited; and assembled in crowds, with the apparent purpose of resisting the abstraction of the property. A narrow lane, or *boreen*, led up from the highroad to the widow's place. In this lane, the people had overturned a wagon to block up the way, and seemed resolved to defend their barricade. The officers of the law ap-

proached, well supported by armed men, both police and military. There was some parley; stones were thrown; the Riot act was read; and then orders were given to fire. A destructive volley was poured in upon the unarmed crowd, many of them fell, killed and wounded; and his reverence carried off, over the bleeding corpses, his tithe of the widow's sheaves. The excitement and indignation aroused by this "Rathcormack massacre," were profound and wide-spread. The combinations amongst the peasantry to resist tithe-sales, and to prevent all persons from purchasing, at their own proper peril, became more organized and formidable. Doctor MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, writing a public letter at this time to the Duke of Wellington, thus expresses himself: "All the united authorities, and the Senate, can never annex the conscientious obligations of law to enactments that are contrary to right, reason, and justice. And hence, the stubborn and unconquerable resistance of the people of Ireland to those odious acts—I will not call them *laws*—which have forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise. After paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor nor agent, shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe, or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this, or any other country." It may well be supposed, that such a declaration as this, coming from a reverend dignitary of the Catholic Church—affirming that the Church laws were no laws, and that he himself would deny and defy them, greatly aggravated and encouraged the organized resistance of the people. If an attempt had been made to levy tithe from the Archbishop's farm, no man in the diocese would have dared to bid for his corn-sheaves.

King William IV., died in June, 1837, and Queen Victoria reigned in his stead; disastrous reign to Ireland.

Within the first three years of this Queen's reign, three measures of great importance were passed for Ireland; all brought forward under pretext of Concession and Liberalism; but all marked in reality with the invariable, inevitable stamp of mortal enmity towards the people of our country. These were, the *Poor Law*, the *Tithe Law*, and the *Law for Municipal Reform.*

Poor laws had become at once necessary in England, on the supression of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. In Catholic times, and according to Catholic ideas, alms-giving was a Christian duty; from that moment it had to become a tax. Those monasteries had been endowed by charitable and religious people mainly for the relief of the poor; but when their lands came into possession of King Henry's courtiers, the poor immediately began to be regarded as public enemies to be suppressed. The poor man had been a brother, whom it was a privilege and duty to console; he became one of the "dangerous classes," to be well watched, to be often punished, and to be forever degraded and disgraced. The first English Poor law (27 Henry VIII.,) prohibited alms-giving under heavy penalties; and as for "sturdy beggars"—"a sturdy beggar is to be whipped the first time, and if he again offend, he shall suffer death as a felon and an enemy of the commonwealth." The fourteenth of Elizabeth provided that these terrible sturdy beggars "should for the first offence be grievously whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about; for the second, be deemed as felons; and for the third, suffer death as felons without benefit of clergy." Innumerable amendments and alterations have been made since those days in the English system of Poor laws, by which, although these ferocious punishments were mitigated, the principle was maintained, of treating the poor as enemies, and making charity a compulsory tax.

All this system had been hitherto unknown in Ireland—as it is still unknown in France and Spain. Poor men had been always with us, and that in plenty; but no "able-bodied paupers," by profession. If a third of the population was sometimes in a half-starving condition for half the year, the others, who had more comforts around them, shared generously with their suffering neighbors, and thought they were doing God ser-

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vice. Christian charity was not yet worked by machinery, nor exacted by sheriff's officers. In short, poor as the Irish were—and they were only poor because the English ate them out of house and home—their whole nature and habits were totally abhorrent to the idea of Poor laws. But it was now the settled design of the British Government to fasten upon them this plague; and for two principal reasons—first, to obtain absolute control, through their own officials, of the great mass of the poor, who might otherwise be turned into elements of revolutionary disturbance; second, to aid and encourage the extermination of the "surplupos pulation"—thus coming in aid of the new code of cheap and easy ejectment—for when there should be great poor-houses in every district to receive the homeless people, landlords would have the less hesitation in turning out upon the highways the population of whole townlands at once. Besides, the immense patronage which the new system would place in the hands of the Government—a patronage to be chiefly exercised amongst the class a stage or two removed above the very poor themselves, would give to that Government, in every "Poor-Law Union," a very extensive control over the interests and whole way of life of the farming class.

A person named Nicholl, a Scotchman, was sent to make a tour in Ireland, and to report on the distresses of the poor. After a journey of a few weeks, in a country quite unknown to him, this man made a report. He saw much suffering and privation; and reported that during half the year, there were five hundred and eighty-five thousand persons, with two millions three hundred thousand *more* depending on them, in a state of utter destitution. He took care to report nothing of the reason of this destitution; namely, the drain of Irish produce to England. Upon the report of this Scotchman, a measure was prepared and introduced by Lord John Russell, to establish an universal system of Poor laws; a board of commissioners, and distribution of the island into "Unions." It was in vain that O'Connell, many Catholic Bishops, many Protestant Irishmen, even, opposed this dreadful law. It was carried by large majorities, and became law in July, 1838. Two years later there were one hundred and twenty-seven Unions marked out and constituted; fourteen immense Poor Houses, built like prisons, had been built, and the others were in rapid progress. Ireland has been blistering and festering under this British pestilence ever since that day. One of the first consequences of it was a large increase in the number of ejectments. The ejected people, when they had no money to emigrate, could only take refuge in these Poor law jails, bid adieu to all decency and independence, and become paupers forever, cursing the cruel "charity" that prolonged their miserable existence.

The second of these measures was the Tithe bill; passed in May, 1838. It *abolished* Church tithes in Ireland; that is to say, it converted them into a charge upon the land; called tithe rent-charge, payable in the first place to the parsons by the landlords, and then leviable on the tenants by distress, along with the rent. Thus, the parsons were relieved from the necessity of coming into immediate collision with the farmers, and raising bloody riots to come at their tenth sheaf and tenth potato. The tithe was, in fact, confounded with the rent, and put into a form impossible to be resisted or evaded. In return for the additional security and tranquillity thus assured to the clergymen, and for the saving of their heavy expenses to proctors and tithe-farmers, they were made to submit to a deduction of twenty-five per cent. upon the amount claimed by them. On the whole it was a profitable change for the parsons, who have been better paid since that time than they had been for many years before. The people were assured that they were relieved from the "tithe;" and the Church was supposed to have escaped the *odium* of this shocking imposition; but, at the same time, many a poor family saw its last bed carried off by the landlord's bailiffs, to pay "tithe rent-charge." Nothing can demonstrate in a more offensive manner the savage resolution of the British Government and people to make us pay for support of that alien church, or die.

The third great measure which signalized the first years of Queen Victoria, was the

Municipal Reform act. The Emancipation act had been quite inoperative in giving to Catholics their rightful place in the corporations. A Municipal Reform bill had been introduced into Parliament, in 1836, by O'Loghlen, then Attorney-General. He had stated in his speech, that "although the whole number of corporators in Ireland were thirteen thousand, and although since 1792, the corporations had been nominally open to Catholics, not more than two hundred had been admitted." The municipal bodies also, being quite free from popular control, and all other control, had become quite as conspicuous for corruption as for Protestantism; and independently of the claims of the Catholics, some cleansing process was absolutely needful amongst those dens of iniquity. The principle of the new bill was to give to the inhabitants of the towns (subject to a qualification according to rating,) the power to elect town councillors, and thus infuse a popular element into the little close boroughs of municipal jurisdiction.

A Municipal Reform bill had been within a few years enacted for England; and another object of the Government was to assimilate, as far as was prudent, the Irish institutions of this kind with the English. One great difficulty, however, at once presented itself. Some of the functions of municipal officers were connected with the administration of justice. The mayor is a magistrate. What is of still graver importance, the sheriff of a corporate city is the officer who has charge of the list of qualified *jurors* in that city, and who summons a certain number of them to serve at each assize or commission. If such sheriff should be a Catholic, there was reason to fear that he might not exercise due vigilance in keeping Catholics off those juries which might have to try "political offences"—a large and essential department of what is called "government" in Ireland.

Violent opposition was made to the bill, on this and other grounds; and it was thrown out by the House of Lords. The agitation, however, was quite vehement on the subject in Ireland; and the demand for corporate reform grew loud. While the Marquis of Normanby was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he did not prevent and repress political meetings, as he was invested with power to do; and the Whig Ministry soon found they could not calculate on Catholic support, (which they needed,) without some measure of this character. During the three years, 1837–8–9, the bill underwent several modifications, and was several times passed by the Commons and thrown out by the Peers. At last, it took its final shape, and was introduced by Lord Morpeth, on the 14th of February, 1840. In his bill, the amount of *rating* fixed as the qualification for voters was £8. When it was sent up to the Lords, they insisted upon the qualification of a £10 rating; and with this change it was accepted by the Commons, and became law.*

The Municipal Reform act would have been indeed an invaluable concession of right and equity to Ireland; and we should here be called upon to greatly modify or retract very much of the bitter reflections which have been made upon the deadly hostility shown by all British Governments against the Irish people, but for one circumstance. A clause of the new act, not only renders all the rest comparatively worthless, but provides with deliberate malignity for the subversion of all law and justice in Ireland. It enacts that the sheriff shall not be elected by the Town Councils, as in England, but appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant. That is to say, the Town Councils were to be allowed to submit certain names to that functionary, amongst whom they should pray him to appoint their sheriff; and if none of the names pleased him, the nomination was to rest with him—that is to say, the officer who had charge of the jury-lists, and whose special duty it is to take care that his fellow-citizens are fairly represented in the jury-box, was to be, not an elected servant of the people, but a creature of the Castle and the Crown. There is no occasion for hesitation or delicacy in affirming, that the intention of this clause was to enable the Crown to pack its juries with the utmost certainty, and to destroy a political opponent at any time, under a false pretence of law. To what deadly use

* 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 118.

this provision has been turned will be but too evident throughout the later history of the country. In the meantime, however, the Catholic townsmen of Ireland took their place in the municipal bodies, and in such municipal business as had no reference to the administration of justice. O'Connell was elected first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin; and took much state in his scarlet cloak and gold chain; but at the same moment was nominated a sheriff, whose business it was to secure a jury that would send this Lord Mayor to jail on the first occasion when the Castle might desire to imprison him as a criminal.

These three measures were the first fruits of Whig legislation for Ireland, in the three first years of Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER LVI.

1840—1843.

Spirit of Legislation for Ireland—More Spying in the Post Office—Savings' Banks—"Precursor Society" Support to the Whigs—Whigs Go Out—Peel Comes In—Repeal Association—Export of Food—Extermination—The Repeal Year—Corporation Debate—The Younger Nationalists—New "Arms Bill"—O'Brien Moves for Inquiry—Preparations for Cöercion—All England against Repeal—Monster Meetings—Mallow—Tara—Mullaghmast—Clontarf—Proclamation.

We can now appreciate, in some measure, the spirit and motive of all the legislation for Ireland after "Emancipation." Catholics having been admitted into Parliament and into the Corporations, it became necessary, in the interest of British domination, to take securities against the employment of the new franchises for any Irish purpose. By the "National Education" system provision was made for stifling all national sentiment in the young. By the Poor law, the life or death of certain millions of the people was placed at the disposal of British officials. By the Tithe law the impositions of the Established Church were rendered inevitable. By the Municipal law the perpetual packing of juries was made certain. Every enactment of the British Parliament was expressly designed and admirably calculated to nullify altogether the sentiments and aspirations of the Irish people, and to subject their whole way of life to the will and the interests of England. The police force had been gradually converted into a standing army, under the absolute control of the Castle. The Post Office *espionnage* had been systematized and perfected. Government officers were trained to open letters and re-seal them, without showing any trace of their manipulation; and Her Majesty's Lords-Lieutenant read the correspondence of all suspected persons. In 1834, it was Mr. Secretary Littleton, (afterwards Lord Hatherton,) who inspected men's letters. In 1835, it was Lord Mulgrave, (afterwards Marquis of Normanby,) who discharged this needful office. The next year it was the same noble marquis, and the Irish Secretary, Mr. Drummond—the man who scandalized the whole British interest in Ireland by a casual observation of his, (which, however, he did not mean,) that "property had its duties as well as its rights." It was this Mr. Drummond who was the spy upon our correspondence both in 1836 and 1837. In the same year, 1837, it appears that both Lord Chancellor Plunket, one of the Lords-Justices, and Doctor Whateley, Archbishop of Dublin, a member of the Privy Council, had a curiosity to know what Mr. O'Connell and others might be writing about to their friends. They, therefore, gave directions that the letters to and from that gentleman, and all the other gentlemen named in their orders, (we are not told who they were,) should be opened in the Post Office, softening the seals, or envelopes, by a cunning application of steam, then copied for the study of those functionaries, and then sealed up again with great skill. In 1838, Lord Morpeth, (afterwards Lord Carlisle,) had the opening of our letters. In 1839, the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Ebrington, and General Sir T. Blakeney, one of the Lords-Justices. In 1840, Lord Ebrington again freely indulged his curiosity.*

When to all these methods of inspection and control, we add the immense police force—about thirteen thousand men, well-armed and scientifically distributed over the whole island—with their complete code of

* Parliamentary Return. Session of 1845. Papers relating to Mazzini.

signals for communicating from station to station, with blue lights, red lights, and other apparatus—when we add the numerous corps of *detectives*, (a sort of institution in which Great Britain is unmatched in all the world,) and when we remember the Disarming acts and Cöercion acts always in force,* it is easy to understand how the unfortunate Irish nation, bound hand and foot, muzzled, disarmed, and half starved, could but writhe helplessly under the lash of its greedy tyrant. Yet the pictures of these engines of subjugation is not complete, without an account of the *savings' banks*. These institutions were the only means left to industrious and frugal people by which they could safely invest their savings. Manufacturing industry was out of the question; land in small lots was not to be had; even leases for lives or years were no longer obtained, (for there was now no use for small freeholders at the hustings,) and those who could save a little money could do no better than deposit it in the savings' bank of the nearest town. The system of savings' banks had been introduced from Scotland into Ireland in 1810. Soon after it had been made a Government institution, and the rate of interest was fixed by law: the depositors were allowed £3 0s. 10d. per cent.; and the savings' bank was bound to invest the whole of the money deposited with it in the *Government funds*. Thus the small savings of every industrious artizan and of every prudent maid-servant were in the hands of the Government; and their value depended upon the value of the Government funds—that is, on the credit and stability of the existing British system. This was a substantial security against revolution—because every depositor felt that his little all depended on the tranquillity of the state: in other words, on the peaceful perpetuation of the hateful system, which was really making beggars of them all.

It must be admitted that in so very helpless a condition of the country, it was a difficult task for even the most powerful and popular agitator to produce any movement that would be really formidable to the enemy's Government, or would exert any serious pressure upon their action. O'Connell was, for several years, in a state of manifest perplexity and indecision. He always knew and felt, it is true, that the repeal of the Union—the destruction of the British Empire—was the only salvation for his country. But that British Empire was now on its guard at all points. Besides, the governing faction at that moment was Whig; full of fine, liberal professions; always employed in some fraudulent pretence of friendly legislation for Ireland; and even courting him and his influence for its own party purposes. It is not to be wondered at, then, that when the Liberal Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister, and the more than Liberal Lord Normanby and Lord Ebrington were Viceroys of Ireland, who were willing to distribute a large share of the Government patronage on his recommendation, (whilst they inspected his letters in the Post Office,) it cannot be thought strange that he held in abeyance for a time the real and rightful claims o Irish nationhood, and gave a certain qualified support to the "Liberal" administration, which bestowed profitable offices on his friends. It was at this period that the Tories accused the Government of truckling to O'Connell, and that the thorough-going nationalists of Ireland accused O'Connell of trafficking with the Whigs; and, in fact, this was the most questionable part of his whole political career.

Yet, O'Connell was too much devoted to the cause of his country to sell it to any English party. He insisted no longer on the restoration of a native legislature, but loudly claimed "justice to Ireland," and affected to believe that these Whig statesmen would consent to such justice. Thereupon, he established a new agitating association, which he called by the peculiar name of "Precursor Society," in the beginning of 1839. The meaning of the name was, that Ireland was now making a last appeal for "justice," and that if this were still denied, the existing society was but the precursor of a new and universal agitation for repeal of the Union. In the meantime, all the influence of the organization was to be used in support of the Whig administration

* Lord Grey's Cöercion act remained in force till 1839. It was soon succeeded by another Cöercion act.

"What am I here for?" exclaimed O'Connell, at a meeting of the 6th of March, 1839; "What am I here for? To call on all Ireland *to rally round the Ministry;* to call for my two millions of enroled Precursors."

Lord Normanby, while in secret he pried into everybody's letters, omitted in public none of the usual arts of popularity. He procured places for Catholic lawyers; he dismissed from the commission of the peace Colonel Verner, and other outrageous Orange magistrates, for publicly celebrating that ruffianly slaughter called Battle of the Diamond; he received Catholic notabilities at the Castle with distinguished courtesy; he made excursions through the provinces, and liberated from the jails great numbers of prisoners who were either unjustly confined, or undergoing punishment for trifling offences. At length, English opinion became inflamed against him; and Lord Brougham (who had entirely abandoned all pretence to liberalism, when Ireland was in question,) moved a vote of censure against Lord Normanby in the House of Lords, on the express ground of an abuse of patronage and of the pardoning power. It appeared on the debate that his lordship had, between November, 1837, and the 31st January, 1839, released eight hundred and twenty-two prisoners—but not without inquiry into their cases, and not without rejecting appeals for clemency amounting to nearly as large a number. The vote of censure passed, however. Lord Normanby retired from the Vice-royalty, and was succeeded in 1839 by Lord Ebrington, another Liberal, who lost no time in commencing his duties as Post Office spy; which, indeed, he continued faithfully to discharge during the whole period of his government.

The "Precursor" Association continued its meetings at the Corn Exchange, on Burgh Quay, and Mr. O'Connell, regularly once a week, while he demanded justice to Ireland, called on the people to sustain the Whig Government.

This anomalous political situation ended in November, 1841. The Whig administration went out; and Sir Robert Peel, the proved and inveterate enemy of Ireland and of the Catholics, became Prime Minister. There was to be no more patronage at the disposal of the Corn Exchange; no more pretext for affecting to expect justice for Ireland at the hands of an English Government; and the Precursor Society merged into the *Repeal Association.*

For the next two years, this new organization attracted but little attention in England, or even at home. The country had become so much accustomed to Mr. O'Connell's successive forms of agitation, that it would have surprised nobody if the Repeal Association had been upon any morning "proclaimed" out of existence—or if its versatile author had again changed its name and character, and called it the "Liberal Association," or "Justice to Ireland Association." But, in truth, no person could be more fully sensible than Mr. O'Connell that there was no justice for Ireland save in national independence. For full thirty years he had constantly avowed this creed; and if he had waived the claim for awhile, it was only to aid and encourage the Whigs in granting what he called "instalments" of justice, which might strengthen the nation to demand and enforce all that was due, or in putting "good men" into office, who, he said, were certainly better than bad men. Now, at last, he felt himself standing upon the only plain and honest principle, engaged in the only agitation by which his countrymen would be really stirred and fired to the very hearts' core.

Nothing important took place during these two years. Mr. O'Connell was now Lord Mayor of Dublin, and held his *levees* in state at the Mansion House, while the Lord-Lieutenant was studying his private letters to find matter of accusation against him. The people were pleased to see their chosen chief adorned with the splendid corporate *insignia*, so long appropriated by the "Ascendancy," and did not yet perceive how firmly, instead of that old "Ascendancy," British domination was fastened upon them.

In 1843, more than three million quarters of grain were exported out of Ireland into England; besides, almost a million head of live stock, including horned cattle, sheep and swine. *

** Thom's Official Directory.* This is quite an under esitmate.

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In 1843, extermination of tenantry was sweeping and destructive; and the emigration of "surplus population" from Ireland reached nearly one hundred thousand.

From a Londonderry newspaper, of this year, we extract an advertisement, signed by one M'Mullin, "Emigration Agent," which will show what was going on throughout Ireland better than particular details could do:—

NOTICE.—A favorable opportunity presents itself, in the course of the present month, for Quebec, to gentlemen residing in the Counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, or Fermanagh, who wish to send out to the Canadas *the overstock tenantry* belonging to their estates—as a moderate rate of passage will be taken, and six months' credit given for a lump sum to any gentleman requiring such accommodation, &c.

The mode in which the overstock tenantry are persuaded in Ireland to embark for America, is ejecting them, and pulling down their houses. And in 1843, and many years before, and every year since, this process has been going on so extensively and notoriously that there will be no further occasion to refer to it, until we arrive at what the British call the "Famine."

In 1843, the rental of Ireland, carried off to be spent abroad, amounted (according to Mr. Smith O'Brien's estimate,) to five millions sterling; and the peasantry, whose industry created all the wealth of the country were proverbially known throughout the earth as "the worst fed, the worst clothed, and the worst housed peasantry in Europe."

The poor-houses, which had been built under the new law, were all full; the farmers were paying their tithes to the landlords, with no possibility of escape; for the bailiffs were always at the door, and the tithe was levied along with the rent; the "national schools" were teaching Irish children that there is no such thing as nationality, and that it is a blessed privilege to be born "a happy English child." Thus, the mature and highly elaborated policy of the enemy towards Ireland was in full and successful operation at every point, when, in the spring of 1843, O'Connell announced that it was the *repeal year*, and proceeded to infuse into that movement an energy and power greater than any of his organizations had ever possessed, even in the days of the old Catholic Association

First, he asked for three millions of enroled repealers in the Repeal Association: and confidently promised, and, perhaps, fully believed, that no English administration would venture to resist that great measure so enforced. The more thoroughly to arouse the people, he declined to go over to London to take his seat in Parliament, (many other members following his example,) and resolved to hold multitudinous meetings in every corner of the island.

First, he moved in the Dublin Corporation a resolution, for the adoption of a petition to Parliament demanding a repeal of the union with England — that is to say, demanding back the Irish Parliament, which had been extinguished in 1800; so that Ireland should once more have her own House of Peers and House of Commons; the Sovereign of England to be also Sovereign of Ireland. His speech was masterly, and covered the whole case. He cited the ablest jurists to show that the so-called Union was in law a nullity; reminded his audience of what was at any rate notorious and never denied—that, supposing the two Parliaments competent to pass such an act, it had been obtained by fraud and open bribery; an open market of bribery, of which the accounts are extant—viz., £1,275,000 paid to proprietors for the purchase of nomination boroughs, at £15,000 per borough, (which seats were immediately filled by English officers and clerks) — more than one million sterling expended on mere bribes; the tariff being quite familiar, £8,000 for an Union vote, or an office worth £2,000 a year, if the member did not like to touch the ready money; twenty Peerages, ten Bishoprics, one Chief Justiceship, six Puisne Judgeships; not to count regiments and ships given to officers in the army and navy; all dispensed as direct payment for the vote. He reminded them that the right of holding public meetings to protest against all this was taken away during the time the Union was in agitation; that county meetings, convened by High Sheriffs of counties, as in Tipperary and Queen's County, were dispersed by troops; martial law was in force, and the *Habeas*

Corpus suspended; that, in 1800, the number of soldiers concentrated in that small island, was one hundred and twenty-nine thousand, as "good lookers-on;" that, notwithstanding all intimidation, seven hnndred thousand persons had petitioned against the measure; and, notwithstanding all enticements, only three thousand had petitioned for it, most of these being Government officials, and prisoners in the jails. If he had stopped here, most persons would think it enough—*that* was a deed which at the earliest possible moment must be undone and punished.

But he did not stop here; he went into all the details of ruined trade and manufactures since the Union—immensely-increased drains in the shape of absentee-rents and surplus-taxation—frauds in subjecting Ireland to a charge for the *English* national debt, and even charging to Ireland's special account the very monies expended in bribes and military expenses for carrying the Union; which, he said, was about as fair as "making Ireland pay for the knife with which Lord Castlereagh cut his throat;"—injustice in giving Ireland but one hundred members in the House of Commons, while her population and revenue entitled her to one hundred and seventy-five; and, above all, the injustice of fixing the qualification of *electors* of these members much higher in Ireland, the poorer country, than in England.

This is a sketch only of the case for repeal of the Union;—the necessity for some remedy or other was only too apparent in the poverty and wretchedness which moved and scandalized all Europe.

The petition for repeal was adopted by a vote of forty-one to fifteen in the Corporation; and a similar petition, shortly after, by the Corporation of Cork. Hitherto the English press, and Irish press in the English interest, looked on with affected or real indifference and contempt.

O'Connell then left Dublin for the provinces. Then began the series of vast open-air meetings, to which the peasantry, accompanied by their priests, repeal wardens, and "temperance bands," flocked in numbers, varying from fifty thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand—(we take the reduced and disparaging estimate of enemies; but the repeal newspapers put up the Tara meeting to four hundred thousand.) Of course, the orator always addressed these multitudes, but though his voice was the most powerful of his day, he could not be heard by a tenth of them. Neither did they come to hear; they were all well indoctrinated by local repeal wardens; had their minds made up; and came to convince their leader that they were with him, and would be ready at any time when called upon.

But all was to be peaceable; they were to demand their rights imperatively; they were, he assured them, tall men and strong; at every monster meeting he had around him, as he often said, the materials of a greater army than both the armies combined that fought at Waterloo. "But take heed," he cried, "not to misconceive me. Is it by force or violence, bloodshed or turbulence, that I shall achieve this victory, dear above all earthly considerations to my heart? No! perish the thought forever. I will do it by legal, peaceable, and constitutional means alone—by the electricity of public opinion, by the moral combination of good men, and by the enrolment of four millions of repealers. I am a disciple of that sect of politicians who believe that *the greatest of all sublunary blessings is too dearly purchased at the expense of a single drop of human blood.*"

Many persons did not understand this sort of language. The prevailing impression was, that while the Repeal Association was, indeed, a peaceful body, contemplating only "Constitutional agitation," yet the parade of such immense masses of physical force had an ulterior meaning, and indicated that if the British Parliament remained absolutely insensible to the reasonable demands of the people, the association must be dissolved; and the next question would be, how best and soonest to exterminate the British forces. Many who were close to O'Connell expected all along that the English Parliament and Government never would yield; and these would have taken small interest in the movement, if it was never to go beyond speeches and cheers.

Meanwhile, nothing could be more peaceful, orderly, and good-humored than the



Yours affectionately
Archibald Maclaine

meetings. Father Mathew's temperance reformation had lately been working its wonders; and all the people were sober and quiet; repeal wardens everywhere organized, and an "O'Connell Police," with wands; and any person of the whole immense multitude who was even noisy, was instantly and quietly removed. The Government, indeed, soon took alarm, or affected to do so, for the peace of the country; and they sent large forces of armed constabulary to bivouac on the ground; but there never was the slightest excuse for interference.

The movement of the people, throughout this whole summer, was profound and sweeping; it carried along with it the Catholic clergy, though in many cases against their will; but they were of the people, bound up with the people, dependent on the people, and found it their best policy to move not only with the people, but at their head. The Catholic Bishops and Archbishops gave in their adhesion, and began to take the chair at meetings; the French and German press began to notice the struggle, and eagerly watch how England would deal with it. At last, on April 27th, Mr. Lane Fox, a Tory member of Parliament, gave notice, "That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to put an end to the agitation for repeal"—and on the same day Lord Eliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland, gave notice of a bill "for the regulation of *arms* in Ireland." At the same moment the funds fell one and a half per cent.

The first threat of cöercion brought important accessions to the ranks of the repealers; and the monster meetings became now more monstrous than ever; but, if possible, even gayer and more good humored.

Mr. O'Connell affected to treat very lightly all these menaces of violence. His sarcasm was bitter, his reason irrefragable, his array multitudinous in its peaceful might; but, in the meantime, Lord Eliot was preparing his Arms bill; and on the 9th of May, the Duke of Wellington, in the Lords, and Sir Robert Peel, in the Commons, declared that all the resources of the empire should be exerted to preserve the Union; and Sir Robert Peel added, quoting Lord Althorpe, that, deprecating civil war as he did, he should hold civil war preferable to the "dismemberment of the empire." Mr. Bernal, [Osborne,] instantly asked Sir Robert, as he cited Lord Althorpe's words, "whether he would abide by another declaration of that noble lord—namely, that if all the members for Ireland should be in favor of repeal, he would consider it his duty to grant it?" And Sir Robert replied: "I do not recollect that Lord Althorpe ever made any such declaration; but if he did, *I am not prepared to abide by it.*"

At this point, issue was joined. The majority of the Irish nation desired to undo the Union with England; but England declared, that if all Ireland demanded that measure, England would rather drown the demand in blood.

The new association for repeal contained many men of great ability and influence. Mr. Shiel, indeed, though he had publicly declared himself in favor of repealing the Union, had desisted from all active agitation after the Catholic Relief bill. He never entered at all into this new repeal movement, perhaps, because he knew it meant war, and knew O'Connell would never fight; perhaps, because he chose to identify himself with the higher class of Catholics, who thought enough had been done, and "called it freedom when themselves were free;" perhaps, because, he was somewhat intolerant of O'Connell's autocratic sway—for, like every great leader of a democracy, the agitator was a most despotic disciplinarian in ruling the movement he had created. Up to the time of the Ministerial declaration against repeal in April, very few members of Parliament were actual members of the association; but amongst them was Henry Grattan, member for Meath, who brought to its ranks an illustrious name, if nothing else of great value. O'Brien still stood aloof.

But within this same association there was a certain smaller association, composed of very different men. Its head and heart was Thomas Davis, a young Protestant lawyer of Cork County, who had been previously known only as a scholar and antiquarian; a zealous member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the Archæological Society. In the autumn of '42, he and his

friend Dillon had projected the publication of a weekly literary and political journal of the highest class, to sustain the cause of Irish nationhood, to give it a historic and literary interest which would win and inspire the youth of the country, and, above all, to conciliate Protestants by stripping the agitation of a certain suspicion of sectarianism, which, though disavowed by O'Connell, was naturally connected with it by reason of the antecedents of its chief.

So commenced the *Nation* newspaper; which, for several years, was, next to O'Connell, the strongest power on the national side. Its editor was Mr. Duffy, but Thomas Davis was its chief writer. By his ardent temperament, amiable character, and high accomplishments, he soon gathered around him a gifted circle of educated young men, both Protestant and Catholic, whose headquarters was the *Nation* office, and whose chief bond of union was their warm attachment to their friend. It was the one grand object of these men—and it was grand—to lift up the Irish cause high above both Catholic claims and Protestant pretensions, and unite all sects in the one character of "Irishmen," to put an end to English domination. Their idea was precisely the idea of the United Irishmen; although their mode of action was very different. Mr. Davis and his friends soon received the nickname of "Young Ireland," which designation they never themselves assumed, nor accepted.

O'Connell knew well, and could count, this small circle of literary privateer repealers; he felt that he was receiving, for the present, a powerful support from them—the *Nation* being, by far, the ablest organ of the movement; but he knew, also, that they were outside of his influence, and did not implicitly believe his confident promises that repeal would be yielded to "agitation;" that they were continually seeking, by their writings, to arouse a military spirit among the people; and had most diligently promoted the formation of temperance bands, with military uniforms, the practice of marching to monster meetings in ranks and squadrons, with banners, and the like; showing plainly, that while they helped the Repeal Association, they fully expected that the liberties of the country must be *fought* for at last. O'Connell, therefore, suspected and disliked them; but could not well quarrel with them. Apparently, they worked in perfect harmony; and during all this "repeal year" few were aware how certainly that alliance must end. Personally, they sought no notoriety; and the *Nation* was as careful to swell O'Connell's praise, and make him the sole figure to which all eyes should turn, as any of his own creatures could be. O'Connell accepted their services to convert the "gentry" and the Protestants—they could not dispense with O'Connell, to stir and wield the multitudinous people.

It has been mentioned that on the same day when the Ministers declared, in the Queen's name, that the Union must, at all hazards, be maintained, Lord Eliot introduced a new "Arms bill" for Ireland. This new bill was recommended by Lord Eliot, in the House of Commons, by the remark, "that it was substantially similar to what had been the law in Ireland for half a century," (June 15th,) and again, (June 26th,) "He would ask the noble lord to compare it with the bill of 1838, and to point out the difference. In fact, this was milder." This mild act, then provided: That no man could keep arms of any sort, without first having a certificate from two householders, "rated to the poor" at above £20, and then producing that certificate to the justices at sessions, (said justices being all appointed by the Crown, and all sure men,) and then if the justices permitted the applicant to keep arms at all—they were to be registered and *branded* by the police. After that they could not be removed, sold, or inherited, without new registry. And every conversation respecting these arms in which a man should not tell truly whatever he might be asked by any policeman, subjected the delinquent to penalties. To have a pike or spear, "or instrument serving for a pike or spear," was an offence punishable by transportation for seven years. Domiciliary visits by the police might be ordered by any magistrate "on suspicion;" whereupon, any man's house might be broken into by day or night, and his very bed searched for concealed arms. Blacksmiths

were required to take out licenses, similar to those for keeping arms, and under the same penalties, in order that the workers in so dangerous a metal as iron might be known and approved persons. And to crown the code, if any weapon should be found in any house, or out-house, or stack-yard, the occupier was to be convicted unless he could prove that it was there without his knowledge.

Such had been "substantially the law of Ireland for half a century." The idea of arms had come to be associated in the people's minds with handcuffs, jails, petty-sessions, and transportation ; a good device for killing the manly spirit of a nation.

The Disarming act passed into a law, of course, by large majorities. It was in vain that some Irish members resisted ; in vain Mr. Smith O'Brien, then member for Limerick, moved that instead of meeting the discontent of Ireland with a new Arms bill, the House should resolve itself into a committee "to consider the cause of the discontent with a view to the redress of grievances." O'Brien, who was afterwards to play so conspicuous a part, was not yet a repealer—he had been for twenty years one of the most industrious members of Parliament, and was attached, on most questions, to the Whig party. His speech, however, on this motion, showed that he regarded it as a last effort to obtain any approach to justice in a British Parliament ; and that if they still resolutely adhered to the policy of cöercion, and nothing but cöercion, he would very shortly be found by O'Connell's side.

He pointed out the facts which justified discontent—that the Union made Ireland poor, and kept her poor—that it encouraged the absenteeism of landlords, and so caused a great rental to be spent in England—that nearly a million sterling of "surplus revenue," over what was expended in the government of Ireland, was annually remitted from the Irish to the English exchequer—that Irish manufactures had ceased, and the profits on all the manufactured articles consumed in that island, came to England—that the tenantry had no permanent tenure or security that they would derive benefit by any improvements they might make—that Ireland had but one hundred and five members of Parliament, whereas, her population and revenue together entitled her to one hundred and seventy-five—that the municipal laws of the two countries were not the same—then the new "Poor law" was a failure, and was increasing the wretchedness and hunger of the people—and the right honorable gentleman (Sir R. Peel,) had now declared his *ultimatum ;* he declared that "conciliation had reached its limits ; and that the Irish should have an Arms bill, and nothing but an Arms bill." (Speech of July 4th, 1843.")

His facts were not disputed. Nobody in Parliament pretended to say that anything in this long catalogue was overstated ; but the House refused the committee of inquiry ; would discuss no grievances ; and proceeded with their Arms bill.

It has been said, indeed, that these excessive precautions to keep arms out of the hands of the Irish people, testified the high esteem in which the military spirit of that people was held in England ; and in this point of view the long series of Arms acts may be regarded as a compliment. In truth, the English had some occasion to know that the Irish make good soldiers. In this very month of July, 1843, for example, a British general fought the decisive battle of Meeanee, by which the Ameers of Scinde were crushed. While the bill for disarming Ireland was pending, far off on the banks of the Indus, Napier went into action with less than three thousand troops against twenty-five thousand ; only four hundred of his men being "British" soldiers ; but those four hundred were a Tipperary regiment, the Twenty-second — and they did their work in such style as made the gray old warrior shout aloud, "magnificent Tipperary."

Along with the new Arms act, several additional regiments, mostly of English and Scotch troops, were sent to Ireland ; and several war-steamers, with a fleet of gun-brigs, were sent to cruise round the coast. Barracks began to be fortified and loop-holed ; and police-stations were furnished with iron-grated windows. It was quite evident that the English Government intended, on the first pretext of provocation, to make a salutary slaughter.

In the meantime, the vast monster meetings continued, with even intenser enthusiasm, but always with perfect peace and order. "Whom are they going to fight?" O'Connell would exclaim: "We are not going to fight them. We are unarmed; we meet peacefully to demand our country's freedom. There is no bloodshed, no drunkenness even, or ill-humor. Hurrah for the Queen, God bless her!"

The speeches of O'Connell at these meetings, though not heard by a fourth of the multitudes, were carefully reported, and flew over all Ireland, and England too, in hundreds of newspapers. So that probably no speeches ever delivered in the world had so wide an audience. The people began to neglect altogether the proceedings of Parlialiament, and felt that their cause was to be tried at home. More and more of the Irish members of Parliament discontinued their attendance in London, and gathered round O'Connell. Many of those who still went to London, were called on by their constituents to come home or resign.

Sir Edward Sugden was then Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and he began offensive operations on the British side, by depriving of the Commission of the Peace all magistrates who joined the Repeal Association, or took the chair at a repeal meeting. He had dismissed in this way about twenty, including O'Connell and Lord French, usually accompanying the announcement of the *supersedeas* with an insolent letter; when Smith O'Brien wrote to him that *he* had been a magistrate for many years, that he was not a repealer, but could not consent to hold his commission on such humiliating terms. Instantly his example was followed by many gentlemen; who flung their commissions in the Chancellor's face, sometimes with letters as insulting as his own. And now O'Connell brought forward one of his grand schemes. It was, to have all the dismissed magistrates appointed "arbitrators," who should hold regular courts of arbitration in their respective districts—all the people pledging themselves to make no resort to the Queen's magistrates, but to settle every dispute by the award of their arbitrators. This was put into operation in many places, and worked very well.

In reply to questions in Parliament, as to what they were concentrating troops in Ireland for, Peel and Wellington had said they did not mean to make war or attack anybody, but only to maintain the peace of the country.

It was very obvious that all England, and men of all parties and creeds in England, were fully resolved to resist, at any cost of blood and havoc, the claim for a repeal of the Union; and it must be admitted to have been a strange weakness on the part of O'Connell, if he really believed that the same sort of "agitation" which had extorted the Relief bill, could now cöerce the prosperous and greedy British nation to yield up its hold upon Ireland. That Relief act, it must be remembered, was a measure for the *consolidation* of the "British Empire;" it opened high official position to the wealthier Catholics and educated Catholic gentlemen; and thus separated their interest from that of the peasantry. But it was of the peasantry mainly that the Government had any apprehension; and British Ministers felt that Catholic Emancipation would place this peasantry more completely in their power than ever.

Besides, emancipation had a strong party in its favor, both amongst Irish Protestants and in England; and in yielding to it England made no sacrifice, except of her ancient grudge. To her it was positive gain. O'Connell did not bethink him that when his agitation should be directly aimed at the "integrity of the empire," and the supremacy of the British in Ireland, it would be a different matter.

One fact showed very plainly that Englishmen, of all sorts, regarded this repeal movement as a mortal stab aimed at the heart of the empire—the English Catholics were as bitterly hostile to Ireland, on this question, as the highest "No-Popery" Tories. Thus, Lord Beaumont, an English Catholic Peer, who owed his seat in the House to O'Connell, thought himself called upon to denounce the repeal agitation. "Do you know who this Beaumont is?" asked O'Connell, at his next meeting. "Why, the man's name is Martin Bree, though he calls himself Stapleton. His grandfather married a Stapleton for her fortune, and then changed the name.

He was a Stapleton when I emancipated him. I beg your pardon for having emancipated such a fellow."

For the last twenty years, the English press has mocked at the whole repeal movement; and in Parliament it was never mentioned save with a jeer. In the summer of 1843, they neither laughed nor jeered. Sir James Graham, earnestly appealing to the House, to refuse O'Brien's motion of inquiry, exclaimed :—

"*Any hesitation* now, *any delay* and *irresolution*, will multiply the danger an hundred-fold. If Parliament expresses its sense in favor of the course pursued by Government, Ministers have every *hope* that, with the confidenee of the House, they will be enabled to triumph over all difficulties. I appeal, then, to both sides—not to one, but to both—I appeal to both sides, and say, if you falter now, if you hesitate now in repressing the rebellious spirit which is at work in the struggle of repeal, *the glory of the country is departed*—the days of its power are numbered; and England, this all-conquering England, must be classed with those countries *from whom power has dwindled away*, and present the melancholy aspect of a falling nation."

To refuse a Committee of Inquiry was reasonable enough; because Parliament, and all the people—men, women, and children—already knew all. The sole and avowed idea of the Government was, that to admit the idea of *anything* being wrong, would make the repeal movement altogether irresistible. The various projects now brought forward in England, showed the perplexity of that country. Lord John Russell made an elaborate speech for conciliation; but the meaning of it seemed to be merely that it was no wonder Ireland was unquiet, seeing *he* was out of power. The grievance of Ireland, said he, in effect, is a Tory Ministry. Let her be ruled by us Whigs, and all will be well. Lord Brougham also gave it as his opinion, that "you must purchase, not prosecute, repeal." The *Morning Chronicle*, (Whig organ,) in quite a friendly spirit, said: "Let us have a *perfect* Union; let us know each other; let the Irish judges come circuit in England; and let the English judges occasionally take the same round in Ireland," and so forth. "Is it absolutely certain," asked the *Westminster Review*, "that we can beat this people?" And the *Naval and Military Gazette*, a high military authority, thus expresses its apprehensions :—

"There are now stationed in Ireland, thirty-five thousand men of all arms; but widely scattered over the island. In the event of a rebellion—and who can say that we are not on the eve of one?—we feel great solicitude for the numerous small detachments of our gallant soldiers. . . . It is time to be up and doing. We have heard that the order and regularity of movement displayed by the divisions which passed before Mr. O'Connell, in review order, *en route* to Donnybrook, lately, surprised many veteran officers, and led them to think that some *personal* training, in private and in small parties, must be practiced. The ready obedience to the word of command, the silence while moving, and the general combinations, all prove organization to have gone a considerable length. In these trained bands our soldiers, split up into detached parties, would find no ordinary opponents; and we, therefore, hope, soon to learn that all small parties have been called in, and that our regiments in Ireland are kept together and complete. That day, we fear, is near when '*quite peaceably*,' every repealer will come armed to a meeting to be held simultaneously as to day and hour, all over the island, and then try to cut off quite peaceably every detachment of Her Majesty's loyal army."

What contributed to disquiet the British exceedingly was, that great and excited repeal meetings were held every week in American cities; meetings not only of Irish born citizens, but of natives also—and considerable funds were remitted from thence to O'Connell's repeal exchequer.

"If something is not done," said Colonel Thomson, in the *Westminster*, "a fleet of steamboats from the United States will, some fine morning, be the Euthanasia of the Irish struggle."

We might cite many extracts from the press of France, exhibiting a powerful interest in what the French conceived to be an impending military struggle.

Take one from the Paris *Constitutionnel:*

"When Ireland is agitated—when, at the sound of the powerful voice of O'Connell, four hundred thousand Irish assemble together in their meetings, and pronounce, as if it were by a single man, the same cry, and the same word, it is a grand spectacle, which fills the soul, and which, even at this distance, moves the very strongest feelings of the heart, for it is the spectacle of an entire people who demand justice—of a people who have been despoiled of everything, even of the means of sustenance, and yet who require, with calmness and with firmness, the untrammeled exercise of their religion, and some of the privileges of their ancient nationality."

Now nobody, either in France or in the United States, would have given himself the trouble to watch that movement with interest, if they had not all believed that O Connell and the Irish people meant to fight. Neither in America nor in France had men learned to appreciate "the ethical experiment of moral force." Clearly, also, the English expected a fight, and were preparing for it, and greatly preferred that mode of settling the difficulty, (having a powerful army and navy ready,) to O'Brien's method—inquiry, discussion, and redress—seeing that they were wholly unprovided with arguments, and had no idea of giving redress.

It is also quite as clear that the Irish people then expected, and longed, and burned for battle; and never believed that O'Connell would adhere to his "peace policy" even in the last extremity. Still, as he rose in apparent confidence, and became more defiant in his tone, the people rallied more ardently around him; and thousands of quiet, resolute men, flocked into the repeal cause, who had hitherto held back from all the agitations, merely because they had always believed O'Connell insincere. They thought that the mighty movement which now surged up around him had whirled him into its own tempest at last; and that "the time was come."

No speech he ever uttered roused such a stormy tumult of applause as when, at Mallow "monster meeting," referring to the threats of cöercion, and to an anxious Cabinet council which had just been held. He said:—

"They spent Thursday in consulting whether they would deprive us of our rights, and I know not what the result of that council may be; but this I know, there was not an Irishman in the council. I may be told that the Duke of Wellington was there. Who calls him an Irishman? If a tiger's cub was dropped in a fold, would it be a lamb? But, perhaps, I am wrong in anticipating; perhaps I am mistaken in warning you. But is there reason to caution you? The council sat for an entire day, and even then did not conclude its deliberations, but adjourned to the next day, while the business of the country was allowed to stand still. What had they to deliberate about? The repealers were peaceable, loyal, and attached—affectionately attached—to the Queen, and determined to stand between her and her enemies. If they assailed us to-morrow, and that we conquered them—as conquer them we will one day—the first use of that victory which we would make would be, to place the sceptre in the hands of her who has ever shown us favor, and whose conduct has ever been full of sympathy and emotion for our sufferings. Suppose, then, for a moment, that England found the act of Union to operate not for her benefit—if, instead of decreasing her debt, it added to her taxation and liabilities, and made her burden more onerous—and if she felt herself entitled to call for a repeal of that act, I ask Peel and Wellington, and let them deny it if they dare, and if they did they would be the scorn and by-word of the world, would she not have the right to call for a repeal of that act. And what are Irishmen that they should be denied the same privilege? Have we not the ordinary courage of Englishmen? Are we to be trampled under foot? Oh, they shall never trample me, at least. I was wrong—they may trample me under foot—I say they may trample me, but it will be my dead body they will trample on, not the living man."

And a roar, two hundred thousand strong, rent the clouds. From that day, the meetings went on increasingly in numbers, in regularity of training, and in highly-wrought

excitement; until at Tara, and at Mullaghmast, the agitator shook with the passion of the scene, as the fiery eyes of three hundred thousand upturned faces seemed to crave *the word.*

Whig newspapers and politicians in England, (the Whigs being then in opposition,) began now to suggest various conciliatory measures—talked of the anomaly of the "Established Church"—and generally gave it to be understood, that if *they* were in power they would know how to deal with the repeal agitation. At every meeting O'Connell turned these professions into ridicule. It was too late, now, he said to offer to buy up repeal by concessions, or good measures. An Irish Parliament in Collage Green: this was his *ultimatum.*

We approach the end of the monster meetings. Neither England nor Ireland could bear this excitement much longer. The two grandest and most imposing of these parades were at Tara and Mullaghmast; both in the Province of Leinster, within a short distance of Dublin; both conspicuous, the one in glory, the other in gloom, through past centuries, and haunted by ghosts of kings and chiefs.

On the great plain of Meath, not far from the Boyne river, rises a gentle eminence, in the midst of a luxuriant farming country. On and around its summit are still certain mouldering remains of earthen mounds and moats, the ruins of the "House of Cormac," and the "Mound of the Hostages," and the "Stone of Destiny." It is Temora of the Kings. On Tuesday morning, the 15th of August, most of the population of Meath, with many thousands from the four counties round, were pouring along every road leading to the hill. Numerous bands, banners and green boughs, enlivened their march, or divided their ordered squadrons. Vehicles of all descriptions, from the handsome private chariot to the Irish jaunting-car, were continually arriving, and by the wardens duly disposed around the hill. In Dublin, the "Liberator," after a public breakfast, set forth at the head of a *cortege,* and his progress to Tara was a procession and a triumph. Under triumphal arches, and amidst a storm of music and acclamations, his carriage passed through the several little towns that lay in his way. At Tara, the multitudes assembled were estimated in the *Nation* at seven hundred and fifty thousand; an exaggeration, certainly. But they were at least three hundred and fifty thousand. Their numbers were not so impressive as their order and discipline; nor these so wonderful as the stifled enthusiasm that uplifted them above the earth. They came, indeed, with naked hands; but the agitator knew well that if he had invited them, they would have come still more gladly with extemporaneous pikes or spears, "or instruments serving for pikes and spears." He had been proclaiming from every hill-top in Ireland for six months that *something was coming*—that repeal was "on the wild winds of Heaven." Expectation had grown intense, painful, almost intolerable. He knew it; and those who were close to him as he mounted the platform, noticed that his lip and hand visibly trembled, as he gazed over the boundless human ocean, and heard its thundering roar of welcome. He knew that every soul in that host demanded its enfranchisement at *his* hand.

O'Connell called this meeting "an august and triumphant meeting;" and as if conscious that he must at least seem to make another step in advance, he brought up at the next meeting of the Repeal Association, a detailed "plan for the renewed action of the Irish Parliament," which, he said, it only needed the Queen's writs to put in operation. The new House of Commons was to consist of three hundred members, quite fairly apportioned to the several constituencies; and, in the meantime, he announced that he would invite three hundred gentlemen to assemble in Dublin, early in December, who were to come from every part of Ireland, and virtually represent their respective localities. This was the "Council of Three Hundred," about which he had often talked before in a vague manner; but had evidently great difficulty in bringing to pass *legally.* For it would be a "Convention of Delegates,"—and such an assembly, though legal enough in England, is illegal in Ireland. Conventions, (like arms and ammunition,) are held to be unsuitable to the Irish character. For, in fact, it was a convention which proclaimed the independence of Ire-

land in Dungannon ; and the arms and ammunition of the volunteer army that made it good, in 1782.

Two weeks after this, the London Parliament was prorogued ; and the Queen's speech, (composed by Sir Robert Peel,) was occupied almost entirely by two subjects—the disturbances in Wales, and the repeal agitation in Ireland. There had been some rioting and bloodshed in Wales, in resistance to oppressive turnpike dues, and the like—there was a quiet and legal expression of opinion in Ireland, unattended by the slightest outrage, demanding back the Parliament of the country. The Queen first dealt with Wales. She had taken measures, she said, for the repression of violence —*and*, at the same time, directed an inquiry to be made into the circumstances which led to it. As to Ireland, Her Majesty said, there was discontent and disaffection, but uttered not a word about any inquiry into the causes of that. "It had ever been her earnest desire," Her Majesty said, "to administer the government of that country in a spirit of strict justice and impartiality"—and "she was firmly determined, under the blessing of Divine Providence to maintain the Union."

The little principality of Wales was in open revolt—*there* Ministers would institute inquiry. Ireland was quiet, and standing upon the law—*there* they would meet the case with horse, foot, and artillery ; for all knew that was what the Queen meant by "the blessing of Divine Providence."

Again the agitator mustered all Connaught, at three monster meetings—in Roscommon, Clifden, and Loughrea. Again he asked them if they were for the repeal ; and again the mountains and the sea-cliffs resounded with their acclaim. Yes ; they were for the repeal ; they had said so before. What next?

Leinster, too, was summoned again to meet on the 1st of October, at Mullaghmast, in Kildare County, near the road from Dublin to Carlow, and close on the borders of the Wicklow highlands.

This was the most imposing and effective of all the meetings. The spot was noted as the scene of a massacre of some chiefs of Offaly and Leix, with hundreds of their clansmen, in 1577, by the English of the Pale, who had invited them to a great feast, but had troops silently drawn around the banqueting-hall, who, at a signal, attacked the place and cut the throat of every wassailer. The hill of Mullaghmast, like that of Tara, is crowned by a rath, or ancient earthen rampart, inclosing about three acres.

The members of the town corporations repaired to the rath, in their corporate robes. O'Connell took the chair, in his scarlet cloak of alderman ; and, amidst the breathless silence of the people, John Hogan, the first of Irish sculptors, came forward and placed on the Liberator's head a richly-embroidered cap, modeled after the ancient Irish Crown, saying : "*Sir, I only regret this cap is not of gold.*" Then the deep roar of half a million voices, and the waving of at least a thousand banners, proclaimed the enthusiasm of the people. Again O'Connell assured them that England could not long resist these demonstrations of their peaceful resolve—that the Union was a nullity—that he had already arranged his plan for the new Irish Parliaments—and that this was the repeal year.

In truth, it was time for England either to yield with good grace, or to find or make some law applicable to this novel "political offence," or to provoke a fight and blow away repeal with cannon. Many of the Protestants were joining O'Connell ; and even the troops in some Irish regiments had been known to throw up their caps with "hurrah for repeal!" It was high time to grapple with the "sedition."

Accordingly, the Government was all this time watching for an occasion on which it could come to issue with the agitation, and on which all advantages would be on its side. The next week that occasion arose. A great metropolitan meeting was appointed to be held on the historic shore of Clontarf, two miles from Dublin, along the bay—on Sunday, the 8th of October. The garrison of Dublin amounted then to about four thousand men, besides the one thousand police ; with abundance of field artillery.

Late in the afternoon on Saturday, when it was already almost dusk, a *proclamation* was posted on the walls of Dublin, signed by the Irish Secretary and Privy Council-

lors, and the Commander of the forces, forbidding the meeting; and charging all magistrates and officers, "and others whom it might concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law, in preventing said meeting."

"Let them not dare," O'Connell had often said, "to attack us!" The challenge was now to be accepted.

CHAPTER LVII.

1843—1844.

Why England could not Yield—Cost to Her of Repeal—Intention of Government at Clontarf—The "Projected Massacre"—Meeting Prevented—State Prosecution—O'Brien Declares for Repeal—Packing of the Jury—Verdict of *Guilty*—Debate in Parliament—Russell and Macaulay on Packing of Juries—O'Connell in Parliament—Speculation of the Whigs—Sentence and Imprisonment of "Conspirators"—Effects on Repeal Association—Appeal to the House of Lords—Whig Law Lords—Reversal of the Sentence—Enthusiasm of the People—Their Patience and Self-Denial—Decline of the Association.

British Government then closed with repeal; and one or the other, it was plain, must go down.

For this was, in truth, the alternative.

The British Empire, as it stands, looks vast and strong; but none know so well as the statesmen of that country how intrinsically feeble it is; and how entirely it depends for its existence upon *prestige*—that is, upon a superstitious belief in its power. England, in short, could by no means afford to part with her "sister island:"—both in money and in credit the cost would be too much. In this repeal year, for example, there was an export of provisions from Ireland to England of the value of £16,000,000. And between surplus revenue remitted to England, and absentee-rents spent in England, Mr. O'Connell's frequent statement that £9,000,000 of Irish *money* was annually spent in England, is not over the truth. These were substantial advantages, not to be yielded up lightly.

In point of national *prestige*, England could still less afford to repeal the Union, because all the world would know the concession had been wrung from her against her will. Whigs and Tories were of one mind upon *this;* and nothing can be more bitter than the language of all sections of the English press, after it was once determined to crush the agitation by force.

"A repeal, (says the *Times*,) is not a matter to be argued on; it is a blow which despoils the Queen's domestic territory—splinters her Crown—undermines, and then crushes, her Throne—exposes her to insult and outrage from all quarters of the earth and ocean; a repeal of the Union leaves England stripped of her vitality. Whatever might be the inconvenience or disadvantage, therefore, or even unwholesome restraint upon Ireland—although the Union secures the reverse of all these—*but even were it gall to Ireland*, England must guard her own life's blood, and sternly tell the disaffected Irish: You shall have me for a sister or a subjugatrix; that is my *ultimatum*."

And the *Morning Chronicle*, speaking of the act of "Union," says:—

"True, it was coarsely and badly done; but stand it must. A Cromwell's violence, with Machiavelli's perfidy, may have been at work, but the treaty, after all is more than parchment."

The first bolt launched, then, was the proclamation to prevent the meeting at Clontarf. The proclamation was posted in Dublin only an hour before dusk on Saturday. But long before that time thousands of people from Meath, Kildare, and Dublin Counties were already on their way to Clontarf. They all had confidence in O'Connell's knowledge of law; and he had often told them, (and it was true,) that the meetings, and all the proceedings at them, were perfectly legal; and that a proclamation could not make them illegal. They would, therefore, have most certainly flocked to the rendezvous in the usual numbers, even if they had seen the proclamation.

Many persons did not at first understand the object of the Privy Council in keeping back the proclamation to so late an hour on Saturday, seeing that the meeting had been many days announced; and they might as well have issued their command earlier in the week. One may also be at a loss to understand why the proclamation called not only upon all magistrates, and

civil and military officers to assist in preventing the assembly ; but also, "all others whom it might concern."

But the thing was simple enough : they meant to take O'Connell by surprise—so that he might be unable to prevent the assembly entirely, or to organize it, (if such were his policy,) for defence—and thus they hoped to create confusion and a pretext for an onslaught, or "salutary lesson." Besides, they had already made up their minds to arrest O'Connell and several others, and subject them to a state prosecution ; and the Crown lawyers were already hard at work arranging a case against him. It is quite possible that they intended, (should O'Connell go to Clontarf in the midst of such confusion and excitement,) to arrest him then and there ; which would have been certainly resisted by the people ; and so there would have been a riot ; and everything would have been lawful then. As to the "others whom it might concern," that meant the Orange Associations of Dublin, and everybody else who might take the invitation to himself. "Others whom it may concern !" exclaimed O'Connell. "Why, this is intended for, and addressed to Tresham Gregg and his auditory." *

Thus, the enemy had well provided for confusion, collision, and a salutary lesson. Lord Cloncurry made no scruple to term the whole of these Government arrangements "a projected massacre."

For O'Connell and the committee of the Repeal Association, there were but two courses possible—one to prevent the meeting, and turn the people back from it, if there was still time ; the other was, for O'Connell to let the people of the country come to Clontarf—to meet them there himself as he had invited them—but, the troops being almost all drawn out of the city, to keep the Dublin repealers at home, and to give them a commission to take the Castle and all the barracks, and to break down the canal bridge, and barricade the streets leading to Clontarf. The whole garrison and police were five thousand. The city has a population of two hundred and fifty thousand. The multitudes coming in from the country would, probably, have amounted to almost as many ; and that handful of men between. There would have been a horrible slaughter of the unarmed people without, if the troops would fire on them—a very doubtful matter—and O'Connell himself might have fallen. But those who have well considered the destinies of Ireland since that day, may reasonably enough be of the opinion that the death of five or ten thousand men at Clontarf, might have saved Ireland the slaughter by famine of an hundred times as many shortly afterwards.

The first course was the one adopted. The committee issued another proclamation, and sent it off by parties of gentlemen known to the people, and on whom they would rely, to turn back the crowds upon all the roads by which they were likely to come in. All that Saturday night their exertions were unremitting ; and the good Father Tyrrell, whose parishioners, swarming in from Fingal, would have made a large part of the meeting, by his exertions and fatigue that night, fell sick and died The meeting was prevented. The troops were marched out, and drawn up on the beach and on the hill ; the artillery was placed in a position to rake the place of meeting, and the cavalry ready to sweep it ; but they met no enemy.

Within a week, O'Connell and eight others were held to bail to take their trial for "conspiracy and other misdemeanors."

O'Connell, on his side, laughed both at the "Clontarf war" and at the state trials. He seemed well pleased with them both. The one proved how entirely under discipline were the virtuous, and sober, and loyal people, as he called them. The other would show how wisely he had steered the agitation through the rocks and shoals of law. In this he would have been perfectly right, his legal position would have been impregnable, but for two circumstances—first, "conspiracy" in Ireland, means anything the Castle judges wish ; second, the Castle sheriff was quite sure to pack a Castle-jury —so that whatever the Castle might desire, the jury would affirm on oath, "so help them God !" The jury system in Ireland we shall have occasion, more than once, to explain hereafter.

* Rev. Tresham Gregg was then the Orange agitator, on whom had fallen the mantle of Sir Harcourt Lees.



For the next eight months, that is, until the end of May, 1844, the state prosecution was the grand concern around which all public interest in Ireland concentrated itself. The prosecuted "conspirators" were nine in number—Daniel O'Connell; his son, John O'Connell, M. P, for Kilkenny; Charles Gavan Duffy, Editor of the *Nation;* the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell, of Lusk, County Dublin, (he died while the prosecution was pending;) the Rev. Mr. Tierney, of Clontibret, County Monaghan; Richard Barret, Editor of the *Pilot*, Dublin; Thomas Steele, "Head Pacificator of Ireland;" Thomas M. Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association; and Dr. Gray, Editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin.

During all the eight months of these legal proceedings, the repeal agitation continued to gain strength and impetus. The open-air meetings, indeed, ceased—Clontarf was to have been the last of them, owing to the approach of winter. But the new hall, which had been built as a place of meeting for the association, was just finished; and O'Connell, who had a peculiar taste in nomenclature, christened it "Conciliation Hall;" intending to indicate the necessity for uniting all classes and religions in Ireland in a common struggle for the independence of their common country.

On the 22d of October the new hall was opened in great form, and amidst great enthusiasm. The chair was taken by John Augustus O'Neill, of Bunowen Castle, a Protestant gentleman, who had been early in life a cavalry officer, and member of Parliament for Hull, in England. Letters from Lord French, Sir Charles Wolesley, Sir Richard Musgrave, and Mr. Caleb Powell, one of the members for Limerick County, were read and placed on the minutes—all breathing vehement indignation against the "Government," and pledging the warmest support. But this first meeting in the new hall was specially notable for the adhesion of Mr. Smith O'Brien. Nothing encouraged the people, nothing provoked and perplexed the enemy so much as this.

For O'Brien was not only a member of the great and ancient House of Thomond, but was further well-known as a man both of calmness and resolution. The family had been Protestant for some generations; and Smith O'Brien, though always zealou in promoting everything which might be use ful to Ireland in Parliament, had remained attached to the Whig party, and was hardly expected to throw himself into the national cause so warmly, and at so dangerous a time.

It has been already related how this excellent and gallant Irishman had flung to the Lord Chancellor his Commission of the Peace, when that functionary began to dismiss magistrates for attending peaceful meetings. He now saw that the British Government had commenced the deliberate task of crushing down a just national claim in the blood of the Irish people. The letter in which he announced his adhesion was extremely moderate; and it produced the deeper impression upon that account. One passage of it is highly characteristic of the writer. He says:—

"Lest I should be led to form a precipitate decision, I availed myself of the interval which followed the close of the session to examine whether, among the Governments of Central Europe, there are any so indifferent to the interests of their subjects as England has been to the welfare and happiness of our population. After visiting Belgium, and all the principal capitals of Germany, I returned home impressed with the sad conviction that there is more human misery in one county in Ireland, than throughout all the populous cities and districts which I had visited. On landing in England, I learn that the Ministry, instead of applying themselves to remove the causes of complaint, have resolved to deprive us even of the liberty of discontent—that public meetings are to be suppressed—and that state prosecutions are to be carried on against Mr. O'Connell, and others, on some frivolous charges of sedition and conspiracy.

"I should be unworthy to belong to a nation which may claim, at least as a characteristic virtue, that it exhibits increased fidelity in the hour of danger, if I were to delay any longer to dedicate myself to the cause of my country Slowly, reluctantly convinced that Ireland has nothing to hope from the sagacity, the justice, or the gene-

rosity of the English Parliament, my reliance shall henceforth be placed upon our own native energy and patriotism."

This chivalrous example, set by a man so justly esteemed, of course, induced many other Protestants to follow his example. The weekly contributions to the revenue of the asscciation became so great as to place in the hands of the committee a large treasury, to be used in spreading and organizing the movement; arbitration courts decided the people's complaints, with general acceptation; and great meetings in American cities sent, by every steamship, their words of sympathy and bills of exchange.

It is not very certain that the "Government" was at first resolutely bent on pressing their prosecution to extremity. Probably they rather hoped that the show of a determination to put down the agitation somehow would cool the ardor both of demagogues and people. Plainly it had no such effect; and it was, therefore, resolved to pursue the "conspirators" to conviction and imprisonment, at any cost, and by any means.

The "state trials" then began on the 2d of November, 1843. These trials cannot be considered as really a legal proceeding, though invested with legal forms. It was a *de facto* government using its courts and tribunals and juries, and all the other apparatus of justice, to crush a political enemy, under the false and fraudulent pretence of a trial. Everybody understood from the first that there was here no question of pleading, or of evidence, or of forensic-rhetoric; and that all depended upon the *vote* of the jury; —which vote, however, was to be termed a "verdict."

A revisal of the special jury-list took place before Mr. Shaw, Recorder of Dublin, with a special view to these trials. The names, when passed by the recorder, from day to day, were then sent to the sheriff's office, to be placed on his book. Counsel were employed before the recorder to oppose, by every means, the admission of every Catholic gentleman against whom any color of objection could be thought of; yet, with all this care, a large number of Catholics were placed on the list. As the names were transferred to the sheriff's office, it happened that the slip which contained the largest proportion of Catholic names missed its way, or was mislaid; and the sixty seven names it contained never appeared on the sheriff's book. This became immediately notorious, and excited what one of the judges called "grave suspicion."

In striking a special jury in Ireland, forty-eight names are taken by ballot out of the the jurors' book, in the Crown office. Then each party, the Crown and the traverser, has the privilege of striking off twelve—leaving twenty-four names. On the day of trial, the first twelve out of these twenty-four, who answer when called, are sworn as jurors. Now, so well had the sheriff discharged his duty in this case, that of the forty-eight names there were eleven Catholics. They were all struck off by the Crown, together with a great number of Protestants, whose British principles were not considered sure at the Castle, and a "jury" was secured on whose patriotic vote Her Majesty could fully rely.

These details respecting juries may not, perhaps, be very interesting to the general reader; yet the history of our country can by no means be understood without them. Ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth, juries have been merely one of the arms of British domination in Ireland, just as the troops and police, the detectives and spies are. The jury may be said to be the one point at which the government and the people touch one another; and if it be a real jury of the "neighborhood," as described in the law books, then can be easily appreciated that profound saying—"that the only use of a government is to make sure that there shall be twelve impartial men in the jury-box." But the English Government has never been able to sustain itself in Ireland, without making sure of the very opposite arrangement. And it has been said, with truth, that the real *Palladium* of the British Constitution in that land, is a packed jury and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. If Ireland truly and effectively possessed those two institutions, as England possesses them, the British power would not exist in our island three months.

The details of the trials are of small in-

terest. All knew how they would end. The Government, on this prosecution for "conspiracy," had not only its inevitable jury, but its Post Office spies at work, by whose means the "authorities" had spread out before them every morning all the correspondence of all the traversers, and of all their counsel and attorneys; no small advantage in dealing with conspiracy—if there had been a conspiracy.

Early in February the trials ended; and when the Chief Justice in his charge to the jury argued the case like one of the counsel for the prosecution, and so far forgot himsel as to term the traversers' counsel "the gentlemen on the other side," there was more laughter than indignation throughout the country. The jury brought in their verdict of GUILTY—of course. O'Connell addressed a letter to the people of Ireland, informing them that "the repeal" was now sure; that all he wanted was peace, patience, and perseverance; and that if they would only "keep the peace for six, or at most, for twelve months, repeal was certain." In the meantime, he and his friends were appointed to come before the Court on a certain day in May, to receive sentence.

Immediately on the verdict being knowu in London, there arose in Parliament a violent debate on the state of Ireland. The Whig party, being then out of place, and who saw in this whole repeal movement nothing but a machinery by which they might raise themselves to power, affected great zeal for justice to Ireland, and even indignation at the conduct of the trials. It is almost incredible, but remains on record, that Lord John Russell used these words:—

"Nominally, indeed, the two countries have the same laws. Trial by jury, for instance, exists in both countries; but is it administered alike in both? Sir, I remember on one occasion when an honorable gentleman, Mr. Brougham, on bringing forward a motion, in 1823, on the administration of the law in Ireland, made use of these words: 'The law of England esteemed all men equal. It was sufficient to be born within the King's allegiance to be entitled to all the rights the loftiest subject of the land enjoyed. None were disqualified; the only distinction was between natural-born subjects and aliens. Such, indeed, was the liberality of our system in the times which we called barbarous, but from which, in these enlightened days, it might be as well to take a hint, that if a man were even an alien-born, he was not deprived of the protection of the law. In Ireland, however, the law held a directly opposite doctrine. The sect to which a man belonged, the cast of his religious opinions, the form in which he worshipped his Creator, were grounds on which the law separated him from his fellows, and bound him to the endurance of a system of the most cruel injustice.' Such was the statement of Mr. Brougham, when he was the advocate of the oppressed. But, sir, let me ask, was what I have just now read the statement of a man who was ignorant of the country of which he spoke? No; the same language, or to the same effect, was used by Sir M. O'Loghlen, in his evidence before the House of Lords. That gentleman stated that he had been in the habit of going the Munster circuit for nineteen years, and on that circuit it was the general practice for the Crown, in criminal prosecutions, to set aside all Catholics and all the Liberal Protestants; and he added, that he had been informed that on other circuits the practice was carried on in a more strict manner. Sir M. O'Loghlen also mentioned one case of this kind which took place in 1834, during the Lord-Lieutenancy of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the Attorney-Generalship of Mr. Blackburne, the present Master of the Rolls, and in which, out of forty-three persons set aside (in a cause, too, which was not a political one,) there were thirty-six Catholics and seven Protestants, and all of them respectable men. This practice is so well known, and carried out so generally, that men known to be Liberals, whether Catholics or Protestants, have ceased to attend assizes, that they might not be exposed to these public insults. Now, I would ask, are these proofs of equal laws, or laws equally administered? Could the same, or similar cases, have happened in Yorkshire, or Sussex, or Kent? Are these the fulfillment of the promise made

and engagements entered into at the Union?"

This sounds extremely fair. *Who would think that Lord John Russell was Prime Minister afterwards in* '48? Mr. Macaulay said, in the same debate, February 19, 1844:

"I do say that on this question, it is of the greatest importance that the proceedings which the Government have taken should be beyond impeachment, and that they should have obtained a victory in such a way that that victory should not be to them a greater disaster than a defeat. Has that been the result? First, is it denied that Mr. O'Connell has suffered wrong? Is it denied if the law had been carried into effect without those irregularities and that negligence which has attended the Irish trials, Mr. O'Connell's chance of acquittal would have been better?—no person denied that. The affidavit which has been produced, and which has not been contradicted, states that twenty-seven Catholics were excluded from the jury-list. I know that all the technicalities of the law were on the side of the Crown, but my great charge against the Government is, that they have merely regarded this question in a technical point of view. We know what the principle of the law is, in cases where prejudice is likely to arise against an alien, and who is to be tried *de medietate linguæ*. Is he to be tried by twelve Englishmen? No; our ancestors knew that that was not the way in which justice could be obtained—they knew that the only proper way was to have one-half of the jurymen of the country in which the crime was committed, and the other half of the country to which the prisoner belonged. If any alien had been in the situation of Mr. O'Connell, that law would have been observed. You are ready enough to call the Catholics of Ireland 'aliens' when it suits your purpose; you are ready enough to treat them as aliens when it suits your purpose; but the first privilege, the only advantage, of alienage, you practically deny them."

This orator, also, was a member of the administration in 1848; and he did not utter any of his fine indignation at the gross packing of juries which was perpetrated then. In 1848, however, these "Liberals" were *in*, not out; had resting upon them the responsibility of maintaining the British Empire; and, therefore, desired to hear no more of "justice to Ireland."

In the same debate, there was much ferocious language on the part of Tory members of the House: the infamous nature of the alleged conspiracy was dwelt upon, and the necessity of bringing to condign punishment that "Arch-Agitator," that "hoary criminal," who was endeavoring to overthrow the British Empire. In the midst of all this, O'Connell himself, the "hoary criminal," strode into the House. In a discussion upon the state of Ireland, *he* had had somewhat to say. First, he listened to the debate for a whole week, and then, amidst breathless silence, arose.

He did not confine himself to the narrow ground of the prosecution, but reviewed the whole career of British power in Ireland, with bitter and taunting comments. As to the prosecution, he treated it slightly and contemptuously.

"I have, at greater length than I intended, gone through the crimes of England since the Union—I will say the follies of England. I have but little more to say; but I have, in the name of the people of Ireland—and I do it in their name—to protest against the late prosecution. And I protest, first, against the nature of that prosecution; forty-three public meetings were held, and every one of them was admitted to be legal; not one was impeached as being against the law, and every one of them making on the calendar of crime a cypher; but by multiplying cyphers, you come, by a species of legal witch-craft, to make it a number that shall be fatal. *One meeting is legal, another meeting is legal, a third is the same, and three legal meetings, you say, make one illegal meeting.* The people of Ireland understand that you may oppress them, but not laugh at them. That, sir, is my first objection The second is the striking out all the Catholics from the jury panel. There is no doubt of the fact. Eleven Catholics were upon the jury panel, and every one of them was struck out."

All the world knew it. Nobody pretended to deny it, or publicly to excuse it; but what availed all this? The *ultimatum* of

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England was, that the Union must be maintained at any cost, and by all means. And O'Connell was to return to Dublin by a certain day for judgment and sentence. His taunts and invectives against the whole system of Irish government were very welcome, and highly entertaining to English Whigs, who only looked to their own party chances. But no man in all England ever, for one moment, suffered the idea to enter his head, that Ireland was to be in any case permitted to govern herself.

And British Whigs could well afford to let O'Connell have a legal triumph, to the damage of British Tories, so long as the real and substantial policy of England in Ireland was pursued without interruption. As to this point, there must be no mistake —no British Whig or British Tory regarded the Irish question in any other point of view than as a question on which might occur a change of Ministry.

An army of fifty thousand men, including police, was all this while in full military occupation of the island. The Arms bill had become law ; and, in the registration of arms before magistrates under that act, those who were in favor of their country's independence were refused the privilege of keeping so much as an old musket in their houses for purposes of self-defence. *

The police-barracks were still further strengthened ; the detectives were multiplied ; the regular troops were kept almost constantly under arms, and marched to and fro with a view of striking terror ; improved codes of signals were furnished to the police for use by day and night—to give warning of everything they might conceive suspicious. With so firm a hold upon the island, the British Ministers might have thought themselves in a condition to abandon their questionable prosecution ; but they had the idea that O'Connell's power lay very much in the received opinion of his legal infallibility ; so they were resolved to imprison him, at any rate, for a short time—even though he should finally trample on their prosecution, and come forth in trimmph—as, in fact, he did.

On the 30th May, the "conspirators" were called up for sentence ; and were imprisoned in Richmond Penitentiary — a suburban prison at the south side of Dublin, with splendid gardens and handsome accommodations ; here they rusticated for three months, holding *levées* in an elegant *marquèe* in the garden ; receiving daily deputations, and visits from Bishops, from Americans, and from ladies. O'Connell still wrote once a week to Conciliation Hall, that repeal never was so sure, never so imminent, as now, if only the people would keep the peace.

The great multitudinous people looked on in some amaze. "Peace" was still the order ; and they obeyed ; but they much marveled what it meant, and when it would end.

Still it was doubtful whether the enemy's government had really gained much by their prosecution. Very considerable indignation had been excited, even amongst the reasonable Protestants, by the means which had been used to snatch this conviction. The agitation had rather gained than lost ; and many gentlemen who had held back till now, sent in their names and subscriptions. Smith O'Brien was now a constant attendant at the association ; and by the boldness and purity of his character, and by his extensive knowledge of public affairs, gave it both impetus and steadiness.

* Of the proceedings upon these applications for registry of arms at all the petty sessions of Ireland, we have no record, but to the Cork *Southern Reporter* we are indebted for the minute report of a session at Marcroom, in that county, which may be taken as a kind of sample.

"Maurice Dullea, Glaun—Applicant for leave to keep one gun.

"Mr. Gillman. Magistrate—Are you a repeal warden? I am not.

"Would you answer the question on your oath, if it were put to you? I would.

"Mr. Warren—The question should not be asked, unless it was known he had so acted. Admitted.

"John M'Auliffe, Millstreet—One pistol.

"Captain Wallace—Are you a repeal warden? I am, sir.

"Mr. M'Carthy O'Leary, Attorney—The man bears a most unimpeachable character.

"Mr. Warren—We cannot reject one repeal warden, and admit another. Rejected."

At the same sessions was made manifest the fact that the Protestant "gentry" of the country were providing themselves with a sufficient armament. For example, Mrs. Charlotte Stawell, of Kilbritton Castle, registers "six guns and six pistols," and Richard Quinn, of Skivanish, "nine guns, one pair pistols, two dirks, two bayonets, and one sword." No objection was offered against these persons keeping as many fire-arms as they chose! So worked the Disarming act.

Yet O'Connell and his friends were in prison, sentenced to an incarceration of one year; and it would be vain to deny that there was humiliation in the fact. True, the jury had been notoriously packed; the trial had been but a sham; and the sentence would probably be reversed by the House of Lords. Still there was Ireland represented by her chosen men suffering the penalties of crime in a jail. The island was still fully and effectively occupied by troops, as a hostile country; and all its resources were in clear possession of the enemy. Many began to doubt whether the "moral-force" principle of O'Connell would be found sufficient.

In truth, the repeal agitation, as a living and formidable power, was over from the day of imprisonment. The judgment of the Irish Court of Queen's Bench was brought up to the British House of Peers on Writ of Error; and on the 2d and 4th of September, the opinions of nine English judges were delivered, and the decision pronounced. Eight of the judges gave their opinion that the jury was a good jury, the verdict good, and the judgment good. It appeared, however, that Mr. Justice Coleridge dissented. Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor, then delivered his decision;—he agreed with the majority of the judges, and thought the judgment should stand, the packing of the jury being immaterial. He was followed by Lord Brougham—and nobody could doubt what would be the decision of that learned person—the jury was a good enough jury: some of the counts in the indictment might be bad; but, bad or good, the judgment of the Irish Court was to stand, and O'Connell was to remain in prison.

Lord Denman, Chief Justice of England, then arose. I have already told you that the whole Irish question was regarded in the British Parliament solely with reference to its affording a chance of turning out the Tory Ministry, and conducting the Whigs into power and place. We have seen, accordingly, the pretended indignation of Lord John Russell, and of Mr. Macaulay, against the packing of the juries. It may seem an atrocious charge to make upon judges and law lords—that they could be influenced by any other considerations than the plain law and justice of the case. But the mere matter of fact was, that the majority of the English judges were of the Tory party. Of the law lords, also, Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst was a violent Tory, and, moreover, an avowed enemy to Ireland. Lord Brougham was at that time a Tory, and, also, a well-known personal foe to O'Connell, having been often stung by the vicious taunts and sarcasms of that gentleman. But Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Campbell were Whigs; and Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell gave it as their opinion that the jury had been unfair and fraudulent—that no fair trial had taken place—and, therefore, that the judgment against the repeal conspirators should be reversed.

Now, it is to be observed that the British Government, by openly and ostentatiously striking off from the jury panel all Catholics, without exception, and all Protestants of moderate and liberal opinions, made proclamation that they knew the great mass of the people to be averse to them and their rule—avowed that they accounted that small remainder, out of whom they selected their jurors, to be the only "good and lawful men." These were the *vicinage* contemplated in the law books; and the repeal conspirators being arraigned, not before their countrymen, not even before one sect of their countrymen, but before chosen men carefully selected by the Crown out of one section of one sect, were told to consider themselves on their trial *per pais*. This, to be sure, amounted to an admission that nine-tenths of Irishmen desired the freedom of their country—but then it also amounted to a declaration that the English meant to hold the country, whether Irishmen would or not. On the reversal of the judgment, however, there was a show of high rejoicing in Dublin, and the prisoners were escorted from the jail through the city by a vast and orderly procession, to O'Connell's house. The procession marched through College Green; and just as O'Connell's carriage came in front of the Irish Parliament House, (the most superb building in Dublin,) the carriage stopped; the whole procession stopped; and there was a deep silence as O'Connell rose to his full height

and, pointing with his finger to the portico, turned slowly round and gazed into the faces of the people, without a word. Again and again, he stretched forth his arm and pointed; and a succession of pealing cheers seemed to shake the city.

The state trials, then, were at an end; and all the country, friends and enemies, Ireland and England, were now looking eagerly and earnestly for O'Connell's first movement, as an indication of his future course. Never, at any moment in his life, did he hold the people so wholly in his hand. During the imprisonment, both clergy and repeal wardens had labored diligently in extending and confirming the organization; and the poor people proved their faith and trust by sending greater and greater contributions to the repeal treasury. They kept the "peace" as their Liberator bade them; and the land was never so free from crime—lest they should give strength to the enemy.

It is impossible to record, without profound admiration, the steady faith, patient zeal, self-denial, and disciplined enthusiasm, which the Irish people displayed for these two years. To many thousands of those peasants the struggle had been more severe than any war; for they were expected to set at nought potent landlords, who had over them and their children power of life and death—with troops of insolent bailiffs, and ejecting attorneys, and the omnipresent police; and they did set them at nought. Every vote they give at an election might cost them house and home, land and life. They were naturally ardent, impulsive, and impatient; but their attitude was now calm and steadfast. They were an essentially military people; but the great "Liberator" told them that "no political amelioration was worth one drop of human blood."

They did not believe the formula, and in assenting to it often winked their eyes; yet steadily and trustfully, this one good time, they sought to liberate their country peacefully, legally, under the advice of counsel. They loyally obeyed that man, and would obey no other. And when he walked in triumph out of his prison, at one word from his mouth they would have marched upon Dublin from all the five ends of Ireland, and made short work with police and military barracks.

But O'Connell was now old, approaching seventy; and the fatal disease of which he was then really dying, had already begun to work upon his iron energies.* After his release he did not propose to hold the Clontarf meeting, as many hoped. He said nothing more about the "Council of Three Hundred," which the extreme section of nationalists were very desirous to see carried into effect; and the more desirous because it would be illegal, according to what passes for law in Ireland. Yet the association all this time was becoming more powerful for good than ever. O'Brien had instituted a "Parliamentary Committee," and worked on it continually himself; which, at all events, furnished the nation with careful and authentic memoirs on all Irish questions and interests, filled with accurate statistical details. Many Protestant gentlemen, also, of high rank joined the association in 1844 and 1845—being evidently unconscious how certainly and speedily that body was going to destruction.

In short, the history of Ireland must henceforth be sought for elsewhere than in the Repeal Association.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1844.

Decadence of Repeal Association — Land Tenure Commission — Necessity of Exterminating "Surplus Population"—Report of the "Landlord and Tenant Commission"—Tenant Right to be *Disallowed*—Farms to be Consolidated—People to be Extirpated—Methods of the Minister to Divide Repealers—Grant to Maynooth—Queen's Colleges—Secret Agent at Rome—American Slavery—Distraction in Repeal Ranks—Bill for "Compensation to Tenants"—Defeated—Death of Thomas Davis—The Famine — Commission of Chemists to Gain Time—Demands of Ireland—Of the Corporations—Of O'Connell and O'Brien—Repudiation of Alms—Cöercion Bill—Repeal of Corn Laws—Irish Harvests go to England—"Relief Measures"—Delays—Fraud—Havoc of the People—Peel's System of Famine-Slaughter Fully Established—Peel Resigns Office

During the two last years of the existence of the Repeal Association, it made no

* It was softening of the brain; and the physicians, after his death, pronounced that it had been in operation for two years at least.

progress whatever towards the attainment of its great object; which is equivalent to saying that it was going back. One of the first things proposed by Mr. O'Connell, after his release, in a secret meeting of the committee, was a dissolution of the body, in order to its reconstruction on a somewhat more safe and legal basis. This was his old policy, whenever his agitations had come in conflict with what the Government called "law," and it had generally answered its purpose, whilst those agitations were directed against penal laws, or tithes and church-rates, against something, in short, which was not vital to the existence of the British Empire. But he now found himself at last in front of a castle wall, armed and garrisoned, totally unassailable by any "agitation" yet invented. He could not make a single step in advance, upon that line; and he seemed to feel it. Yet the whole country was earnestly expecting that step in advance. The proposal to dissolve was combatted and was given up. He occupied his weekly speeches with collateral issues upon Parliamentary questions which were often arising—the "Bequests act," the "Colleges bill," the Papal Rescript negotiation, and the like;—all matters which would have been of moment in any self-governing nation, but were of next to no moment in the circumstances; or he poured forth his fiery floods of eloquence in denunciation, not of the British Government, but of *American slavery*, with which he had nothing on earth to do. He praised too much, as many thought, the sublime integrity and justice of the three Whig law lords who had voted for reversing his judgment. But the most significant change in his behavior was in the querulous captiousness he showed towards the *Nation*, and those connected with it, whom he now frequently rebuked as "rash young men," who would goad the country into a dangerous course.

In the meantime, the English press and people ceased, in a great degree, to speak of the repeal movement with alarm and horror—they seemed satisfied now that there was no danger in it, at least while O'Connell lived.

For, in fact, all this time, the steady policy of England towards her "sister island," was proceeding on the even tenor of its way quite undisturbed. Four millions sterling of the rental of Ireland was, as usual, carried over every year, to be spent in England; and the few remaining manufactures which our island had struggled to retain, were growing gradually less and less. The very "frieze," (rough home-made woolen cloth,) was driven out of the market by a far cheaper and far worse Yorkshire imitation of it. Some repeal artist had devised a "repeal button," displaying the ancient Irish Crown; the very repeal button was mimicked in Birmingham, and hogsheads of ancient Irish Crowns were poured into the market, to the utter ruin of the Dublin manufacturer. True, they were of the basest of metal and handiwork; but they lasted as long as "the repeal" lasted.

All great public expenditures were still confined to England; and in the year 1844, there was, quite as usual, Irish produce to the value of about fifteen millions sterling exported to England.

In 1843, the Government had sent forth the famous "Landlord and Tenant Commission," to travel through Ireland, collect evidence, and report on the relations of landlord and tenant in that country. The commissioners were all, without exception, Irish landlords. In '44, it traveled and investigated; and the next year its report came out, in four great volumes. The true function and object of this commission was to devise the best means of getting rid of what Englishmen called "the surplus population" of Ireland. Ever since the year 1829, the year of Catholic Emancipation, British policy had been directing itself to this end.

About the time of emancipation, when the small farmers, by the abolition of their franchise, were left more absolutely at the mercy of their landlords, it happened that new theories of farming became fashionable. "High farming" was the word. There was to be more grazing, more green cropping; there were to be larger farms; and more labor was to be done by horses and by steam. But consolidation of many small farms into one large one could not be effected without clearing off the "surplus

population ;" and then, as there would be fewer mouths to be fed, so there would be more produce for export to England. The clearance system, then, had begun in 1829, and had proceeded with great activity ever after, but never with such remorseless fury as just after the year of the "monster meetings." The surplus population had appeared more than usually excessive and perilous in the form of those huge masses of powerful men, whom O'Connell's voice could call around him upon any hill in the island. Now, therefore, the "assistant barristers" were especially busy in decreeing ejectments, which they issued by whole sheaves. These formidable documents, once placed in the hands of sheriffs' officers, often came down upon the people with a more sweeping desolation than an enemy's sword and torch.

Whole neighborhoods were often thrown out upon the highways in winter, and the homeless creatures lived for a while upon the charity of neighbors ; but this was dangerous ; for the neighbors were often themselves ejected for harboring them. Some landlords contracted with emigration companies to carry them to America "for a lump sum," according to the advertisements cited before. Others did not care what became of them ; and hundreds and thousands perished every year of mere hardship. The new Poor law was now in full operation, and workhouses, erected under that law, received many of the exterminated people ; but it is a strangely significant fact, that the *deaths by starvation* increased rapidly from the first year of the Poor law. The Report of the Census Commissioners, for 1851, declares that while in 1842 the deaths registered as deaths by famine amounted to one hundred and eighty-seven, they increased every year until the registered deaths in 1845 were five hundred and sixteen. The "registered" deaths were, perhaps, one-tenth of the unregistered deaths by mere hunger.

Such, then, was the condition of Ireland in 1844–5 ; and all this before the "Famine"

Now, the "Landlord and Tenant Commission" began its labors in '44. The people were told to expect great benefits from it. The commissioners, it was diligently given out, would inquire into the various acknowledged evils that were becoming proverbial throughout Europe and America —and there were to be Parliamentary "ameliorations." This "commission" looked like a deliberate fraud from the first. It was composed entirely of landlords ; the chairman, Lord Devon, being one of the Irish absentee-landlords. It was at all times quite certain that they would see no evidence of any evils to be redressed on the part of the tenants ; and that if they recommended any measures, those measures would be such as should promote and make more sweeping the depopulation of the country. "You might as well," said O'Connell, "consult butchers about keeping Lent, as consult these men about the rights of farmers."

The report of this set of commissioners would deserve no more especial notice than any of the other reports of innumerable commissions which the British Parliament was in the habit of issuing, when it pretended to inquire into any Irish "grievance ;" but that the report of this particular "Devon Commission" has become the very creed and gospel of British statesmen with regard to the Irish people from that day to this, and has often been cited by Secretaries for Ireland, as affording the fullest and most conclusive authority upon the relations of landlord and tenant in that island. It is the programme and scheme upon which the last conquest of Ireland was undertaken, in a business-like manner, twenty-four years ago ; and the completeness of that conquest is due to the exactitude with which the programme was observed.

The problem to be solved was, how to get rid of the Irish people.

But, one of the strongest demands and most urgent needs of these people had always been permanence of tenure in their lands. O'Connell called it "fixity of tenure," and presented it prominently in his speeches as one of the greatest benefits to be gained by repealing the Union. It was, indeed, the grand necessity of the nation—that men should have some security —that they who sowed should reap—that labor and capital expended in improving

farms should, in part, at least, profit those who expended it. This would at once abolish pauperism, put an end to the necessity of emigration, supersede Poor laws, and prevent the periodical famines which had desolated the island ever since the Union. It is a measure which would have been sure to be recommended as the first, or, indeed, the only measure for Ireland by any other commission than a commission of Irish landlords.

In the northern Province of Ulster, there was, as before-mentioned, a kind of unwritten law, or established custom, which in some counties gave the tenant such needful security. The "Tenant-Right of Ulster" was the name of it. By virtue of that tenant-right, a farmer, though his tenure might be nominally "at will," could not be ejected so long as he paid his rent; and if he desired to remove to another part of the country, he could sell his "good-will" in the farm to an incoming tenant. Of course, the greater had been his improvements, the larger price would his tenant-right command; in other words, the improvements created by his own or his father's industry were his own. The same custom prevented rents from being arbitrarily raised in proportion to the improved value; so that in many cases which came within the knowledge of all lawyers' lands held "at will" in Ulster, and subject to an ample rent, were sold by one tenant-at-will to another tenant-at-will at full half the fee-simple value of the land. Conveyances were made of it. It was a valuable property, and any violent invasion of it, as a witness told Lord Devon's commission, would have "made Down another Tipperary."

The custom was almost confined to Ulster. It was, by no means, (though this has often been stated,) created or commenced by the terms of the Plantation of Ulster, in the time of King James I., but was a relic of the ancient free social polity of the nation,* and had continued in Ulster longer than in the other three provinces, simply because Ulster had been the last part of the island brought under British dominion, and forced to exchange the ancient system of tribe-lands for feudal tenures. Neither is "tenant-right" by any means peculiar to Ireland, but prevails in all countries formerly embraced by the feudal system, except Ireland alone.

The people of Ireland are not *idle*. They anxiously sought opportunities of exertion on fields where their landlords could not sweep off all their earnings; and many thousands of small farmers annually went to England and Scotland to reap the harvest, lived all the time on food that would sustain no other working men, and hoarded their earnings for their wives and children. If they had had tenant-right, they would have labored for themselves, and Tipperary would have been a peaceful and blooming garden.

In this stage of our narrative, a difficulty arises. It is hard to conceive it possible that noble lords and gentlemen, the landlords and legislators of an ancient and noble people, should deliberately conspire to slay one out of every eight—men, women, and little children—to strip the remainder barer than they were—to uproot them from the soil where their mothers bore them — to force them to flee to all the ends of the earth — to destroy that tenant-right of Ulster where it was, and to cut off all chance and hope of it where it was not. There is nothing but a patient examination of the facts and documents which can make this credible to mankind.

First, then, for the Report of the Devon Commission. As first printed, it fills four stupendous Blue Books. But it contained too much valuable matter to be buried, like other reports, in the catacombs which yawn for that species of literature. The secretary of the commission, therefore, was employed to abstract and condense, and present the cream of it in an abridgement. This had the advantage not only of condensation, but of selection; the commissioners could then give the pieces of evidence which they liked the best, together with their own recommendations.

This portentous abstract is called a "Digest of the Evidence," &c.; is published by authority; and has a preface signed "Devon."

Much of the volume is occupied with dis-

* See an article on the True Origin of Tenant-Right, written by Samuel Ferguson, in the *Dublin University Magazine* for May, 1848.

sertations and evidence respecting "tenant-right," which the North had, and the South demanded. The commissioners are clearly against it in every shape. They term it "unphilosophical;" and in the preface they state that the Ulster landlords and tenants look upon it in the light of a life insurance—that is, the landlord allows the sale of tenant-right, and the incoming tenant buys it, lest they should both be murdered by the out-going tenant. The following passage treats this tenant-right as injurious to the tenant himself:—

"It is even questionable whether this growing practice of tenant-right, which would *at the first view* appear to be a *valuable assumption* on the part of the tenant, be so in reality; as it gives to him, without any exertion on his own part, an *apparent property* or security, by means of which he is enabled to incur future incumbrance, in order to avoid present inconvenience—a practice which frequently terminates in the utter destitution of his family, and in the sale of his farm, when the debts thus created at usurious interests amount to what its sale would produce."

It appears, then, that in the opinion of these landlords, it is injurious to the tenant to let him have anything on the security of which he can borrow money;—a theory which the landlords would not relish if applied to themselves. Further, the commissioners declare, that this tenant-right is enjoyed without any exertion on the part of tenants. Yet they have, in all cases, either created the whole value of it by the sweat of their brows, or bought it from those who did so create it.

The commissioners "foresee some danger to the *just rights of property* from the unlimited allowance of this tenant-right."

But they suggest a substitute: "compensation for future improvements;" surrounding, however, that suggestion with difficulties which have prevented it from ever being realized.

Speaking of the *consolidation* of farms, they say:—

"When it is seen in the evidence, and in the return of the size of the farms, how small those holdings are, it cannot be denied that such a step is absolutely *necessary*."

And then, as to the people whom it is thus "necessary" to eject, they say:—

"*Emigration* is considered by the committee to be peculiarly applicable, as a remedial measure."

They refer to one of their tables, (No. 95, p. 564,) where—

"The calculation is put forward showing that the consolidation of the small holdings up to eight acres, would require the removal of about one hundred and ninety-two thousand three hundred and sixty-eight families." That is, the removal of about one million of persons.

Such was the Devon programme: Tenant-right to be disallowed;—one million of people to be *removed*—that is, swept out on the highways, where their choice would be America, the poor house, or the grave. We shall see with what accuracy the details were carried out in practice.

In affirming that there was a conspiracy of landlords and legislators to destroy the people, it would be unjust, as it is unnecessary, to charge all members of the Queen' Government, or all of the Devon Commissioners with a privity to that design. Sir Robert Peel knew how Irish landlords would inquire—and what report they would make—just as well as he knew what verdict a jury of Dublin Orangemen would give. Sir Robert Peel had been Irish Secretary. He knew Ireland well; he had been Prime Minister at the time of Catholic Emancipation; and he had taken care to accompany that measure with another, *disfranchising* all the small farmers in Ireland. This disfranchisement, as before explained, had given a stimulus and impetus to the clearance system. He had helped it by Cheap Ejectment acts. It had not worked fast enough.

The same Sir Robert Peel was now again Prime Minister in 1855, when the first of the reports was published by the Land Tenure Commission; and it at once opened to him a plan for the faster clearing off of the "Irish enemy," under the pretext of "ameliorations."

In the meantime, as the repeal movement was still considered formidable, and as Davis and the younger nationalists were earnestly laboring to give it more of a military organization, it became necessary to

take some measures for the purpose of dividing and distracting the repealers.

Danger was then threatening from the side of America, on the question of Oregon. True Irish nationalists, of course, hoped that this would end in a war; and the *Nation* gave unmistakable notification that in case of war about Oregon, the Americans might count upon a diversion in Ireland.

Suddenly Sir Robert Peel's Ministerial organs announced that there were "good measures," or what the English call "amelioration," in store for Ireland. And, in truth, three measures, having much show of liberality, were soon brought forward. They were all cunningly calculated to the great end—the breaking up of the Repeal organization. On the 2d of April, then, Sir Robert Peel "sent a message of peace to Ireland":—it was a proposed bill to give some additional thousands *per annum* to the Catholic College of Maynooth; and in the House of Commons, the Premier thus urged his measures:—

"I say this without hesitation, and recollect that we have been responsible for the peace of Ireland; you must, in some way or other, break up that formidable confederacy which exists against the British Government and British connection. I do not believe you can break it up by force. You can do much to break it up by acting in a spirit of kindness and forbearance, and generosity."

It was novel to hear these good words; and all knew they meant fraud. But the Premier continued:—

"There rises in the far western horizon a cloud, [Oregon,] small, indeed, but threatening future storms. It became my duty, on the part of the Government, on that day, in temperate but significant language, to depart so far from the caution which is usually observed by a Minister, as to declare publicly, that, while we were most anxious for the amicable adjustment of the differences—while we would leave nothing undone to effect that amicable adjustment—yet, if our rights were invaded, we were prepared and determined to maintain them. I own to you, that when I was called upon to make that declaration, I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation, that the day before *I had sent a message of peace to Ireland.*"

The object of the bill was to provide more largely for the endowment of Catholic professors, and the education of young men for the Catholic Church; and the Minister prudently calculated that it would cool the ardor of a portion of the Catholic clergy for repeal of the Union. It was forced through both Lords and Commons as a party question, though vehemently opposed by the intense bigotry and ignorance of the English nation. But the Premier put it to them in that irresistible form — vote for our measure, or we will not answer for the Union!

Another of the Premier's ameliorations was the College bill, for creating and endowing three purely secular colleges in Ireland, to give a good course of education without reference to religious belief. This also was sure to be regarded as a great boon by a portion of the Catholic clergy—while another portion was just as sure to object violently to the whole scheme; some, because it would place education too much under the control of the English Government; and others, because the education was to be "mixed,"—strict Catholics being much in favor of educating Catholic youth separately. Here, then, was a fruitful source of quarrel amongst repealers; and, in fact, it arrayed bishop against bishop, and O'Connell against "Young Ireland." The walls of Conciliation Hall rung with denunciations, not of the Union, but of "Godless Colleges," and of the "young infidel party."

But the Premier had another plot in operation. Protestant England had for ages refused to recognize the Pope as a Sovereign, or to send a Minister to the Vatican. It was still illegal to send an avowed Minister; but Sir Robert Peel sent a secret one. He was to induce His Holiness to take some order with the Catholic bishops and priests of Ireland, to draw them off in some degree from the repeal agitation. By what motives and inducements that agent operated upon the Pope, we can only conjecture; and one conjecture is this—Italy was then, as now, in continual danger of revolution. Within the year that had passed, England had demonstrated that she held in her hand the clew to all those Republican

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conspiracies by her Post Office *espionnage;* and it was evident that the same Sir James Graham, who had copied the private correspondence of Mazzini and the Bandieras, and laid it before the King of Naples, could as easily have kept it all to himself. Highly desirable, surely, that "peace, law, and order," in Italy should secure so useful a friend.

In short, the Sacred College sent a rescript to the Irish clergy, declaring that, whereas it had been reported to His Holiness, that many of them devoted themselves too much to politics, and spoke too rashly in public concerning affairs of state—they were thereafter to attend to their religious duties. It was carefully given out in the English press, that the Pope had denounced Repeal; if he had done so, nobody would have minded it, because Catholics do not admit his jurisdiction in temporal affairs; and Quarantotti's interference about the *veto*, had been a significant warning. It was soon settled that the rescript had no such power, and presumed that it had no such intention, on the part of the Pope; yet a certain prudent reserve began to be observable in the repeal speeches of the clergy. So far, the Premier's Roman policy had succeeded.

The distraction in the repeal ranks was much aided at the same time by a certain well meaning James Haughton, a repealer himself, but one who concerned himself more about the wrongs and rights of American negroes, than about those of his own countrymen. In O'Connell's perplexity as to his course, in the necessity which was upon him to appear to do something, he took hold of this slavery question, made some vehement speeches upon it, and sent back, with contumelious words, some money remitted from a Southern State, in aid of his repeal exchequer.

So far the Premier's plans were successful in breaking up the repeal movement. Religious disputes were introduced by the Colleges bill; and this held the Protestants aloof, and produced bitter altercation throughout the country. By the discussion on slavery, American alliance and cöoperation were checked; a great gain to the Premier: for the Americans, and the Irish in America, all looked forward to something stronger than moral force.

The Minister thought he might proceed, under cover of this tumult of senseless debate, to take the first step in his plan for the depopulation of Ireland, in pursuance of the "Devon Commission" report. Accordingly, his third measure for the "amelioration" of Ireland was a bill, ostensibly providing for "Compensation of Tenants in Ireland," but really calculated for the destruction of the last relics of tenant-right. We need not go through the details of the proposed measure; it is enough to observe, that Lord Stanley admitted that he contemplated the "removal of a vast mass of labor" from its present field. "In justice to the colonies," he would not recommend, as the Devon Commissioners did, merely that the whole of this vast mass should be shot out naked and destitute upon their shores; and his bill proposed the employment of a part of it on the *waste lands* of Ireland—of which waste lands there were four millions of acres, capable of improvement. A portion of the "vast mass of labor" removed from other places was to be set to work, under certain conditions, to reclaim these lands for the landlords.

The bill, though framed entirely for the landlords, did yet propose to interfere, in some degree, with their absolute rights of property. They did not choose that tenants should be presumed to have any right to "compensation," even nominally; or any other right whatever; and as for the waste lands, they wanted them for snipe-shooting. Accordingly, they resisted the bill with all their power; and English landlords, on principle, supported them in that resistance. On the other hand, the Irish tenants, with one consent, exclaimed against the bill, as a bill for open robbery and slaughter. A meeting of County Down tenants resolved that it would rob their class, (in one province, Ulster alone,) of £1,500,000 sterling. The *Nation* commented upon it under the title of "Robbery of Tenants (Ireland) bill." The opposition of the tenant class, and of the Repeal newspapers, would have been of small avail, but for the resistance—upon other grounds—of the landlords. The bill was defeated; Sir Robert Peel had to

devise some other method of getting rid of the "surplus population."

He was soon to be aided by a most efficient ally—the famine; and to tell how the famine helped Sir Robert Peel, and how Sir Robert Peel helped the famine, forms the whole history of the island for the next five years.

In the meantime, Thomas Davis died, in September, 1845, full of sad foreboding despondency, as he witnessed the gradual disintegration and discomfiture of that repeal movement, which had so many elements of power at first. The loss of this rare and noble Irishman has never been repaired; neither to his country nor to his friends. Before the grave had yet closed on Thomas Davis, began to spread awful rumors of approaching famine. Within the next month, from all the counties of Ireland came one cry of mortal terror. Blight had fallen on the crop of potatoes—the food on which five millions of the Irish people had been reduced to depend for subsistence; three millions of them wholly and exclusively. That winter of 1845–6 was the first season of Ireland's last and greatest agony of famine.

Lord Brougham, in his high-flown classical way, described the horrors of the famine in Ireland, as "surpassing anything in the page of Thucydides—on the canvas of Poussin—in the dismal chant of Dante." Such a visitation, falling suddenly upon any land, certainly imposes onerous duties upon its *de facto* government; and the very novelty of the circumstances, driving everything out of its routine course, might well excuse serious mistakes in applying a remedy to so monstrous a calamity. *First*, however, we are to bear in mind that all the powers, revenues, and resources of Ireland had been transferred to London. The Imperial Parliament had dealt at its pleasure with the "sister island" for forty-six years, and had brought us to this. *Second*, a great majority of the Irish people had been earnestly demanding back those powers, revenues, and resources; and the English people, through their Executive, Parliament and press, had unanimously vowed this must never be. They would govern us in spite of us, "under the blessing of Divine Providence," as the Queen said. "Were the Union *gall*," said the *Times*, "swallow it you must."

Well, then, whatsoever duties may be supposed to fall upon a government, in case of such a national calamity, rested on the English Government. We had no Legislature at home; in the Imperial Legislature we had but a delusive semblance of representation; and so totally useless was it, that *national* Irish members of Parliament preferred to stay at home. We had no authoritative mode of even suggesting what measures might, (in mere Irish opinion,) meet the case.

But we will see what was proposed by such public bodies in Ireland as still had power of meeting together in any capacity—the city corporations, for example, and especially the Repeal Association. It has been carefully inculcated upon the world by the British press, that the moment Ireland fell into distress, she became an abject beggar at England's gate—nay, that she even craved alms from all mankind. Many will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that *neither Ireland, nor anybody in Ireland, ever asked alms or favors of any kind, either from England, or from any other nation or people.* On the contrary, it was England herself that begged for us, asking a penny for the love of God to relieve the poor Irish. And further, constituting herself the almoner and agent of all that charity, *she*, England, took all the profit of it.

Before describing the actual process of the "Relief measures," it is well to consider what would be the natural, obvious, and inevitable course of conduct in a nation which was, indeed, one undivided nation: France, for example. If blight and famine fell upon the South of France, the whole common revenue of the kingdom would certainly be largely employed in setting the people to labor upon works of public utility; in purchasing and storing, for sale at a cheap rate, such quantities of foreign corn as might be needed, until the season of distress should pass over, and another harvest should come. If Yorkshire and Lancashire had sustained a like calamity in England, there is no doubt such measures as these would have been taken, promptly and liberally.

And we know that the English Government is not slow to borrow money for great public objects, when it suits British policy so to do. They borrowed twenty millions sterling to give away to their slaveholding colonists for a mischievous whim.

In truth, they are always glad of any occasion or excuse for borrowing money and adding it to the national debt; because, as they never intend to pay that debt, and as the stock and debentures of it are, in the meantime, their main safeguard against revolution, they would be well pleased to incur a debt of hundred millions more at any moment. But the object must be popular in England; it must subserve some purpose of British policy—as in the case of the twenty millions borrowed to free negroes—or the loans freely taken to crush the people of India, and preserve and extend the opium trade with China.

To make an addition to the national debt in order to preserve the lives of a million or two of Celts, would have seemed in England a singular application of money. To *kill* so many would have been well worth a war that would cost forty millions.

On the first appearance of the blight, the Government sent over two learned commissioners, Playfair and Lindley, to Ireland, who, in conjunction with Doctor (now Sir Robert,) Kane, were to examine and report upon potatoes generally, their diseases, habits, &c. This passed over the time for some weeks. Parliament was prorogued, and did not meet again till January.

In the meantime, the Corporation of Dublin sent a memorial to the Queen, praying her to call Parliament together at an early day, and to recommend the appropriation of some public money for public works, especially railways, in Ireland. A deputation from the citizens of Dublin, including the Duke of Leinster, the Lord Mayor, Lord Cloncurry, and Daniel O'Connell, waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, (Lord Heytesbury,) to offer suggestions as to opening the ports to foreign corn, at least for a time, stopping distillation from grain, providing public works, and the like; and to urge that there was not a moment to be lost, as millions of people would shortly be without a morsel of food. The reply of Lord Heytesbury is a model in that kind. He told them they were premature; told them not to be alarmed; that learned men had been sent over *from England* to inquire into all those matters; that, in the meantime, the inspectors of constabulary, and stipendiary magistrates, were charged with making constant reports from their several districts; that, in the meantime, there was "no immediate pressure on the market;" finally, that the case was a very important one, and it was evident "no decision could be taken without a previous reference to the responsible advisers of the Crown." In truth, no other answer was possible, because the Viceroy knew nothing of Sir Robert Peel's intentions. To wait for the report of learned men—to wait for Parliament—in short, *to wait;* that was the sole policy of the enemy for the present. He could wait; but he knew that hunger could not wait.

The Town Council of Belfast met and made suggestions similar to those of the Dublin Corporation, *but neither body asked charity.* They demanded that if Ireland was indeed an integral part of the realm, the common exchequer of both islands should be used—not to give alms, but to provide employment on public works of general utility.

The plea of the enemy for not being ready with any remedy, was the suddenness of the calamity. Now, it happened that nearly eleven years before, a certain "select committee," composed principally of Irish members of Parliament, had been appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the condition of the Irish poor. They had reported, even then, in favor of promoting the reclamation of waste lands; had given their opinion decidedly (being Irish,) that there was no real surplus of population, seeing that the island could easily sustain much more than its actual population, and export immensely besides. Nevertheless, they warn the Government that, "if the potato crop were a failure, its produce would be consumed long before they could acquire new means of subsistence; and then a famine ensues." *

* Report of the "Select Committee," 1836

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

Yet, when the famine did ensue, it took "the Government" as much by surprise (or they pretended that it did,) as if they had never been warned.

Not only the citizens of Cork and Belfast, but the Repeal Association, also, had suggestions to make. Indeed, this last-named body was the only one that could pretend especially to represent the very class of people whose lives were endangered by the dearth. Let us see what *they* had to propose.

On the 8th of December, O'Connell, in the Repeal Association, said: "If they ask me what are my propositions for relief of the distress, I answer, first, *tenant-right*. I would propose a law giving to every man his own. I would give the landlord his land, and a fair rent for it; but I would give the tenant compensation for every shilling he might have laid out on the land in permanent improvements. And what next do I propose? *Repeal of the Union.*" In the latter part of his speech, after detailing the means used by the Belgian Legislature during the same season—shutting the ports against exports of provisions, but opening them to import, and the like—he goes on :—

"If we had a domestic Parliament, would not the ports be thrown open—would not the abundant crops with which heaven has blessed her be kept for the people of Ireland—and would not the Irish Parliament be more active even than the Belgian Parliament to provide for the people food and employment? The blessings that would result from repeal—the necessity for repeal—the impossibility of the country enduring the want of repeal—and the utter hopelessness of any other remedy—all those things powerfully urge you to join with me, and hurrah for the repeal."

Still earlier, in November, O'Brien had used these words :—

"I congratulate you, that *the universal sentiment hitherto exhibited upon this subject has been that we will accept no English charity.* The resources of this country are still abundantly adequate to maintain our population, and until those resources shall have been utterly exhausted, I hope there is no man in Ireland who will so degrade himself as to ask the aid of a subscription from England."

And the sentiment was received with "loud cheers" O'Brien's speech is an earnest and vehement adjuration not to suffer promises of "relief," or vague hopes of English boons to divert the country one moment from the great business of putting an end to the Union. Take one other extract from a speech of O'Connell's :—

"If we had a paternal government, I should be first to counsel the appropriation of a portion of the revenues of Ireland to the wants of the people, and this, too, without very strictly considering whether the whole should be repaid or not. We have an abstract claim to such application of the Irish revenues; but were we to advocate such an arrangement now, we should be mocked and insulted. Therefore, I approach the Government of England on equal terms. I say to the English people: You are the greatest money-lenders in Europe, and I will suppose you to be as determined as Shylock in the play. During the last session of Parliament, an act was passed for the encouragement of drainage in England and Ireland. According to the provisions of that act, any money advanced for the purpose of draining estates takes priority over the other charges affecting those estates; so that whatever amount of money may be so applied becomes the first charge on the estate of the proprietors of Ireland, and thus is its repayment secured beyond all hazard. The Government can borrow as much money as they please on Exchequer bills at not more than three per cent. If they lend it out for the purposes of drainage, they can charge such proprietors as may choose to borrow, interest at the rate of four per cent. They, therefore, will have a clear gain of one per cent., and we shall owe them nothing, but they will stand indebted to us for affording them an opportunity of obtaining an advantageous investment of the capital at their disposal."

All this while, until after the meeting of Parliament, there was no hint as to the intentions of Government; and all this while the new Irish harvest of 1845, (which was particularly abundant,) with immense herds of cattle, sheep, and hogs, quite as usual, was floating off on every tide, out of every one of our thirteen seaports, bound for

England ; and the landlords were receiving their rents, and going to England to spend them ; and many hundreds of poor people had lain down and died on the road-sides for want of food, even before Christmas ; and the famine not yet begun, but expected shortly.*

All eyes were turned to Parliament. The commission of learned naturalists—the inquiries and reports made by means of the constabulary—and various mysterious intimations in the Government newspapers—all tended to produce the belief that the Imperial "Government" was about to charge itself with the whole care and administration of the famine. And so it was—with a vengeance.

Late in January, Parliament assembled. From the Queen's (that is, Sir Robert Peel's,) speech, one thing only was clear—that Ireland was to have a new "Cöercion bill." Extermination of tenantry had been of late more extensive than ever, and, therefore, there had been a few murders of landlords and agents—the most natural and inevitable thing in the world. The Queen says :—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen* :—I have observed with deep regret the very frequent instances in which the crime of deliberate assassination has been of late committed in Ireland.

"It will be your duty to consider whether any measure can be devised, calculated to give increased protection to life, and to bring to justice the perpetrators of so dreadful a crime."

This meant more police, more police-taxes, police-surveillance, and a law that every one should keep at home after dark. The speech goes on to refer to the approaching famine, and declares that Her Majesty had "adopted precautions" for its alleviation. This intimation served still further to make our people turn to "Government" for counsel and for aid. Who can blame them? "Government" had seized upon all our means and resources. It was confidently believed they intended to let us have the use of some part of our own money in this deadly emergency. It was even fondly imagined, by some sanguine persons, that the Government had it in contemplation to stop the export of provisions from Ireland—as the Belgian Legislature had done from Belgium, and the Portuguese from Portugal, until our own people should first be fed. It was not known, in short, what "Government" intended to do, or how far they would go ; all was mystery ; and this very mystery paralyzed such private and local efforts, by charitable persons, as might otherwise have been attempted in Ireland.

The two great leading measures proposed in this Parliament by the administration were, *first*, a Cöercion bill for Ireland, and, *second*, repeal of the Corn laws. This repeal of the duties on foreign corn had long been demanded by the manufacturing and trading interests of England, and had been steadily opposed by the great landed-proprietors. Sir Robert Peel, as a Conservative statesman, had always hitherto vigorously opposed the measure ; but early in this Parliament he suddenly announced himself a convert to free-trade in corn ; and even used the *pretext* of the famine in Ireland to justify himself and carry his measure. He further proposed to abolish the duties on foreign beef, and mutton, and bacon. Shall we exclude any kind of food from our ports, he said, while the Irish are starving?

That is to say, the Premier proposed to cheapen those products which England bought, and which Ireland had to sell. Ireland imported no corn or beef—she exported those commodities. Hitherto she had an advantage over American and other corn-growers in the English market, because there was a duty on foreign, but not on Irish, provisions. Henceforth, the agricultural produce of all the world was to be admitted on the same terms, duty-free ; and precisely to the extent that this would cheapen provisions to the English consumer, it would impoverish the Irish producer. The great mass of the Irish people were almost unacquainted with the taste of bread

* The Census Commissioners admit only five hundred and sixteen "registered deaths," by starvation alone, up to January 1st. There was, at that time, no *registry* for them at all ; and thousands perished, registered by none but the Recording Angel. Besides, the commissioners do not count the much greater numbers who died of typhus fever, the consequence of insufficient nourishment.

and meat; they raised those articles, not to eat, but to sell and pay their rents with. Yet many of the Irish people, stupified by the desolation they saw around them, had cried out for "opening the ports," instead of closing them. The Irish ports were open enough; much too open; and an Irish Parliament, if there had been one, would instantly have closed them in this emergency.

In looking over the melancholy records of those famine years, we find that usually the right view was seized, and the right word said, by William Smith O'Brien. He said, in the Repeal Association:—

"With respect to the proposal before us, I have to remark that it professes to abrogate all protection. It is, in my opinion, a proposal manifestly framed with a view to English rather than Irish interests. About two-thirds of the population of England (that, I believe, is the proportion,) are dependent on manufactures and commerce, directly or indirectly. In this country about nine-tenths of the population are dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly. It is clearly the object of the English Minister to obtain the agricultural produce which the people of this country send to England, at the lowest possible price—that is to say, to give as little as possible of English manufactures and of foreign commodities in return for the agricultural produce of Ireland."

If this *was* the Minister's design, we may appreciate the spirit in which he addressed himself to the "relief measures" for Ireland.

The other measure was the *Cöercion bill*. It authorized the Viceroy to *proclaim* any district in Ireland he might think proper, commanding the people to remain within doors (whether they had houses or not,) from sunset to sunrise;—authorized him to quarter on such district any additional police force he might think needful—to pay rewards to informers and detectives—to pay compensation to the relatives of murdered or injured persons—and to levy the amount of all by *distress* upon the goods of the occupiers, as under the Poor law—with this difference, that whereas under the Poor-law the occupier could deduct a portion of the rate from his rent, under the new law he could not—and with this further difference, that whereas under the Poor law, householders whose cabins were valued under £4 per annum were exempt from the rate, under this law they were not exempt. Thus, every man who had a house, no matter how wretched, was to pay the new tax; and every man was bound to *have* a house; for if found out of doors after sunset, and convicted of that offence, he was to be transported for fifteen years, or imprisoned for three—the court to have the discretion of adding hard labor or solitary confinement.

Now, the first of these two laws, which abolished the preference of Irish grain in the English markets, would, as the Premier well knew, give a great additional stimulus to the consolidation of farms—that is, the ejectment of tenantry; because "high-farming"—farming on a large scale, with the aid of horses and steam, and all the modern agricultural improvements — was what alone would enable Irish agriculturists to compete with all mankind.

The second law would drive the survivors of the ejected people (those who did not die of hunger,) into the poor houses or to America; because, being bound to be at *home* after the sun-set, and having neither house nor home, they would be all in the absolute power of the police, and in continual peril of transportation to the colonies.

By another act of this Parliament, the police force was increased, and taken more immediately into the service of the Crown; the Irish counties were in part relieved from their pay; and they became, in all senses, a portion of the regular army. They amounted to twelve thousand chosen men, well armed and drilled.*

*No population was ever more peaceable than the Irish at this time; but they were assumed to be in an unusually dangerous temper, and to require the especial vigilance of this terrible police-force. To show the pains taken by the authorities for repressing all disturbance, we may give a few sentences out of a manual published in this same year, 1846, by David Duff, Esq., an active police magistrate. It is entitled, "The Constable's Guide":—

"The great point towards efficiency is, that every man should know his duty and do it, and should have a thorough and perfect knowledge of the neighborhood of his station; and men should make themselves not only acquainted with roads and passes, but the *character of all*, which, with a little trouble,

The police were always at the command of sheriffs for executing ejectments; and if they were not in sufficient force, troops of the line could be had from the nearest garrison. No wonder that the London *Times*, within less than three years after, was enabled to say: "Law has ridden roughshod through Ireland: it has been taught with bayonets, and interpreted with ruin. Townships leveled with the ground; straggling columns of exiles, work-houses multiplied and still crowded, express the determination of the Legislature to rescue Ireland from its slovenly old barbarism, and to plant the institutions of this more civilized land"—*meaning England.*

These were the two principal measures for the prudent administration of the famine; but there was also another, purporting to aim more directly at *relief*.

Mr. Secretary Labouchere making his Ministerial statement in Parliament this session, estimated the total money-loss accruing by the potato-blight at sixteen millions sterling. It was about the value of the Irish provisions consumed every year in England. The people likely to be affected by this dearth were always, in ordinary years, on the brink of destruction by famine, and many were every year starved to death. Now, to replace, in some measure, this *absolutely necessary* food by foreign corn, and to pay the higher price of grain over roots, (besides freight,) would have required an appropriation of twenty millions sterling—the same amount which had been devoted, without scruple, to turning of West India negroes wild.

could be easily accomplished. A policeman cannot be considered *perfect* in his civil duty as a constable, who could not, when required, march direct to any house at night.

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"Independent of regular night patrols, whose hours should vary, men should by day take post on hills commanding the houses *of persons having registered arms*, or supposed to be obnoxious. The men so posted will be within view of other parties, so as to cöoperate in pursuit of offenders.

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"Patrols hanging about ditches, plantations, and, above all, visiting the houses of suspicious characters, are most essential.

"The telescope to be taken always on day patrol, and rockets and blue-lights used, as pointed out in the *confidential* memorandum."

The "confidential memorandum" we have not been privileged to see.

England had, for so many years, drawn so vast a tribute from Ireland, (probably eight millions *per annum*, for forty years,) that now, when the consequence of our intercourse with the sister island turned out to be that she grew richer every year, while Ireland, on her side of the account, had accumulated a famine, we claimed that there was something surely *due* to us. It is out of the question to enter here into these multifarious accounts. England beats all mankind in bookkeeping by double entry; and as she has had the keeping of the books, as well as everything else, it has been very difficult even to approximate to the truth. But to those who have followed the course of this narrative, and who call to mind the immense drain, first of provisions, and then of the money paid for those provisions steadily going on, from Ireland to England, since the Union, it will seem quite within bounds to affirm that the value of *one year's* plunder—or the loan of that amount, (if Ireland had had a legislature to effect such a loan,) would have amounted to the needful twenty millions sterling; would have saved Ireland the first year's famine, and made the succeeding famines impossible.

Considering all these things, it was believed not unreasonable, that the common Exchequer of the "Three Kingdoms" (so liberal when it was a question of turning negroes wild,) ought to devote at least as great a sum to the mitigation of so dreadful a calamity as the famine. Accordingly, our people demanded such an appropriation, not as alms, but as a right. The Committee of the Repeal Association for example, said:—

"Your committee beg distinctly to disclaim any participation in appeals to the bounty of England or of Englishmen. They demand, as a right, that a portion of the revenue which Ireland contributes to the state, may be rendered available for the mitigation of a great public calamity."

Up to the meeting of Parliament, the enemy concealed their intentions in mystery; they consulted nobody in Ireland about this Irish emergency, but prepared their plans in silence.

In the meantime, the abundant and magnificent crops of grain and herds of cattle

were going over to England, both earlier in the season and in greater quantities than ever before, for speculators were anxious to realize, and the landlords were pressing for their rents; and agents and bailiffs were down upon the farmers' crops before they could even get them stacked. So the farmers sold them at a disadvantage, in a glutted market, or they were sold for them, by auction, and with costs. The great point was to put the English Channel between the people and the food which Providence had sent them, at the earliest possible moment.

By New Year's Day, it was almost swept off. Up to that date, Ireland sent away and England received, of grain alone, of the crop of 1845—three millions two hundred and fifty thousand *quarters*—besides innumerable cattle;—making a value of at least seventeen millions sterling.*

Now, when Parliament met in January, the sole "remedial measure" proposed by Sir Robert Peel, (besides the Cöercion bill, and the Corn bill, to cheapen bread in England,) was a grant of £50,000 for public works, and another grant of as much for drainage of estates;—both these being grants, *not* to Ireland, but to the "Commissioners of Public Works;" and to be administered not as Irishmen might suggest, but as to the said commissioners might seem good.†

It was the two-hundredth part of what might probably have sufficed to stay the famine. It might have given sensible relief—if honestly administered—to the smallest of the thirty-two counties. How it *was* used, not for relief, but for aggravation of the misery, we shall see hereafter. For that season's famine it was at any rate too late, and before any part of it became available many thousands had died of hunger. The London newspapers complacently stated that the impression "in political circles" was, that two millions of the people must perish before the next harvest.

January, February, and part of March passed away. Nothing was done for relief; but much preparation was made in the way of appointing hosts of commissioners and commissioners' clerks, and preparing the voluminous stationery, schedules, specifications, and red-tape to tie them up neatly, which so greatly embarrass all British official action—a very injurious sort of embarrassment in such a case as the Crimean war, but the very thing that did best service (to the Government) on the present occasion.‡

O'Connell, O'Brien, and some other repeal members, proceeded to London, in March, to endeavor to stir up Ministers, or at least discover what they were intending. In answer to Mr. O'Brien, Sir James Graham enumerated the grants and loans I have above mentioned; and added something about other public moneys, which, he said, were also available for relief of distress; adding:—

"Instructions have been given on the responsibility of the Government, to meet every emergency. It would not be expedient for me to detail those instructions; but I may state, generally, there is no portion of this distress, however wide-spread or lamentable, on which Government have not endeavored, on their own responsibility, to take the best precautions, to give the best directions of which circumstances could admit."

O'Brien had just come from Ireland, where he had anxiously watched the progress of the "relief measures," and of the famine; he had seen that while the latter was quick, the former were slow—in fact, they had not then appeared in Ireland at all; but the very announcement that Government intended to interpose in some decisive manner, had greatly hastened collection of rents and ejectment of tenants; and both hunger, and its sure attendant, the typhus, were sweeping them off rapidly. British Ministers listened to all he could say, with a calm, incredulous smile. "Have

* *Thom's Official Directory.* It appears, even in that Government publication, that the export of grain from Ireland to England was considerably *greater* in this first famine year, (1845,) than it had been in any year before. So that the famine is not at all a mysterious dispensation of Providence.

† O'Connell pointed out that the Quit and Crown rents drawn from Ireland last year, and spent at that time in beautifying Trafalgar square and Windsor Castle, amounted to more than £60,000.

‡ In April of next year, (1846,) Jones, Twisleton, &c., were enabled to report that they had sent to Ireland "ten thousand books—besides fourteen tons of paper."

we not told you," they said, "we have sent persons—Englishmen, reliable men—to inquire into all those matters? Are we not going to meet every emergency?"

"Mr. W. S. O'Brien was bound to say, with regard to the sums of money mentioned by the right honorable baronet, as having been, on a former occasion, voted by the House for the relief of Ireland, that as far as his own information went, not one single guinea had ever been expended from those sources. He was also bound to tell the right honorable baronet that one hundred thousand of his fellow-creatures in Ireland were famishing."

And here the report adds: The honorable gentleman, who appeared to labor under deep emotion, paused for a short time. Doubtless, it was bitter to that haughty spirit to plead for his plundered people, as it were *in formâ pauperis*, before the plunderers; and their vulgar pride was soothed; but soon it was wounded again, for he added:—

"Under such circumstances did it not become the House to consider of the way in which they could deal with the crisis? He would tell them frankly—and it was a feeling participated in by the majority of Irishmen—that he was not disposed to appeal to their generosity in the matter. They had taken, and they had tied, the purse-strings of the Irish purse!"

Whereupon the report records that there were cries of *oh! oh!* They were scandalized at the idea of Ireland having a purse.

Notwithstanding this repeated repudiation of alms, all the appropriations of Parliament, purporting to be for relief, but really calculated for aggravation of the Irish famine, were persistently called alms by the English press. These Irish, they said, are never done craving alms. It is true, they did not *answer* our statement that we only demanded a small part of what was due; they chose to assume that the Exchequer was *their* Exchequer;—neither did they think it fit to remember that Mr. O'Brien, and such as he, were by no means suffering from famine themselves, but were retrenching the expenses of their households at home to relieve those who were suffering. To the common English intellect it was enough to present this one idea—here are these starving Irish coming over to beg from *you*.

Thus, it will be easy to appreciate the feelings which then prevailed in the two islands—in Ireland, a vague and dim sense that we were somehow robbed—in England, a still more vague and blundering idea, that an impudent beggar was demanding their money, with a scowl in his eye and a threat upon his tongue.

In truth, only a few, either in England or in Ireland, fully understood the bloody game on the board. The two cardinal principles of the British policy in this business seem to have been these two: *First*, strict adherence to the principles of "political economy;" and, *second*, making the whole administration of the famine a Government concern. "Political economy" became, about the time of the repeal of the Corn laws, a favorite study, or rather, indeed, the creed and gospel of England. Women and young boys were learned in its saving doctrines; one of the most fundamental of which was, "there must be no interference with the natural course of trade." It was seen that this maxim would insure the transfer of the Irish wheat and beef to England; for that was what they called the natural course of trade. Moreover, this maxim would forbid the Government, or relief committees, to sell provisions in Ireland any lower than the market price—for this is an interference with the enterprize of private speculators; it would forbid the employment of Government ships—for this troubles individual ship owners; and further, and lastly, it was found, (this invaluable maxim,) to require that the public works to be executed by laborers employed with borrowed public money, should be unproductive works; that is, works which would create no fund to pay their own expenses. There were many railroad companies at that time in Ireland that had got their charters; their roads have been made since; but it was in vain they asked then for Government advances, which they could have well secured, and soon paid off; the thing could not be done. Lending money to Irish railroad companies would be a discrimination against English companies—flat interference with private enterprize.

The other great leading idea completed Sir Robert's policy. It was to make the famine a strictly Government concern. The famine was to be administered strictly through officers of the Government, from high commissioners down to policemen. Even the Irish General Relief Committee, and other local committees of charitable persons who were exerting themselves to raise funds to give employment, were either induced to act in subordination to a Government Relief Committee, which sat in Dublin Castle—or else were deterred from importation of food, by the announcement in Parliament that the *Government* had given orders somewhere for the purchase of foreign corn. For instance, the Mayor of Cork, and some principal inhabitants of that city, hurried to Dublin, and waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, representing that the local committee had applied for some portion of the Parliamentary loans, but "were refused assistance on some points of official form—that the people of that county were already famishing, and both food and labor were urgently needed. Lord Heytesbury simply recommended that they should communicate at once with the *Government* Relief Committee"—as for the rest, that they should consult the Board of Works. Thus every possible delay and official difficulty was interposed against the efforts of local bodies—Government was to do all. These things, together with the new measure for an increase in the police force, (who were the main administrative agents throughout the country,) led many persons to the conclusion that the enemy had resolved to avail themselves of the famine in order to increase Governmental supervision and *espionnage;* so that every man, woman, and child in Ireland, with all their goings out and comings it, might be thoroughly known and registered—that when the mass of the people began to starve, their sole resource might be the police barracks — that Government might be all in all; omnipotent to give food or withhold it, to relieve or to starve, according to their own ideas of policy and of good behavior in the people.

It is needless to point out that Government patronage also was much extended by this system; and by the middle of the next year, 1847, there were ten thousand men salaried out of Parliamentary loans and grants for relief of the poor—as commissioners, inspectors, clerks, and so forth and some of them with salaries equal to that of an American Secretary of State. So many of the middle classes had been dragged down almost to insolvency by the ruin of the country, that they began to be eager for the smaller places, as clerks and inspectors; for those ten thousand officers, then, it was estimated there were one hundred thousand applicants and canvassers—so much clear gain from "repeal."

The Repeal Association continued its regular meetings and never ceased to represent that the true remedies for Irish famine were tenant-right—the stoppage of export—and repeal of the Union;—and as those were really the true and only remedies, it was clear they were the only expedients which an English Parliament would *not* try. The repeal members gained a kind of Parliamentary victory, however, this spring;—they caused the defeat of the Cöercion bill, with the aid of the Whigs. Sir Robert Peel had very cunningly, as he thought, made this bill precede the Corn Law Repeal bill; and as the English public was all now most eager for the cheapening of bread, he believed that all parties would make haste to pass his favorite measure first. The Irish members went to London, and knowing they could not influence legislation otherwise, organized a sort of mere mechanical resistance against the Cöercion bill; that is, they opposed first reading, second reading, third reading, opposed its being referred to committee, moved endless amendments, made endless speeches, and insisted upon dividing the House on every clause. In vain it was represented to them that this was only delaying the Corn law repeal, which would "cheapen bread." O'Brien replied that it would only cheapen bread to Englishmen, and enable them to devour more and more of the Irish bread, and give less for it. In vain Ministers told them they were stopping public business—they answered that English business was no business of theirs. In vain their courtesy was invoked. They could not afford to be courteous in such a case, and their sole

errand in London was to resist an atrocious and torturing tyranny threatened against their poor countrymen.

Just before this famous debate, there had been very extensive clearing of tenantry in Connaught; and, in particular, one case, in which a Mrs. Gerrard had, with the aid of the troops and police, destroyed a whole village, and thrown out two hundred and seventy persons on the high road. The *Nation* thus improved the circumstances with reference to the "Cöercion bill":—

"Some Irish member, for instance, may point to the two hundred and seventy persons thrown out of house and home the other day in Galway, and in due form of law, (for it was all perfectly legal,) turned adrift in their desperation upon the wide world—and may ask the Minister, if any of these two hundred and seventy commit a robbery on the highway—if any of them murder the bailiff who, (in exercise of his duty,) flung out their naked children to perish in the winter's sleet—if any of them, maddened by wolfish famine, break into a dwelling-house, and forcibly take food to keep body and soul together, or arms for vengeance—what will you do? How will you treat that district? Will you, indeed, *proclaim* it? Will you mulct the householders, (not yet ejected,) in a heavy fine, to compound for the crimes of those miserable outcasts, to afford food and shelter to whom they wrong their own children in this hard season? Besides sharing with those wretches his last potato, is the poor cottier to be told that he is to *pay* for policemen to watch them day and night—that he is to make atonement in money, (though his spade and poor bedding should be auctioned to make it up,) for any outrage that may be done in the neighborhood?—but that these GERRARDS are not to pay one farthing for all this—for, perhaps, their property is incumbered, and, it may be, they find it hard enough to pay their interest, and keep up such establishments, in town and country, as befit their rank? And will you, indeed, issue your commands that those houseless and famishing two hundred and seventy —after their roof-trees were torn down, and the ploughshare run through the foundations of their miserable hovels—are to be *at home* from sunset to sunrise?—that if found straying, the jails and the penal colonies are ready for their reception?"

It was precisely with a view to meet such cases that the Cöercion bill had been devised. The English Whigs, and, at length, the indignant Protectionists, too, joined the repealers in this resistance—not to spare Ireland, but to defeat Sir Robert Peel, and get into his place. And they did defeat Sir Robert Peel, and get into his place. Whereupon, it was not long before Lord John Russell and the Whigs devised a new and more murderous Cöercion bill for Ireland themselves.

It was on the 25th of May, that the Cöercion bill for Ireland was defeated—the first Cöercion bill for Ireland that was ever refused by a British Parliament; and it was rejected, not by the exertions of Ireland's friends, but by political combinations of her enemies.

Sir Robert Peel immediately resigned office, and left the responsibility of dealing with the Irish affair to the Whigs. He knew he might do so safely. His system was inaugurated. His two great ideas—free trade and police administration—were fully recognized by the Whigs; and Lord John Russell was even a blind bigot about what he imagined to be political economy. This "liberal" statesman never had an idea of his own; and as the system of Sir Robert Peel was really the true and only English method of dealing with the Irish difficulty, it was quite certain that the Whigs would not only adopt it, but improve upon it.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

CHAPTER LIX.

1846—1847.

Progress of the Famine Carnage—Pretended Relief Measures—Imprisonment of O'Brien—Dissensions in Repeal Association—Break up of that Body—Ravages of Famine—"Labor-Rate Act"—Useless Public Works—Extermination—Famine of 1847—How they lived in England—Advances from the Treasury—Attempts of Foreign Countries to Relieve the Famine—Defeated by British Government—Vagrancy Act—Parish Coffins—Constant Repudiation of Alms—An Englishman's Petition for Alms to Ireland—"Ingratitude" of the Irish—Death of O'Connell—Preparations to Insure the Next Year's Famine—Emigration—British Famine Policy—New Cöercion Act called for—Famine in Ireland.

In the first year of the famine, then, we find that the measures proposed by the English Government were, *first*, repeal of the Corn laws, which depreciated Ireland's only article of export; *second*, a new Cöercion law, to torture and transport the people; and, *third*, a grant of £100,000 to certain clerks or commissioners, chiefly for their own profit, and from which the starving people derived no benefit whatever. Yet, Ireland was taunted with this grant, as if it were *alms* granted to her. Double the sum (£200,000,) was, *in the same session*, appropriated for Battersea Park, a suburban place of recreation much resorted to by Londoners.

It is to be observed that all the employment to be provided for the poor under this first "Relief act," was to be given under the order and control of English officials; further, the professions of "Government"—that *they* had taken all needful measures to guard against famine—had made people rely upon them for everything, and thus turned the minds of thousands upon thousands from work of their own, which they might have attempted if left to themselves. This sort of government spoon-feeding is highly demoralizing; and for *one* who derived any relief from it, one thousand neglected their own industry in the pursuit of it.

In truth, the amount of relief offered by these grants was infinitesimally small, when we consider the magnitude of the calamity, and had no other effect than to unsettle the minds of the peasantry, and make them more careless about holding on to their farms.

It is true, also, that the Government did, to a certain small extent, speculate in Indian corn, and did send a good many cargoes of it to Ireland, and form depôts of it at several points; but as to this, also, their mysterious intimations had led all the world to believe they would provide very large quantities, whereas, in fact, the quantity imported by them was inadequate to supply the loss of the grain *exported* from any one county; and a Government ship, sailing into any harbor with Indian corn, was sure to meet half a dozen sailing out with Irish wheat and cattle. The effect of this, therefore, was only to blind the people to the fact, that England was exacting her tribute as usual, famine or no famine. The effect of both combined was to engender a dependent and pauper spirit, and to free England from all anxiety about "repeal." A landless, hungry *pauper* cannot afford to think of the honor of his country, and cares nothing about a national flag.

How powerfully the whole of this systen and procedure contributed to accomplish the great end of uprooting the people from the soil, one can readily understand. The exhibition and profession of public "relief" for the destitute, stifled compunction in the landlords; and agents, bailiffs, and police swept whole districts with the besom of destruction.

Another act had been done by Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, just before retiring, with a view of breaking up the Repeal Association. This was the imprisonment of Mr. Smith O'Brien several weeks in the cellar of the House of Commons. It grievously irritated the enemy that O'Connell, O'Brien, and the Repeal members, still continued to absent themselves from Parliament. The House of Commons tried various methods of persuading or cöercing them to London. Mr. Hume had written them a friendly letter, imploring them to come over to their legislative duties, and *he* would aid them in obtaining justice for Ireland. A "call of the House" was proposed; but they declared beforehand, that if there were a call of the House they would not obey it, and the Sergeant-at-Arms must come to Ireland

for them—he would find them in Conciliation Hall. They were nominated on English Railroad Committees, and the proper officer had intimated to them the fact. They replied that they were attending to more important business. Now, when they went over to oppose the Cöercion bill, it was understood that this was to be their sole errand, and they were not to engage themselves in the ordinary details of legislation. But they were not long in London before the opportunity was seized to place their names on Railway Committees. O'Connell and his son both obeyed the call. O'Brien, of course, refused, and was imprisoned in the cellar for "contempt."

London and all England were highly pleased and entertained. The press was brilliant upon the great "Brian Boru" in a cellar; and Mr. O'Brien was usually afterwards termed—with that fine sarcasm so characteristic of English genius—the "martyr of the cellar."

Instantly arose dissension in the Repeal Association. To approve and fully sustain O'Brien's action in refusing to serve, would be to censure O'Connell for serving. In that body a sort of unsatisfactory compromise was made, but the "Eighty-Two Club," where the *young* party was stronger, voted a warm address of full approval to O'Brien, (who was a member of the club,) and dispatched several members to present it to him in his dungeon.

The divisions in O'Connell's association were soon brought to a crisis when the Whigs came in. O'Connell instantly gave up all agitation of the Repeal question, and took measures to separate himself from those "juvenile members" who, as he declared, Lord John Russell had asserted were plotting not only to repeal the Union, but to sever the connection with England, ("the golden link of the Crown,") and that by *physical force.* All this famous controversy seems now of marvelously small moment; but a very concise narrative of it may be found in Mr. O'Brien's words, which will be enough:—

"Negotiations were opened between Mr. O'Connell and the Whigs at Chesham Place. 'Young Ireland' protested, in the strongest terms, against an alliance with the Whigs. Mr. O'Connell took offence at the language used by Mr. Meagher and others. When I arrived in Dublin, after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, I learned that he contemplated a rupture with the writers of the *Nation.* Before I went to the County of Clare, I communicated, through Mr. Ray, a special message to Mr. O'Connell, who was then absent from Dublin, to the effect, that though I was most anxious to preserve a neutral position, I could not silently acquiesce in any attempt to expel the *Nation* or its party from the association. Next came the Dungarvan election, and the new "moral force" resolutions. I felt it my duty to protest against both at the Kilrush dinner. Upon my return to Dublin, I found a public letter from Mr. O'Connell, formally denouncing the *Nation;* and no alternative was left me but to declare, that if that letter were acted upon, I could not cöoperate any longer with the Repeal Association. The celebrated two-day debate then took place. Mr. J. O'Connell opened an attack upon the *Nation* and upon its adherents. Mr. Mitchel and Mr Meagher defended themselves in language which, it seemed to me, did not transgress the bounds of decorum or of legal safety. Mr. John O'Connell interrupted Mr. Meagher in his speech, and declared that he could not allow him to proceed with the line of argument necessary to sustain the principles which had been arraigned. I protested against this interruption. Mr. J. O'Connell then gave us to understand that unless Mr. Meagher desisted, he must leave the hall. I could not acquiesce in this attempt to stifle a fair discussion, and sooner than witness the departure of Mr. J. O'Connell from an association founded by his father, I preferred to leave the assembly." *

When O'Brien left the assembly, he was accompanied by his friends, and there was an end of the Repeal Association, save as a machinery of securing offices for O'Connell's dependents. Even for that purpose it was not efficient; because it had too clearly become impotent and hollow; there was no danger in it, and Ministers would not buy a patriot in that market, unless at a very low figure.

* Mr. O'Brien's letter to Dr. Miley December, 1846.

In the meantime, the famine and the fever raged; many landlords regained possession without so much as an ejectment, because the tenant died of hunger; and the county coroners, before the end of this year, were beginning to strike work—they were so often called to sit upon famine-slain corpses. The verdict—"Death by starvation"—became so familiar that the county newspapers sometimes omitted to record it; and travelers were often appalled when they came upon some lonely village by the western coast, with the people all skeletons upon their own hearths. Irish landlords are not all monsters of cruelty. Thousands of them, indeed, kept far away from the scene, collected their rents through agents and bailiffs, and spent them in England or in Paris. But the resident landlords and their families did, in many cases, devote themselves to the task of saving their poor people alive. Many remitted their rents, or half their rents; and ladies kept their servants busy and their kitchens smoking with continual preparation of food for the poor. Local committees soon purchased all the corn in the Government depôts, (at market price, however,) and distributed it gratuitously. Clergymen, both Protestant and Catholic, generally did their duty; except those absentee clergymen, bishops, and wealthy rectors, who usually reside in England, their services being not needed in the places from whence they draw their wealth. But many a poor rector and his curate shared their crust with their suffering neighbors; and priests, after going round all day administering Extreme Unction to whole villages at once, all dying of mere starvation, often themselves went supperless to bed.

The details of this frightful famine, as it ravaged those western districts, need not be narrated. It is enough to say that in this year, 1846, aot less than three hundred thousand perished, either of mere hunger, or of typhus fever caused by hunger. But, as t has ever since been the main object of the British Government to conceal the amount of the carnage, (which, indeed, they ought to do if they can,) we find that the Census Commissioners, in their report for 1851, admit only two thousand and forty-one "registered" deaths by famine alone.

A Whig Ministry, however, was now in power; and the people were led to expect great efforts on the part of Government to stay the progress of ruin. In August, it became manifest that the potato-crop of '46 was also a total failure; but the products otherwise were most abundant—much more than sufficient to feed all the people. Again, therefore, it became the urgent business of British policy to promise large "relief," so as to insure that the splendid harvest should be allowed peacefully to be shipped to England as before; and the first important measure of the Whigs was to propose a renewal of the *Disarming act*, and a further increase in the police force. Apparently, the outcry raised against this had the effect of shaming Ministers, for they suddenly dropped the bill for this time. But the famine could not be correctly administered without a Cöercion bill of some sort; so the next year they devised a machinery of this kind, the most stringent and destructive that had yet been prescribed for Ireland. In the meantime, for "relief" of the famine, they brought forward their famous *Labor-Rate act*.

This was, in few words, an additional Poor-rate, payable by the same persons liable to the other Poor-rates; the proceeds to be applied to the execution of such public works as *the Government* might choose; the control and superintendence to be intrusted to *Government officers*. Money was to be, in the meantime, advanced from the Treasury, in order to set the people immediately to work; and that advance was to be repaid in ten years by means of the increased rate. There was to be an *appearance* of local control, inasmuch as barony sessions of landlords and justices were to have power to meet, (under the Lord-Lieutenant's order,) and suggest any works they might think needful, provided these were strictly unproductive works; but the control of all was to be in the Government alone.

Now, the class which suffered most from the potato-blight consisted of those small farmers who were barely able, in ordinary years, to keep themselves above starvation

after paying their rents. These people, by the Labor-Rate act, had an additional tax laid on them ; and not being able to pay it, could but quit their holdings, sink to the class of able-bodied paupers, and enrol themselves in a gang of Government *navvys* —thus, throwing themselves for support upon those who still strove to maintain themselves by their own labor on their own land.

In addition to the proceeds of the new Poor-rate, Parliament appropriated a further sum of £50,000, to be applied in giving work in some absolutely pauper districts, where there was no hope of ever raising rates to repay it. £50,000 was just the sum which was that same year voted out of the English and Irish revenue to improve the buildings of the British Museum.

So there was to be *more* Poor law, more commissioners, (this time under the title of Additional Public Works Commissioners ;) innumerable officials in the public works, commissariat and constabulary departments; and no end of stationery and red tape—*all* to be paid out of the rates. On the whole, it was hoped that provision was made for stopping the "Irish howl" this one season.

Irishmen of all classes had almost universally condemned the Poor law at first ; so, as they did not like Poor law, they were to have *more* Poor law. Society in Ireland was to be reconstructed on the basis of Poor-rates, and a broad foundation of able-bodied pauperism. It did not occur to the English—and it never will occur to them—that the way to stop Irish destitution is to repeal the Union, so that Irishmen might make their own laws, use their own resources, regulate their own industry. It was in vain, however, that anybody in Ireland remonstrated. In vain that such journals as were of the popular party condemned the whole scheme. The *Nation* of that date treats it thus :—

"Unproductive work to be executed with borrowed money—a ten years' mortgage of a new tax, to pay for cutting down hills and filling them up again—a direct impost upon landed-proprietors in the most offensive form, to feed all the rest of the population, impoverishing the rich without benefitting the poor—not creating, not developing, but merely transferring, and in the transfer wasting the means of all—perhaps human ingenuity, sharpened by intensest malignity, could contrive no more deadly and unerring method of arraying class against class in diabolical hatred, making them look on one another with wolfish eyes, as if to prepare the way for "*aristocrates à la lanterne*"—killing individual enterprise—discouraging private improvement—dragging down employers and employed, proprietors, farmers, mechanics, and cottiers, to one common and irretrievable ruin."

It may seem astonishing that the gentry of Ireland did not rouse themselves at this frightful prospect, and universally demand the repeal of the Union. They were the same class, sons of the same men, who had, in 1782, wrested the independence of Ireland from the English Government, and enjoyed the fruits of that independence in honor, wealth, and prosperity for eighteen years ! Why not now ? It is because, in 1782 the Catholics of Ireland counted a nothing, now they are numerous, enfranchised, exasperated ; and the Irish landlords dare not trust themselves in Ireland without British support. They looked on tamely, therefore, and saw this deliberate scheme for the pauperization of a nation. They knew it would injure themselves ; but they took the injury, took insult along with it, and submitted to be reproached for begging *alms*, when they demanded restitution of a part of their own means.

Over the whole island, for the next few months, was a scene of confused and wasteful attempts at relief—bewildered barony sessions striving to understand the voluminous directions, schedules, and specifications, under which alone they could vote their own money to relieve the poor at their own doors ; but generally making mistakes, for the unassisted human faculties never could comprehend those ten thousand books and fourteen tons of paper ; insolent commissioners and inspectors and clerks snubbing them at every turn, and ordering them to study the documents ; efforts on the part of the proprietors to expend some of the rates at least on useful works, reclaiming land or the like, which efforts were always met

with flat refusal and a lecture on political economy, (for political economy, it seems, declared that the works must be strictly useless—as cutting down a road where there was no hill, or building a bridge where there was no water—until many good roads became impassable on account of pits and trenches ;) plenty of jobbing and peculation all this while ; and the laborers, having the example of a great public fraud before their eyes, themselves defrauding their fraudulent employers — quitting agricultural pursuits and crowding to the public works, where they pretended to be cutting down hills and filling up hollows, and with tongue in cheek received half wages for doing nothing. So the labor was wasted ; the laborers were demoralized ; and the *next* year's famine was insured.

Now began to be a rage for extermination beyond any former time ; and many thousands of the peasants who could still scrape up the means, fled to the sea, as if pursued by wild beasts, and betook themselves to America. The British army, also, received numberless recruits this year, (for it is sound English policy to keep our people so low that a shilling a day would tempt them to fight for the Devil, not to say the Queen,) and insane mothers began to eat their young children, who died of famine before them—and still fleets of ships were sailing with every tide, carrying Irish cattle and corn to England. There was also a large importation of grain from England into Ireland, especially of Indian corn ; and the speculators and ship-owners had a good time. Much of the grain thus brought to Ireland had been previously exported *from* Ireland, and came back laden with merchants' profits, and double freights, and insurance, to the helpless people who had sowed and reaped it. This is what commerce and free trade did for Ireland in those days.

Two facts, however, are essential to be borne in mind—*first*, that the nett result of this importation, exportation, and reimportation (though many a ship-load was carried four times across the Irish Sea, as prices "invited" it,) was, that England finally received the harvests to the same amount as before ; and, *second*, that she gave Ireland—under free trade in corn—less for it than ever. In other words, it took more of the Irish produce to buy a piece of cloth from a Leeds manufacturer, or to buy a rent-receipt from an absentee proprietor.

Farmers could do without the cloth, but as for the rent-receipts, these they must absolutely buy ; for the bailiff, with his police, was usually at the door, even before the fields were reaped ; and he, and the Poor-rate Collector, and the Additional Poor-rate Collector, and the County-cess Collector, and the Process-server with decrees, were all to be paid out of the first proceeds. If it took the farmer's whole crop to pay them, which it usually did, he had, at least, a pocketful of receipts, and might see lying in the next harbor, the very ship that was to carry his entire harvest and his last cow to England.

What wonder that so many farmers gave up the effort in despair, and sunk to paupers? Many Celts were cleared off this year, and the campaign was, so far, successful.

The winter of 1846–7, and succeeding spring, were employed in a series of utterly unavailing attempts to use the "Labor-rate act," so as to afford some sensible relief to the famishing people. Sessions were held, as provided by the act, and the landed-proprietors liberally imposed rates to repay such Government advances as they thought needful ; but the unintelligible directions constantly interrupted them, and, in the meantime, the peasantry, in the wild, blind hope of public relief, were abandoning their farms, and letting the land lie idle.

Even the Tory or British party in Ireland furnish ample testimony to this deplorable state of things. From Limerick we learn, through the Dublin *Evening Mail* :—

"There is not a laborer employed in the county, except on public works ; and there is every prospect of the lands remaining untilled and unsown for the next year."

In Cork, writes the *Cork Constitution* : "The good intentions of the Government are frustrated by the worst regulations—regulations which, diverting labor from its legitimate channels, left the fields without hands to prepare them for the harvest."

At a Presentment Session in Shanagold

en, after a hopeless discussion as to what possible meaning could be latent in the Castle "instructions," and "supplemental instructions," the Knight of Glin, a landlord of those parts, said that, "While on the subject of mistakes," he might as well mention, "on the Glin road, some people are filling up the original cutting of a hill with the stuff they had taken out of it. That's another slice out of our £450."

Which he and the other proprietors of that barony had *to pay*. For you must bear in mind, that all the advances under this act were to be strictly *loans*, repayable by the rates, secured by the whole value of the land—and at higher interest than the Government borrowed the money so advanced.

The innocent Knight of Glin ascribed the perversions of labor to "mistake." But there was no mistake at all. Digging holes and filling them up again was precisely the kind of work prescribed in such case by the principles of political economy; and then there were innumerable regulations to be attended to before even this kind of work could be given. The Board of Works would have the roads torn up with such tools as they approved of, and none other; that is, with picks and short shovels, and picks and short shovels were manufactured in England, and sent over by ship loads for that purpose, to the great profit of the hardware merchants in Birmingham. Often there were no adequate supply of these on the spot; then the work was to be *task-work*, and the poor people, delving macadamized roads with spades and turf-cutters, could not earn as much as would keep them alive, though, luckily, they were thereby disabled from destroying so much good road.

That all interests in the country were swiftly rushing to ruin was apparent to all. A committee of lords and gentlemen was formed, called "Reproductive Committee," to urge upon the Government that, if the country was to tax itself to supply public work, the labor ought, in some cases at least, to be employed upon tasks that might be of use. This movement was so far successful that it elicited a letter from the Castle, authorizing such application, but with supplemental instructions, so intricate and occult, that this also was fruitless.

And the people perished more rapidly than ever. The famine of 1847 was far more terrible and universal than that of the previous year. The Whig Government, bound by political economy, absolutely refused to interfere with market prices, and the merchants and speculators were never so busy on both sides of the channel. In this year it was that the Irish famine began to be a world's wonder; and men's hearts were moved in the uttermost ends of the earth by the recital of its horrors. The London *Illustrated News* began to be adorned with engravings of tottering windowless hovels in Skibbereen, and elsewhere, with naked wretches dying on a truss of wet straw; and the constant language of English Ministers and members of Parliament created the impression abroad that Ireland was in need of *alms*, and nothing but alms; whereas, Irishmen themselves uniformly protested that what they required was a repeal of the Union, so that the English might cease to devour their substance.

It may be interesting to know how the English people were faring all this while; and whether "that portion of the United Kingdom," as it is called, suffered much by the famine in Ireland and in Europe. Authentic *data* upon this point are to be found in the financial statement of Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in February, 1847. In that statement he declares—and he tells it, he says, with great satisfaction—that "the English people and working classes" were steadily growing more comfortable, nay, more luxurious in their style of living. He goes into particulars, even, to show how rapidly a taste for good things spreads amongst English laborers, and bids his hearers "recollect that consumption could not be accounted for by attributing it to the higher and wealthier classes, but must have arisen from the consumption of the large body of the people and the working classes."

In the matter of *coffee*, they had used nearly seven million pounds of it more than they did in 1843; of *butter* and *cheese*, they devoured double as much within the year as they had done three years before within the same period. "I will next," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "take *cur-*

rants," (for currants are one of the necessaries of life to an English laborer, who must have his pudding on Sunday at least ;) and we find that the quantity of currants used by the "body of the people and working classes," had increased, in three years, from two hundred and fifty-four thousand hundred weight to three hundred and fifty-nine thousand hundred weight, by the year. Omitting other things, we come to the Chancellor's statement, that since 1843, the consumption of *tea* had increased by five million four hundred thousand pounds. It is unnecessary to say they had as much beef and bacon as they could eat, and bread *à discrétion*—and beer !

This statement was read by Sir Charles Wood, at the end of a long speech, in which he announced the necessity of raising an additional loan to keep life in some of the surviving Irish ; and he read it expressly in order "to dispel some portion of the gloom which had been cast over the minds of members," by being told that a portion of the surplus revenue must go to pay interest on a slight addition to the national debt. And the gloom *was* dispelled ; and honorable members comforted themselves with the reflection, that whatever be the nominal debt of the country, after all, a man of the working classes can ask no more than a good dinner every day, and a pudding on Sundays.

One would not grudge the English laborer his dinner, or his tea ; and we refer to his excellent table only to bid the reader remark that during those same three years, exactly as fast as the English people and working classes advanced to luxury, the Irish people and working classes sank to starvation ; and further, that the Irish people were still sowing and reaping what they of the sister island so contentedly devoured, to the value of at least £17,000,000 sterling.

As an English farmer, artizan, or laborer, began to insist on tea in the morning as well as in the evening, an Irish farmer, artizan, or laborer, found it necessary to live on one meal a day ; for every Englishman who added to his domestic expenditure by a pudding thrice a week, an Irishman had to retrench *his* to cabbage leaves and turnip tops ; as dyspepsia creeps into England, dysentery ravages Ireland ; "and the exact correlative of a Sunday dinner in England is a coroner's inquest in Ireland."

Ireland, however, was to have "alms." The English would not see their useful drudges perish at their very door for want of a trifle of alms. So the Ministry announced in this month of February, a new loan of ten millions, to be used from time to time for relief of Irish famine—the half of the advances to be repaid by rates—the other half to be a grant from the treasury to feed able-bodied paupers for doing useless work, or no work at all. As to this latter half of the ten millions, English newspapers and members of Parliament said that it was so much English money granted to Ireland. This, of course, was a falsehood. It was a loan raised by the Imperial Treasury, on a mortgage of the taxation of the Three Kingdoms ; and the principal of it, like the rest of the "national debt," was not intended to be ever repaid ; and as for the interest, Ireland would have to pay her proportion of it, as a matter of course.

This last act was the *third* of the "Relief measures" contrived by the British Parliament, and the most destructive of all. It was to be put in operation as a system of out-door relief ; and the various local boards of Poor Law Guardians, if they could only understand the documents, were to have some apparent part in its administration, but all, as usual, under the absolute control of the Poor Law Commissioners, and of a new board—namely, Sir John Burgoyne, an engineer ; Sir Randolph Routh, Commissary-General ; Mr. Twisleton, a Poor Law Commissioner ; two Colonels, called Jones and M'Gregor, Police Inspectors ; and Mr. Redington, Under-Secretary.

In the administration of this system there were to be many thousands of officials, great and small. The largest salaries were for Englishmen ; but the smaller were held up as an object of ambition to Irishmen ; and it is very humiliating to remember what eager and greedy multitudes were always canvassing and petitioning for these.

In the new act of the out-door relief, there was one significant clause. It was, that if any farmer who held land should be forced to apply for aid under this act, for himself and

his family, he should not have it until he had first given up all his land to the landlord—except one quarter of an acre. It was called the quarter-acre clause, and was found the most efficient and the cheapest of all the Ejectment acts. Farms were thereafter daily given up, without the formality of a notice to quit, or summons before Quarter Sessions.

On the 6th of March, there were seven hundred and thirty thousand *heads* of families on the public works. Provision was made by the last recited act for dismissing these in batches. On the 10th of April, the number was reduced to five thousand seven hundred and twenty-three. Afterwards, batches of a hundred thousand or so were in like manner dismissed. Most of these had now neither house nor home; and their only resource was in the out-door relief. For this they were ineligible, if they held but one rood of land. Under the new law it was able-bodied idlers only who were to be fed—to attempt to till even a rood of ground was death.

Steadily, but surely, the "Government" was working out its calculation; and the product anticipated by "political circles" was likely to come out about September, in round numbers—*two millions of Irish corpses.*

That "Government" had at length got into its own hands all the means and materials for working this problem, is now plain. There was no longer any danger of the elements of the account being disturbed by external interference of any kind. At one time, indeed, there were odds against the Government sum coming out right; for charitable people in England and America, indignant at the thought of a nation perishing of political economy, did contribute generously, and did full surely believe that every pound they subscribed would give Irish famine twenty shillings worth of bread; they thought so, and poured in their contributions, and their prayers and blessings with them.

In vain! "Government" and political economy got hold of the contributions, and disposed of them in such fashion as to prevent their deranging the calculations of political circles.

For example, the vast supplies of food purchased by the "British Relief Association," with the money of charitable Christians in England, were everywhere locked up in Government stores. Government, it seems, contrived to influence or control the managers of that fund; and thus, there were thousands of tons of food rotting within the stores of Haulbowline, at Cork Harbor; and tens of thousands rotting without. For the market must be followed, not led, (to the prejudice of Liverpool merchants!)—private speculation must not be disappointed, nor the calculations of political circles falsified!

All the nations of the earth might be defied to feed or relieve Ireland, beset by such a Government as this. America tried another plan;—the ship Jamestown sailed into Cork Harbor, and discharged a large cargo, which actually began to come into consumption; when lo! Free Trade—another familiar demon of Government—Free Trade, that carried off our own harvests of the year before—comes in, freights another ship, and carries off from Cork to Liverpool, a cargo *against* the American cargo. For the private speculators must be compensated; the markets must not be *led;* if these Americans will not give England their corn to lock up, then she defeats them by "the natural laws of trade!" So many Briarean hands has Government—so surely do official persons work their account.

Private charity, one might think, in a country like Ireland, would put out the calculating Government sadly; but that, too, was brought in great measure under control. The "Temporary Relief act," *talking* of eight millions of money, (*to be used if needed,*)—distributing, like Cumæan Sybil, its mystic leaves by the myriad and the million—setting charitable people everywhere to con its pamphlets, and compare clause with clause—putting everybody in terror of its rates, and in horror of its inspectors—was likely to pass the summer bravely. It would begin to be partly understood about August, would expire in September;—and in September, the "the persons connected with Government" expected their round two millions of carcasses.

A further piece of the machinery, all

working to the same great end, was the "Vagrancy act," for the punishment of vagrants—that is, of about four millions of the inhabitants—by hard labor, "for any time not exceeding one month."

Many poor people were escaping to England, as deck passengers, on board the numerous steamers, hoping to earn their living by labor there; but "Government" took alarm about typhus fever—a disease not intended for England. Orders in Council were suddenly issued, subjecting all vessels having *deck passengers* to troublesome examination and quarantine, thereby quite stopping up that way of escape;—and, six days afterwards, four steamship companies, between England and Ireland, on request of the Government, raised the rate of passage for deck passengers. Cabin passengers were not interfered with in any way; for, in fact, it is the cabin passengers from Ireland who spend in England five millions sterling *per annum*.

Whither now were the people to fly? Where to hide themselves? They had no money to emigrate; no food, no land, no roof over them; no hope before them. They began to envy the lot of those who had died in the first year's famine. The poor houses were all full, and much more than full. Each of them was an hospital for typhus fever; and it was very common for three fever patients to be in one bed, some dead, and others not yet dead. Parishes all over the country being exhausted by rates, refused to provide coffins for the dead paupers, and they were thrown coffinless into holes, but in some parishes, (in order to have, at least, the look of decent interment,) a coffin was made with its bottom hinged at one side, and closed at the other by a latch—the uses of which are obvious.

It would be easy to horrify the reader with details of this misery; but let it be enough to give the results in round numbers. Great efforts were this year made to give relief by private charity; and sums contributed in that way by Irishmen themselves far exceeded all that was sent from all other parts of the world beside. As for the ship-loads of corn generously sent over by Americans, it has been already shown how the benevolent object was defeated. The moment it appeared in any port, prices became a shade lower; and so much the more grain was carried off from Ireland by "free trade." It was not foreign corn that Ireland wanted—it was the use of her own; that is to say, it was repeal of the Union.

The arrangements and operations of the Union had been such that Ireland was bleeding at every vein; her life was rushing out at every pore; so that the money sent to her for charity was only so much added to landlords' rents and Englishmen's profits. The American corn was only so much given as a handsome present to the merchants and speculators. That is, the English got it.

But no Irishman begged the world for alms. The benevolence of Americans, and Australians, and Turks, and Negro slaves, was excited by the appeals of the English press and English members of Parliament; and in Ireland, many a cheek burned with shame and indignation at our country being thus held up to the world, by the people who were feeding on our vitals, as abject beggars of broken victuals. The Repeal Association, low as it had fallen, never sanctioned this mendicancy. The true nationalists of Ireland, who had been forced to leave that association, and had formed another society, the "Irish Confederation," never ceased to expose the real nature of these British dealings—never ceased to repudiate and disavow the British beggarly appeals; although they took care to express warm gratitude for the well-meant charity of foreign nations; and never ceased to proclaim that the sole and all-sufficient "relief measure" for the country would be, that the English should let us alone.

On the 16th of March, for example, a meeting of the citizens of Dublin assembled, by public requisition, at the Music Hall, presided over by the Lord Mayor, expressly to consider the peril of the country, and petition Parliament for proper remedies. It was known that the conveners of the meeting contemplated nothing more than suggestions as to importing grain in ships of war, stopping distillation from grain, and other trifles. Richard O'Gorman was then a prominent member of the Irish Confederation; and, being a citizen of Dublin, he

resolved to attend this meeting, and if nobody else should say the right word, say it himself. After some helpless talk about the "mistakes" and "infatuation" of Parliament, and suggestions for change in various details, O'Gorman rose, and in a powerful and indignant speech, moved this resolution :—

"That for purposes of temporary relief, as well as permanent improvement, the one great want and demand of Ireland is, that foreign Legislators and foreign Ministers shall no longer interfere in the management of her affairs."

In this speech he charged the Government with being the "murderers of the people," and said :—

"Mr. Fitzgibbon has suggested that the measures of Government may have been adopted under an infatuation. I believe there is no infatuation. I hold a very different opinion on the subject. I think the British Government are *doing what they intend to do.*"

Another citizen of Dublin seconded Mr. O'Gorman's resolution, and the report of his observations has these sentences :—

"I have listened with pain and disappointment to the proceedings of a meeting purporting to be a meeting of the citizens of Dublin, called at such a crisis, and to deliberate upon so grave a subject, yet at which the resolutions and speakers, as with one consent, have carefully avoided speaking out what nine-tenths of us feel to be the plain truth in this matter. But the truth, my lord, must be told—and the truth is, that Ireland starves and perishes, simply because the English have eaten us out of house and home. Moreover, that all the legislation of their Parliament is, and will be, directed to this one end—to enable them hereafter to eat us out of house and home as heretofore. It is for that sole end they have laid their grasp upon Ireland, and it is for that, and that alone, they will try to keep her."

Greatly to the consternation of the quiet and submissive gentlemen who had convened the meeting, O'Gorman's resolution was adopted by overwhelming acclamation.

Take another illustration of the spirit in which British charity was received by the Irish people. The harvest of Ireland was abundant and superabundant in 1847, as it had been the year before. The problem was as before, to get it quietly and peacefully over to England. First, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a form of thanksgiving for an "abundant harvest," to be read in all churches on Sunday, the 17th of October. One Trevelyan, a Treasury Clerk, had been sent over to Ireland on some pretence of business, and the first thing he did when he landed was to transmit to England an humble entreaty that the Queen would deign to issue a Royal "Letter," asking alms in all the churches on the day of thanksgiving. The petition was complied with ; the *Times* grumbled against these eternal Irish beggars ; and the affair was thus treated in the *Nation*, which certainly spoke *for the people* more authentically than any other journal :—

"Cordially, eagerly, thankfully, we agree with the English *Times*, in this one respect —*there ought to be no alms for Ireland.*

"It is an impudent proposal, and ought to be rejected with scorn and contumely. We are sick of this eternal begging. If but one voice in Ireland should be raised against it, that voice shall be ours. To-morrow, to-morrow, over broad England, Scotland, and Wales, the people who devour our substance from year to year, are to offer up their canting thanksgivings for our 'abundant harvest,' and fling us certain crumbs and crusts of it for charity. Now, if any church-going Englishman will hearken to us, if we may be supposed in any degree to speak for our countrymen, we put up our petition *thus :* Keep your alms, ye canting robbers—button your pockets upon the Irish plunder that is in them—and let the begging-box pass on. Neither as *loans* nor as *alms* will we take that which is our own. We spit upon the benevolence that robs us of a pound, and flings back a penny in *charity*. Contribute now if you will—these will be your thanks !

"But who has craved this charity ? Why, the Queen of England, and her Privy Council, and two officers of her Government, named Trevelyan and Burgoyne ! No Irishman, that we know of, has begged alms from England.

"But the English insist on our remaining beggars. Charitable souls that they are, they like better to give us charity than let us earn our bread. And consider the time when this talk of alms-giving begins: our 'abundant harvest,' for which they are to thank God to-morrow, is still here; and there has been talk of keeping it here. So, they say to one another: 'Go to; let us promise them charity and church subscriptions—they are a nation of beggars—they would rather have alms than honest earnings—let us talk of *alms*, and they will send us the bread from their tables, the cattle from their pastures, and the coats from their backs.

"We charge the 'Government,' we charge the Cabinet Council at Osborne House, with this base plot. We tell our countrymen that a man, named Trevelyan, a Treasury Clerk—the man who advised and administered the Labor-Rate act—that this Trevelyan has been sent to Ireland that he, an Englishman, may send over from this side the channel a petition to the charitable in England. We are to be made to beg, whether we will or no. The Queen begs for us; the Archbishop of Canterbury begs for us; and they actually send a man to Ireland that a veritable *Irish* begging petition may not be a-wanting.

"From Salt Hill Hotel, at Kingstown, this piteous cry goes forth to England. 'In justice,' Trevelyan says, 'to those who have appointed a general collection in the churches on the 17th, and still more in pity to the unhappy people in the western districts of Ireland,' he implores his countrymen to have mercy; and gets his letter published in the London papers, (along with another from Sir John Burgoyne,) to stimulate the charity of those good and well-fed Christians who will enjoy the luxury of benevolence to-morrow.

"Once more, then, we scorn, we repulse, we curse, all English alms; and only wish these sentiments of ours could reach, before noon to-morrow, every sanctimonious thanksgiver in England, Scotland, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed."

In the same number the *Nation* took the pains to collect and present statistics by which it appeared that *every day*, one day with another, twenty large steamships, not counting sailing vessels, left Ireland for England, all laden with that "abundant harvest"—for which the English, indeed, might well give thanks in their churches.

It must be acknowledged that if the English Government and people really and truly did endeavor to relieve the famine in their sister country, that generosity met a most ungrateful return, from a people, too, who are proverbially warm-hearted.

For the famine of 1847, it is only needful to add that, during this year, coroners' juries in several counties repeatedly, on inquests over famine-slain corpses, found, upon their oaths, verdicts of "Willful Murder against John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell," he being then the Queen's Prime Minister.

The verdict was perfectly justifiable, and the crime quite manifest; but as there was no power to bring the criminal over to Ireland for trial, and as there would have been no use in arraigning him before an English jury, he was never brought to justice.

It is essential that foreign nations should never believe, for the future, (what the English press has diligently inculcated,) that our people, when smitten by famine, fell a-begging, from England or from America. Let them never hereafter wonder when they meet with Irishmen ungrateful for the "relief measures"—and, above all, if Ireland should again starve, (as she is most likely to do,) and should still be under British dominion, let them never send her a bushel of corn or a dollar of money. Neither bushel nor dollar will ever reach her.

In February, 1847, and amidst the deepest gloom and horror of the famine, O'Connell, old, sick, and heavy-laden, left Ireland, and left it forever. Physicians in London recommended a journey to the south of Europe, and O'Connell himself desired to see the Pope before he died, and to breathe out his soul at Rome, in the choicest odor of sanctity. By slow and painful stages he proceeded only as far as Genoa, and there died on the 15th of May.

For those who were not close witnesses of Irish politics in that day—who did not see

how vast this giant figure loomed in Ireland and in England for a generation and a half —it is not easy to understand the strong emotion caused by his death, both in friends and enemies. Yet, for a whole year before, he had sunk low, indeed. His power had departed from him ; and in presence of the terrible apparition of his perishing country he had seemed to shrink and wither. Nothing can be conceived more helpless than his speeches in Conciliation Hall, and his appeals to the British Parliament during that time—yet, as I before said, he never begged *alms* for Ireland, he never fell so low as that ; and the last sentences of the very last letter he ever penned to the association still proclaim the true doctrine :—

"It will not be until after the deaths of hundreds of thousands that the regret will arise that more was not done to save a sinking nation.

"How different would the scene be if we had our own Parliament—taking care of our own people—of our own resources. But, alas ! alas ! it is scarcely permitted to think of these, the only sure preventatives of misery, and the only sure instruments of Irish prosperity."

To no Irishman can the wonderful life of O'Connell fail to be impressive—from the day when, a fiery and thoughtful boy, he sought the cloisters of St. Omers for the education which penal laws denied him in his own land, on through the manifold struggles and victories of his earlier career, as he broke and flung off, with a kind of haughty impatience, link after link of the social and political chain that six hundred years of steady British policy had woven around every limb and muscle of his country, down to that supreme moment of the blackness of darkness for himself and for Ireland, when he laid down his burden and closed his eyes. Beyond a doubt, his death was hastened by the misery of seeing his proud hopes dashed to the earth, and his well-beloved people perishing ; for there dwelt in that brawny frame tenderness and pity soft as woman's. To the last he labored on the "Relief Committees" of Dublin, and thought every hour lost unless employed in rescuing some of the doomed.

O'Connell's body rests in Ireland, but without his heart. He gave orders that the heart should be removed from his body and sent to Rome. The funeral was a great and mournful procession through the streets of Dublin, and it will show how wide was the alienation which divided him from his former confederates, that when O'Brien signified a wish to attend the obsequies, a public letter from John O'Connell sullenly forbade him.

In the year 1847 great and successful exertions were used to make sure that the next year should be a year of famine, too. This was effected mainly by holding out the prospect of "out-door relief"—to obtain which tenants must abandon their lands and leave them untilled. A paragraph from a letter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, parish priest of Skibbereen, contains within it an epitome of the history of that year. It was published in the *Freeman*, March 12th :—

"The ground continues unsown and uncultivated. There is a mutual distrust between the landlord and the tenant. The landlord would wish, if possible, to *get up his land ;* and the unfortunate tenant is anxious to stick to it as long as he can. A good many, however, are giving it up, and preparing for America ; and these are the substantial farmers who have still a little means left."

"A gentleman traveling from Borris-in-Ossory to Kilkenny, one bright spring morning, counts at both sides of the road, in a distance of twenty-four miles, 'nine men and four ploughs,' occupied in the fields ; but sees multitudes of wan laborers, 'beyond the power of computation by a mail-car passenger,' laboring to destroy the road he was traveling upon. It was a 'public-work.'"—(*Dublin Evening Mail.*)

In the same month of March—"The land," says the Mayo *Constitution*, "is one vast waste : a soul is not to be seen working on the holdings of the poor farmers throughout the country, and those who have had the prudence to plough or dig the ground, are *in fear* of throwing in the seed."

When the new "Out-door Relief act" began to be applied, with its memorable Quarter-acre clause, all this process went on with wonderful velocity, and millions of people were soon left landless and homeless.

That they should be left landless and homeless was strictly in accordance with British policy; but then there was danger of the millions of outcasts becoming robbers and murderers. Accordingly, the next point was to clear the country of them, and diminish the Poor-rates, by *emigration*.

For, though they were perishing fast of hunger and typhus, they were not perishing fast enough. It was inculcated by the English press that the temperament and disposition of the Irish people fitted them peculiarly for some remote country in the East, or in the West — in fact, for any country but their own—that Providence had committed some mistake in causing them to be born in Ireland. As usual, the *Times* was foremost in finding out this singular freak of nature! Says the *Times*, (February 22, 1847,) :—

"Remove Irishmen to the banks of the Ganges, or the Indus—to Delhi, Benares, or Trincomalee—and they would be far more in their element there than *in a country to which an inexorable fate has confined them*."

Again, a Mr. Murray, a Scotch banker, writes a pamphlet upon the proper measures for Ireland. "The surplus population of Ireland," says Mr. Murray, "have been trained *precisely* for those pursuits which the unoccupied regions of North America require." Which might appear strange—a population expressly trained, and that *precisely*, to suit any country except their own!

But these are comparatively private and individual suggestions. In April of this year, however, six Peers and twelve Commoners, who call themselves Irish, but who include amongst them such "Irishmen" as Dr. Whateley and Mr. Godley, laid a scheme before Lord John Russell, for the transportation of one million and a half of Irishmen to Canada, at a cost of nine millions sterling, to be charged on "Irish property," and to be paid by an income ax.

Again, within the same year, a few months later, a "Select Committee," (and a very select one,) of the House of Lords brings up a report "On Colonization from Ireland." Their lordships report that all former committees on the state of Ireland (with one exception,) had agreed, at least, on this point—that it was necessary to remove the "excess of labor." They say :—

"They have taken evidence respecting the state of Ireland, of the British North American Colonies, (including Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland,) the West India Islands, New South Wales, Port Philip, South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. On some of these points it will be found that their inquiries have little more than commenced; on others, that those inquiries have been carried somewhat nearer to completion, but in no case can it be considered that the subject is yet exhausted. . . . . The committee are fully aware that they have as yet examined into many points but superficially, and that some, as, for example, the state of the British possessions in *Southern Africa*, and in the *Territory of Natal*, have not yet been considered at all. Neither have they obtained adequate information respecting what we sincerely hope may hereafter be considered as the prospering settlement of *New Zealand*. The important discoveries of Sir T. Mitchell in Australia, have also been but slightly noticed."

It appears that any inquiry into the state of Ireland naturally called their lordships to a consideration distant of latitudes and longitudes.

Their lordships further declare that the emigration which they recommend must be "voluntary" — and, also, that "there was a deep and pervading anxiety for emigration exhibited by the people themselves."

A deep and pervading anxiety to fly, to escape any whither! From whom? Men pursued by wild beasts will show a pervading anxiety to go *anywhere* out of reach. If a country be made too hot to hold its inhabitants, they will be willing even to throw themselves into the sea.

All this while, that there were from four to five millions of acres of improvable waste lands in Ireland—and even from the land in cultivation Ireland was exporting food enough every year to sustain eight millions of people in England.

ENG. COLUMBUS.A.

None of the vast public schemes of emigration was adopted by Parliament in its full extent; though aid was, from time to time, given to minor projects for that end; and landlords continued very busy all this year and the next, shipping all their "surplus tenantry" by their own private resources, thinking it cheaper than to maintain them by rates. The Poor Law Guardians, also, were authorized to transport paupers, and to appropriate part of the rates to that purpose.

There has now been laid before the reader a complete sketch, at least in outline, of the British famine policy—expectation of Government spoon-feeding at the point of police bayonets—shaking the farmers loose from their lands, employing them for a time on strictly useless public works—then disgorging them in crowds of one hundred thousand at a time, to beg, or rob, or perish—then, "out-door relief," administered in quantities altogether infinitesimal in proportion to the need—then that universal ejectment, the Quarter-acre law—then the corruption of the middle class by holding out the prize of ten thousand new Government situations—then the Vagrancy act, to make criminals of all houseless wanderers—then the "voluntary" emigration schemes—then the omnipresent police, hanging like a cloud over the houses of all "suspected persons"—that is, all persons who still kept a house over their heads—then the quarantine regulations, and increased fare for *deck* passengers to England, thus debarring the doomed race from all escape at that side, and leaving them the sole alternative: America or the grave. This, gives something like a map or plan of the field as laid out and surveyed for the final conquest of the island.

The Irish landlords were now in dire perplexity. Many of them were good and just men; but the vast majority were fully identified in interest with the British Government, and desired nothing so much as to destroy the population. They would not consent to tenant-right; they dared not trust themselves in Ireland without a British army. They may have felt, indeed, that they were themselves both injured and insulted by the whole system of English legislation; but they would submit to anything rather than fraternize with the injured Catholic Celts. A few landlords and other gentlemen met and formed an "Irish Council;" but these were soon frightened into private life again by certain revolutionary proposals of some members, and especially by the very name of tenant-right. At last, about the end of this year, seeing that *another* season's famine was approaching, and knowing that violent counsels began to prevail amongst the extreme section of the national party, the landlords, in guilty and cowardly rage and fear, called on Parliament for a new Cöercion act.

From this moment all hope that the landed gentry would stand on the side of Ireland against England utterly vanished. This deadly alliance between the landlords and the Government brought Irish affairs to a crisis; broke up the "Irish Confederation," (composed of the extreme nationalists, who could no longer exist in the Repeal Association,) and provoked an attempt at insurrection.

Before going further, however, two facts should be mentioned: *First*, That by a careful census of the agricultural produce of Ireland for this year, 1847, made by Captain Larcom, as a Government Commissioner, the total value of that produce was £44,958,120 sterling; which would have amply sustained *double* the entire people of the island.* This return is given in detail, and agrees generally with another estimate of the same, prepared by John Martin, of Loughorn, in the County Down—a gentleman whose name will be mentioned again in this narrative. *Second*, That at least five hundred thousand human beings perished this year of famine, and of famine-typhus;† and two hundred thousand more fled beyond the sea, to escape famine and fever. *Third*, That the loans for relief given to the Public Works and Public Commissariat Departments, to be laid out as they should

* In *Thom's Official Almanac and Directory*, the Government has taken care to suppress the statement of gross amount.

† The deaths by famine of the year *before*, we may set down at three hundred thousand. There is no possibility of ascertaining the numbers; and when the Government Commissioners pretend to do so they intend deception.

think proper, and to be repaid by rates on Irish property, went in the first place to maintain ten thousand greedy officials ; and that the greater part of these funds never reached the people at all, or reached them in such a way as to ruin and exterminate them.

A kind of sacred wrath took possession of a few Irishmen at this period. They could endure the horrible scene no longer, and resolved to cross the path of the British car of conquest, though it should crush them to atoms.

CHAPTER LX.

1847—1848.

Lord Clarendon Viceroy—His Means of Insuring the Shipment to England of the Usual Tribute—Bribes the Baser Sort of Editors—Patronage for Catholic Lawyers — Another Cöercion Act — Projects for Stopping Export of Grain—Arming—Alarm of Government—Whigs Active in Cöercion—French Revolution of February—Confederate Clubs—Deputation from Dublin to Paris—O'Brien's Last Appearance in Parliament—Trials of O'Brien and Meagher—Trial of Mitchel—Packing of the Jury —Reign of Terror in Dublin.

In the summer of this year, 1847, Lord Clarendon was sent over, as Lord-Lieutenant, to finish the conquest of Ireland—just as Lord Mountjoy had been sent to bring to an end the wars of Queen Elizabeth's reign ; and by the same means substantially—that is, by corruption of the rich and starvation of the poor. The form of procedure, indeed, was somewhat different ; for English statesmen of the sixteenth century had not learned to use the weapons of "amelioration" and "political economy ;" neither had they yet established the policy of keeping Ireland as a store-farm to raise wealth for England. Lord Mountjoy's system, then, had somewhat of a rude character ; and he could think of nothing better than sending large bodies of troops to cut down the green corn, and burn the houses. In one expedition into Leinster, his biographer, Moryson, estimates that he destroyed "ten thousand pounds worth of corn," that is, wheat ; an amount which might now be stated at £200,000 worth. In O'Cahan's country, in Ulster, as the same Moryson tells us, after a *razzia* of Mountjoy : "We have none left to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat." So that Mountjoy could boast he had given Ireland to Elizabeth, "nothing but carcasses and ashes."

Lord Clarendon's method was more in the spirit of the nineteenth century, though his slaughters were more terrible in the end than Mountjoy's. Again there was growing upon Irish soil a noble harvest ; but it had been more economical to carry it over to England by help of free trade, than to burn it on the ground. The problem then was, as it had been the last year, and the year before, how to insure its speedy and peaceful transmission. Accordingly, Lord Clarendon came over with conciliatory speeches, and large professions of the desire of "Government" now, at last, to stay the famine. Sullen murmurs had been heard, and even open threats and urgent recommendations, that the Irish harvest must not be suffered to go another year ; and there were rumors of risings in the harvest to break up the roads, to pull down the bridges, in every way to stop the tracks of this fatal "commerce ;" rumors, in short, of an insurrection. Some new method, then, had to be adopted, to turn the thoughts and hopes of that too-credulous people once more towards the "Government." Lord Clarendon recommended a tour of agricultural "lectures," the expense to be provided for by the Royal Agricultural Society, aided by public money. The lecturers were to go upon every estate, call the people together, talk to them of the benevolent intentions of his excellency, and give them good advice.

The poor people listened respectfully, but usually told the lecturers that there was no use in following that excellent agricultural advice, as they were all going to be *turned out* the next spring. These lecturers published their report—a most amazing picture of patient suffering on the one hand, and of official insolence on the other. One Fitzgerald, a most energetic lecturer, full of Liebig's Agricultural Chemistry, tells us : "They all agreed that what I said was just ; but they always had *some excuse*, that they could not get seed, or had nothing to live on in the meantime."

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And a Mr. Goode, who was also instructing the West, says :—

"The poor people here appeared to be in a most desponding state : they always met me with the argument that there was no use in their working there, for they were going to be turned out in spring, and would have their houses pulled down over them. I used to tell them that I had nothing to do with that ; that I was sent among them by some kind, intelligent gentlemen, barely to tell them *what course to pursue.*"

That was all. Lord Clarendon had not sent down Mr. Goode to lecture on *tenant-right ;* and the people had no business to obtrude their Jacobin principles upon a Government "instructor." They might as well have prated to him about repeal of the Union.

Another measure of Lord Clarendon was to buy support at the press with Secret-Service money. To the honor of the Dublin press, this was a somewhat difficult matter. The Government had, at that time, only one leading journal in the metropolis on which it could surely rely—the *Evening Post*—Lord Clarendon wanted another organ, and of lower species ; for he had work to do which the comparatively respectable *Post* might shrink from. He sought out a creature named Birch, editor of the *World,* a paper which was never named nor alluded to by any reputable journal in the city. This Birch lived by *hush-money,* or black-mail of the most infamous kind—that is, extorting money from private persons, men and women, by threats of inventing and publishing scandalous stories of their domestic circles. He had been tried more than once and convicted of this species of swindling. "I then offered him £100, if I remember rightly," says Lord Clarendon,* "for it did not make any great impression on me at the time. He said that would not be sufficient for his purpose, and I think it was then extended to about £350." On further examination, his lordship confessed that he had paid Birch "further sums"—in short, kept him regularly in pay ; and, finally, on Birch bringing suit against him for the balance due for "work and labor," had paid him in one sum £2,000, at the same time taking up all the papers and letters, (as he thought,) which might bring the transaction to light. Everybody can guess the nature of Birch's work and labor, and *quantum meruit.* His duty was to make weekly attacks of a private and revolting nature upon Smith O'Brien, upon Mr. Meagher, upon Mr. Mitchel, and every one else who was prominent in resisting and exposing the Government measures. Further, the public money was employed in the gratuitous distribution of the *World ;* for otherwise, decent persons would never have seen it.

It was long afterwards that the public learned how all this subterranean agency had come to light on the trial of one of the suits which Birch was forced to institute for recovery of his wages.

A third measure of the Viceroy was—extreme liberality towards Catholic lawyers and gentlemen in the distribution of patronage ; that so they might be the more effectually bought off from all common interest and sympathy with the "lower orders," and might stand patiently by and see their people slain or banished. Amongst others, Mr. Monahan, an industrious and successful Catholic barrister, was made Attorney General for Ireland—from which the next step was to the bench. Mr. Monahan became a grateful and useful servant to the enemies of his country.

The summer of '47 had worn through wearily and hopelessly. All endeavors to rouse the landlord class to exertion entirely failed, through their coward fear of an outraged and plundered people ; and, at last, when out of the vast multitudes of men thrown from public works, houseless and famishing, a few committed murders and robberies, or shot a bailiff or an incoming tenant, the landlords in several counties besought for a new Cöercion and Arms act ; so as to make that code more stringent and inevitable. Lord John Russell was but too happy to comply with the demand ; but the landlords were to give something in exchange for this security.

Addresses of confidence were voted by Grand Juries and county meetings of landlords. The Irish gentry almost unanimously volunteered addresses denouncing repeal

*See evidence on the trial, Birch against Sir T. Redington.

and repealers, and pledging themselves to maintain the Union. At the same time ejectment was more active than ever, and it is not to be denied that amongst the myriads of desperate men who then wandered houseless, there were some who would not die tamely. Before taking their last look at the sun, they could, at least, lie in wait for the agent who had pulled down their houses and turned their weeping children adrift; him, at least, they could send to perdition before them.

The crisis was come. The people no longer trusted the ameliorative professions of their enemies; and there were some who zealously strove to rouse them now at last, to stand up for their own lives; to keep the harvest of '47 within the four seas of Ireland; and by this one blow to prostrate Irish landlordism, and the British Empire along with it.

This was a perilous, and, perhaps, an utterly desperate enterprize, while England was at peace with all the world, and at full liberty to hurl the whole mass of her military power upon a small island which she already held with so firm a grasp. Even those who counseled armed resistance were fully conscious of the desperation of that course, but honestly thought that any death—especially death in just war—was better than the death of a dog, by hunger.

In the meantime, the beautiful metropolis of Ireland was extremely gay and brilliant. After two years' frightful famine — and when it was already apparent that the *next* famine, of 1847–48, would be even more desolating—you may imagine that Dublin City would show some effect or symptom of such a national calamity Singular to relate, that city had never before been so gay and luxurious; splendid equipages had never before so crowded the streets; and the theatres and concert-rooms had never been filled with such brilliant throngs. In truth, the rural gentry resorted in greater numbers to the metropolis at this time—some to avoid the sight and sound of the misery which surrounded their country seats, and which British laws almost expressly enacted they should *not* relieve; some to get out of reach of an exasperated and houseless peasantry. Any stranger, arriving in those days, guided by judicious friends only through fashionable streets and squares, introduced only to proper circles, would have said that Dublin must be the prosperous capital of some wealthy and happy country.

The new Poor law was now on all hands admitted to be a failure;—that is, a failure as to its ostensible purpose; for its real purpose, reducing the body of the people to "able-bodied pauperism," it had been no failure at all, but a complete success. Nearly ten millions sterling had now been expended under the several relief acts;—expended mostly in salaries to officials; the rest laid out in useless work, or in providing rations for a short time to induce small farmers to give up their land; which was the condition of such relief. Instead of ten millions in three years, if twenty millions had been advanced in the first year, and expended on useful labor, (that being the sum which had been devoted promptly to turning wild the West India negroes,) the whole famine-slaughter might have been averted, and the whole advance would have been easily repaid to the Treasury.*

Long before the Government Commissioners had proclaimed their law a failure, the writers in the *Nation* had been endeavoring to turn the minds of the people towards the only real remedy for all their evils—that is, a combined movement to prevent the export of provisions, and to resist process of ejectment. This involved a denial of rent and refusal of rates; involved, in other words, a root and branch revolution, socially and politically.

Such revolutionary ideas could only be justified by a desperate necessity, and by the unnatural and fatal sort of connection between Irish landlords and Irish tenants. The peasantry of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, stand in three several relations towards the lords of their soil. In England they are simply the emancipated serfs and *villeins* of the feudal system;

* Of the £10,000,000 advanced by the Treasury, three millions had been repaid by rates in 1854. What may have been refunded since, it is not easy to learn with any accuracy. The accounts between Ireland and the Imperial Treasury are kept in England.

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never knew any other form of social polity, nor any other lords of the soil, since the Norman conquest. As England, however, prosecuted her conquests by degrees in the other two kingdoms, she found the free Celtic system of clanship; and as rebellion after rebellion was crushed, her statesmen insisted upon regarding the chiefs of clans as feudal lords, and their clansmen as their vassals or tenants. In Scotland, the chiefs gladly assented to this view of the case, and the Mac Callum More became, nothing loath, Duke of Argyle, and owner of the territory which had been the tribe lands of his clan. Owing mainly to the fact that estates in Scotland were not so tempting a prey as the rich tracts of Ireland—and partly owing also to the Scottish people having generally become Protestants on the change of religion—there was but little change in the ruling families; and the Scottish clansmen, now become "tenantry," paid their duties to the heads of their own kindred as before. So it has happened that to this day there is no alienation of feeling, or distinction of race, to exasperate the lot of the poor cultivators of the soil.

In Ireland, wherever the chiefs turned Protestant, and chose to accept "grants" of their tribe-lands at the hands of British kings, (as the De Burghs and O'Briens,) much the same state of things took place for a while. But Ireland never submitted to English dominion as Scotland has done; and there were continual "rebellions," (so the English termed our national resistance,) followed by extensive confiscations. Many hundreds of great estates in Ireland have thus been confiscated twice, and three times; and the new proprietors were Englishmen, and, in a portion of Ulster, Scotchmen. These, of course, had no common interest or sympathy with the people, whom they considered and called, "the Irish enemy." Still, while Ireland had her own Parliament, and the landlords resided at home, the state of affairs was tolerable; but when the Act of "Union," in 1800, concentrated the pride and splendor of the empire at London, and made England the great field of ambition and distinction, most of our grandees resided out of Ireland, kept agents and bailiffs there, wrung the utmost farthing out of the defenceless people, and spent it elsewhere.

Now, it never would have entered th mind of any rational or just man, at thi. late date, to call in question the title to long-ago confiscated estates; nor, supposing those titles proved bad, would it have been possible to find the right owners. But when the system was found to work so fatally—when hundreds of thousands of people were lying down and perishing in the midst of abundance, and superabundance, which their own hands had created, society itself stood dissolved. That form of society was not only a failure, but an intolerable oppression, and cried aloud to be cut up by the roots and swept away.

Those who thought thus, had reconciled their minds to the needful means—that is, a revolution, as fundamental as the French revolution, and to the wars and horrors incident to that. The horrors of war, they knew, were by no means so terrible as the horrors of peace which their own eyes had seen; they were ashamed to see their kinsmen patiently submitting to be starved to death, and longed to see blood flow, if it were only to show that blood still flowed in Irish veins.

The enemy began to take genuine alarm at these violent doctrines — especially as they found that the people were taking them to heart; and already, in Clare County, mobs were stopping the transport of grain towards the seaports. If rents should cease to be levied, it was clear that not only would England lose her five millions sterling *per annum* of absentee rents, but mortgagees, fundholders, insurance companies, and the like, would lose dividends, interests, bonus, and profits. There was then in England a gentleman who was in the habit of writing able but sanguinary exhortations to Ministers, with the signature "S. G. O." His addresses appeared in the *Times*, and were believed to influence considerably the counsels of Government. In November, 1847, this "S. G. O." raised the alarm, and called for prompt cöercion in Ireland. Here is one sentence from a letter of his reverence —for "S. G. O." was a clergyman:—

"Lord John may safely believe me when I say that the prosperity—nay, almost the

very existence of many insurance societies, the positive salvation from utter ruin of many, very many *mortgagees*, depends on some instant steps to make life ordinarily secure in Ireland; of course, I only mean life in that class of it in which individuals effect insurances and give mortgages."

In short, his reverence meant high life. Lord Clarendon, as Parliament was not then sitting, issued an admonitory address, wherein he announced that:—

"The constabulary will be increased in all disturbed districts, (whereby an additional burden will be thrown upon the rates,) military detachments will be stationed wherever necessary, and efficient patrols maintained; liberal rewards will be given for information," &c.

In the meantime, large forces were concentrated at points where the spirit of resistance showed itself; for a sample of which we take a paragraph from the Tipperary *Free Press*:—

"A large military force, under the civil authority, has seized upon the produce of such farms in Boytonrath, as owed rent and arrears to the late landlord, Mr. Roe, and the same will be removed to Dublin, and sold there, if not redeemed within fourteen days. There are two hundred soldiers and their officers garrisoned in the mansion house at Rockwell."

Whereupon, the *Nation* urged the people to begin calculating whether ten times the whole British army would be enough to act as bailiffs and drivers everywhere at once; or, whether, if they did, the proceeds of the distress might answer expectation. In fact, it was obvious that if the enemy should be forced to employ their forces in this way over the island—to lift and carry the whole harvests of Ireland, and that over roads broken up and bridges broken down to obstruct them, and with the daily risk of meeting bands of able-bodied paupers to dispute their passage—the service would soon have been wholly demoralized, and after three months of such employment, the remnant of the army might have been destroyed.

Parliament was called hastily together. Her Majesty told the Houses that there were atrocious crimes in Ireland—a spirit of insubordination, an organized resistance to "legal rights;" and, of course, that she required "additional powers" for the protection of life—that is, high life.

The meaning of this was a new Cöercion bill. It was carried without delay, and with unusual unanimity; and it is instructive here to note the difference between a Whig in power, and a Whig out. When Sir Robert Peel had proposed his Cöercion bill *the year before*, it had been vehemently opposed by Lord John Russell and Lord Grey. It was time to have done with cöercion, they had said; Ireland had been "misgoverned:" there had been too many Arms acts; it was "justice" that was wanted now, and they, the Whigs, were the men to dispense it. Earl Grey, speaking of the *last* Cöercion bill, (it was brought in by the other party,) said, emphatically, (*see debate in the Lords, March* 23, 1846,) "that measures of severity had been tried long enough;" and repeated with abhorrence, the list of cöercive measures passed since 1800, all without effect; how, in 1800, the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended, the act for the suppression of the rebellion being still in force; how cöercion was renewed in 1801; continued again in 1804; how the Insurrection act was passed in 1807, which gave the Lord-Lieutenant full and legal power to place any district under martial law, to suspend trial by jury, and make it a transportable offence to be out of doors from sunset to sunrise; how this act remained in force till 1810; how it was renewed in 1814—continued in '15, '16, '17—revived in '22, and continued through 23, '24, and '25;—how another Insurrection act was needed in 1833, was renewed in '34, and expired but five years ago. "And again," continued this Whig, "again in 1846, we are called on to renew it!" Horrible!—revolting to a Liberal out of place! "We must look further," continued Earl Grey—vociferating from the Opposition bench—"we must look to the root of the evil; the state of law and the habits of the people, *in respect to the occupation of land*, are almost at the roots of the disorder;—it was undeniable that the *clearance system* prevailed to a great extent in Ireland; and that such things could take place, he cared not how large a population might be suf-

fered to grow up in a particular district, was *a disgrace to a civilized country.*"

And Lord John Russell in the Commons had said, on the same occasion: "If they were to deal with the question of the crimes, they were bound to consider also whether there were not measures that might be introduced which would reach *the causes of those crimes*"—and he horrified the House by an account he gave them of "a whole village containing two hundred and seventy persons, razed to the ground, and the entire of that large number of indviduals sent adrift on the high road, to sleep under the hedges, without even being permitted the privilege of boiling their potatoes, or obtaining shelter among the walls of the houses." Disgusting!—to a Whig statesman in opposition!

Now, these very same men had had the entire control and government of Ireland for a year and a half. Not a single measure had been proposed by them in that time to reach "the cause of those crimes;" not a single security had been given "in respect of the occupation of land;" not one check to that terrible "clearance system," which was "a disgrace to a civilized country." On the contrary, every measure was carefully calculated to accelerate the clearance system; and the Government had helped that system ruthlessly by the employment of their troops and police. They had literally swept the people off the land by myriads upon myriads; and now, when their relief acts were admittedly a *failure*, and when multitudes of homeless peasants, transformed into paupers, were at length making the landed men, and mortgagees, and Jews, and insurance officers, tremble for their gains—the Liberal Whig Ministry had nothing to propose but more jails, more handcuffs, more transportation.

The new Cöercion bill was in every respect like the rest of the series; in Ireland, these bills are all as much like one another as one policeman's carabine is like another. Disturbed districts were to be proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant. He might proclaim a whole county, or the whole thirty-two counties. Once proclaimed, everybody in that district was to be within doors, (whether he had a house or not,) from dusk till morning. Any one found not at home, to be arrested and transported. If arms were found about any man's premises, and he could not *prove* that they were put there without his knowledge—arrest, imprisonment, and transportation. All the arms in the district to be brought in on proclamation to that effect, and piled in the police offices. Lord-Lieutenant to quarter on the district as many additional police, inspectors, detectives, and sub-inspectors, as he might think fit;—offer such rewards to informers as he might think fit;—and charge all the expense upon the tenantry, to be levied by rates—*no part* of these rates to be charged to the landlords—constabulary to collect them at the point of the bayonet;—and these rates to be in addition to Poor-rates, cess, tithe, (*rent-charge,*) rent, and imperial taxes.

The passage of the Cöercion bill at the instance of the landlords, and the break-up of the Irish Confederation, occasioned the establishment of the *United Irishman*, an avowed organ of insurrection. Events for a time moved rapidly. Soon there burst in upon us news of the February revolution in Paris, and the flight of King Louis Philippe; for between the French people and the Irish there has always been an electric telegraph, whose signals never fail; and British statesmen had not forgotten that it was the first great French revolution which cost them the war of '98. The February revolution, also, at once obliterated the feuds of the Irish Confederation. Nobody would now be listened to there, who proposed any other mode of redress for Irish grievances than the sword. A resolution was brought up, with the sanction of the committee, and passed with enthusiastic acclamation, that the confederate clubs should become armed and officered, so that each man should know his right-hand and his left-hand comrade, and the man whose word he should obey. All the second-rate cities, as well as Dublin, and all the country towns, were now full of clubs, which assumed military and revolutionary names — the "Sarsfield Club," the "Emmet Club," and so forth; and the business of arming proceeded with commendable activity. Such young men as could afford it, provided themselves with rifles and bayonets; those who had not the

means for this, got pike-heads made, and there was much request for ash poles. What was still more alarming to the enemy, the soldiers in several garrisons were giving unmistakable symptoms of sharing in the general excitement ; not Irish soldiers alone, but English and Scottish, who had Chartist ideas. A large part of the circulation of the *United Irishman*, in spite of all the exertions of the officers, was in military barracks.

Undoubtedly, it behooved the British Government, if it intended to hold Ireland, to adopt some energetic measures ; and, as it certainly did so intend, these measures were not wanting.

New regiments were poured into Ireland, of course ; and Dublin held an army of ten thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers. The barrack accommodations being insufficient, many large buildings were taken as temporary barracks ; the deserted palaces of the Irish aristocracy—as Aldborough House on the northeast—the deserted halls of manufactures and trade in "The Liberty," and the Linen Hall, were occupied by detachments. The Bank of Ireland—our old Parliament House—had cannon mounted over the entablatures of its stately Ionic colonnades ; and the vast and splendid Custom House, not being now needed for trade, (our imports being all from the "sister country," and our exports all to the same,) was quite commodious as a barrack and arsenal. The quiet quadrangles of Trinity College were the scene of daily parades ; and the loyal board of that institution gave up the wing which commands Westmoreland street, College street, and Dame street, to be occupied by troops. Superb squadrons of hussars, of lancers, and of dragoons, rode continually through and around the city ; infantry practiced platoon-firing in the squares ; heavy guns, strongly guarded, were forever rolling along the pavement ; and parties of horse artillery showed all mankind how quickly and dexterously they could wheel and aim, and load and fire at the crossings of the streets. These military demonstrations, and the courts of "Law," constituted the open and avowed powers and agencies of the

But there was a secret and subterranean machinery. The editor of the *World* was now on full pay, and on terms of close intimacy at the Castle and Viceregal Lodge. His paper was gratuitously furnished to all hotels and public-houses by means of Secret Service money. Dublin swarmed with detectives ; they went at night to get their instructions at the Castle, from Colonel Brown, head of the police department ; and it was one of their regular duties to gain admittance to the Clubs of the Confederation, where it afterwards appeared that they had been the most daring counselors of treason and riot.

Frankly, and at once, the Confederation accepted the only policy thereafter possible, and acknowledged the meaning of the European Revolutions. On the 15th of March, O'Brien moved an Address of Congratulation to the victorious French people ; and ended his speech with these words :—

"It would be recollected that a short time ago he thought it his duty to deprecate all attempts to turn the attention of the people to military affairs, because it seemed to him that, in the then condition of the country, the only effect of leading the people's mind to what was called 'a guerrilla warfare,' would be to encourage some of the misguided peasantry to the commission of murder. Therefore, it was that he declared he should not be a party to giving such a recommendation ; but the state of affairs was totally different now, and he had no hesitation in declaring that he thought the minds of intelligent young men should be turned to the consideration of such questions as, how strong places can be captured, and weak ones defended — how supplies of food and ammunition can be cut off from an enemy—and how they can be secured to a friendly force. The time was also come when every lover of his country should come forward openly, and proclaim his willingness to be enrolled as a member of a national guard. No man, however, should tender his name as a member of that national guard unless he was prepared to do two things—one, to preserve the state from anarchy ; the other, to be ready to die for the defence of his country."

Two days after this meeting was Saint

Patrick's Day. A meeting of the citizens of Dublin was announced for that anniversary, to adopt an address, from Dublin to Paris, but was adjourned for two or three days to allow time for negotiations to unite all repealers of the two parties in the demonstration. Lord Clarendon, doubtless under the advice of his Privy-Councillor of the *World*, thought it would be a good opportunity to strike terror by a military display. He pretended to apprehend that Saint Patrick's Day would be selected for the first day of Dublin barricades; and the troops were kept under arms—the cavalry, with horses ready saddled in all the barracks, waiting for the moment to crush the first movement in the blood of our citizens.

The meeting was adjourned; but there was no intention of abandoning it. O'Brien had offered, even in case of a *Proclamation* forbidding it, to attend and take the chair; and what he promised, the enemy well knew he would perform.

The meeting was held without interruption; but it was well known that the public buildings, and some private houses, were filled with detachments under arms. These addresses, both from the Confederation and from the city, were to be presented in Paris to the President of the Provisional Government, M. de Lamartine; and O'Brien, Meagher, and an intelligent tradesman, of high character and independence of mind, named Hollywood, were appointed a deputation to Paris.

All this, it was evident, could not go on long. The Clubs were, in the meantime, rapidly arming themselves with rifles; and blacksmiths' forges were prolific of pike-heads. The Confederates hoped, and the Government feared, that no armed collision would be made necessary until September, when the harvest would be all cut, and when the commissariat of the people's war, the cause of the war, and the prize of the war, would be all bound up in a sheaf together. But the foe to be dealt with was no weak fool. The Government understood these views thoroughly, and resolved to precipitate the issue somehow or other. One morning, after that meeting of Dublin citizens, three men, Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. Mitchel, were waited on by a police-magistrate and requested to give bail that they would stand their trial on a charge of sedition. The ground of prosecution in the two former cases was the language held at the meeting of the Irish Confederation, (quoted above in part.) In the third case, there were two distinct indictments, for two articles in the *United Irishman*.

Before the trials, O'Brien and Meagher went to France and presented their address to the Provisional Government.*

On their return, O'Brien walked into the British Parliament, and found that august body engaged in discussing a new bill "for the further security of Her Majesty's Crown." Ministers, in fact, had determined to meet the difficulty by a new "law," the Treason-felony law, by which the writing and printing, or open and advised speaking, of incitements to insurrection in Ireland should be deemed "felony," punishable by transportation. The bill was introduced by the Whigs, and was warmly supported by the Tories; Sir Robert Peel declaring that what Ireland needed was to make her national aspirations not only a crime, but an ignominious crime; so as to put this species of offence on a footing with arson, or forgery, or waylaying with intent to murder. O'Brien rose to address the House, and never, since first Parliament met in Westminster, was heard such a chorus of frantic and obscene outcries.

He persisted, however, and made himself heard; and those to whom the name and fame of that good Irishman are dear, will always remember with pride that his last

* These were mere addresses of congratulation and of sympathy. De Lamartine made a highly poetic, but rather unmeaning reply to them. He has since, in his history, violently misrepresented them; being, in fact, a mere Anglo-Frenchman. Mr O'Brien has already convicted him of these misrepresentations. We content ourselves here with pronouncing the two following sentences poetic fictions: "Les Irlandais, unis aux chartistes anglais, se precipitaient sur le continent et cherchaient des complicités insurrectionnelles en France, á la fois parmi les demagogues au nom de la liberté, et parmi les chefs du parti Catholique au nom du Catholicisme." And again: "L'Angleterre n'attendait pas avec moins de sollicitude la reception que ferait Lamartine aux insurgés Irlandais, partis de Dublin pou· venir demander *des encouragements et des armes* á la Republique française."

utterance in the London Parliament was one of haughty defiance, in the name of his oppressed and plundered country. He avowed that he had advised his countrymen to arm, and fight for their right to live upon their own soil; and he added, amidst the horrible yells of the House:—

"I conceive that it is the peculiar duty of the Irish people to obtain the possession of arms at a time when you tell them you are prepared to crush their expression of opinion, not by argument, but by brute force."

The bill was passed into "Law," by immense majorities; and, thereafter, an Irish repealer of the Union was to be a "felon." O'Brien returned to Dublin. The deputies were received by a multitudinous and enthusiastic meeting in the Dublin Music Hall, and Meagher presented to the citizens of Dublin, with glowing words, a magnificent flag, the Irish Tricolor, of Green, White, and Orange, surmounted by a pike-head.

The trials came on. They were to be before special juries, struck by the process before described. O'Brien and Meagher were first tried, and as their "sedition" had been so open and avowed—and as the Whig Ministers were extremely reluctant to pack juries *if they could help it*—the Crown officers left on each of the two juries *one* repealer. It was enough. A true repealer knew that no Irishman *could* commit any offence against a foreign Queen; and in each case the one repealer stood out, refused to convict, though he should be starved to death; and the traversers, amidst cheering multitudes, were escorted triumphantly from the Four Courts to the Confederate Committee Rooms, where they addressed the people, and promised to repeat and improve upon all their seditions. The excitement of the country was intense. The defeat of the "Government" was celebrated all over the country by bonfires and illuminations, and the clubs became more diligent in arming themselves; but Mr. Monahan, the Attorney-General, foamed and raged.

Next came the two trials of Mr. Mitchel; and it was very evident to the Government that there must be no possibility of mistake or miscarriage here. The time, indeed, was become exceedingly dangerous, and the people rapidly rising into that state of high excitement in which ordinary motives and calculations fail, and a single act of desperation may precipitate a revolution. As usual in such cases, the British Government had recourse to brutality, in order to strike terror. Police magistrates were ordered to arrest parties of young men practising at targets in the neighborhood of country towns, and march them in custody through the streets. Men in Dublin were seized upon and dragged to jail on the charge of saying "halt" to the clubmen marching to a public meeting—it was "training in military evolutions" under the act; and one young man was actually brought to trial, and transported for seven years, on an indictment charging him, for that he had, in a private room in Dublin, said to thirteen other young men, then and there ranged in line, these fatal words: "Right shoulders forward," contrary to the peace of our lady, the Queen, and so forth.

On the two juries being struck for the trial of Mr. Mitchel, it was at once evident that upon each of them would be one or two men who desired the independence of their country; and, perhaps, one or two others of whom the Castle could not be perfectly sure. But, as the new "Treason-felony" act had now become law, the Government suddenly abandoned the two prosecutions already commenced, and arrested Mr. Mitchel on a charge of treason under the new act.

On this occasion it was determined to proceed, not by a special, but by a common jury; which latter method, as was supposed, gave the sheriff more clear and unquestioned power of fraudulently packing the jury. For the jury was to be closely packed, of course. Lord John Russell and Mr. Macauley, who had been in opposition in 1844, and who had then so earnestly denounced the packing of juries in Ireland, were now in office; were responsible for the government of the country, and understood perfectly that upon the careful packing of this jury depended the Queen's Government in Ireland. The judges had already appointed the day for holding the commission to try cases in Dublin; and the sheriff had summoned his select hundred and fifty jurors

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to try the cases; but after the arrest of this new prisoner, and when the sheriff knew that important business was to be done, he altered his list, and summoned a new set, so that all was ready for the trial.

In the meantime, Lord Clarendon was busily getting up, through the Grand Masters of the Orangemen, loyal addresses, and declarations against "rebels" and "traitors." In fact, the Orange farmers and burghers of the North were fast becoming diligent students of the *United Irishman*, and although they and their Order had been treated with some neglect of late both by England and by the Irish aristocracy they were now taken into high favor, and arms were very secretly issued to some of their lodges from Dublin Castle.*

But this needed prudence; for Protestant Repeal Associations had been formed in Dublin, in Drogheda, and even in Lurgan, a great centre of Orangeism. To counteract the progress we had made in this direction, the aristocracy and the clergy were incessant in their efforts, and the Protestants were assured that if Ireland should throw off the dominion of Queen Victoria, we would all instantly become vassals to the woman who sitteth upon Seven Hills.

The Viceroy, at the same time, took care to frighten the moneyed citizens of Dublin and other towns by placards warning them against the atrocious designs of "Communists" and "Jacobins," whose only object, his lordship intimated, was plunder.†

Whether the Whigs and "Liberals" who then ruled the English Councils were really desirous to give a fair trial to their political enemy, or whether they only pretended this desire—or what communications took place on the subject between Downing street and the Castle—we cannot certainly know; but we find that only two days before this most foul pretence of a trial, Lord John Russell, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, declared that he had written to "his noble friend," (Lord Clarendon,) that "he trusted there would not arise any charge of any kind of unfairness, as to the composition of the juries; as for his own part, he would rather see those parties acquitted, than that there should be any such unfairness." ‡

Lord Clarendon, however, informed him that for this once he could not adhere to the Whig maxims—that a conviction must be had, *per fas et nefas*.

The venerable Robert Holmes, brother-in-law of the Emmets, defended the prisoner; but no defence could avail there. Of course, he challenged the array of jurors, on the ground of fraud; but the Attorney-General's brother, Stephen Monahan, clerk in the Attorney-General's office, and also one Wheeler, clerk in the Sheriff's office, had been carefully sent out of the city to a distant part of Ireland; and Baron Lefroy was most happy to avail himself of the defect of evidence to give his opinion that the panel was a good and honest panel. The Crown used its privilege of peremptory challenge to the very uttermost; *every* Catholic, and *most* Protestants, who answered to their names, were ordered to "stand by." There were thirty-nine challenges; and of these but nineteen were Catholics, all the Catholics who answered to their names were promptly set aside, and twenty other gentlemen, who, although Protestants, were suspected of national feeling—that is to say, the Crown dared not go to trial before the people, Catholic or Protestant. The twelve men finally obtained by this sifting process had amongst them two or three Englismen; the rest were faithful slaves of the Castle, and all Protestants, of the most Orange dye.

Of course, there was a "verdict" of guilty; and a sentence of fourteen years' transportation. The facts charged were easily proved; they were patent, notorious, often repeated, and perfectly deliberate; insomuch, that jurymen who felt themselves

* This was quite unknown to the public at the time: one case of it only ever came clearly to light. It was a shipment of five hundred stand of arms to the Belfast Orangemen.

† These placards may be attributed to Lord Clarendon, without scruple. They were printed by the Government printer, and paid for out of our taxes. But it is quite possible that the Viceroy, if charged with these things, would deny them, because they were done through a third party—perhaps, Birch. In like manner, he denied all knowledge of the shipment of muskets to the Belfast Orangemen—they were sent, however, from his Castle, and through a subordinate official of his household.

‡ Debate of 23d May.

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to be subjects of the Queen of England, could not do otherwise than convict. On the other hand, any Irish nationalist must acquit. Never before or since have the Government of the foreign enemy and the Irish people met on so plain an issue. Never before was it made so manifest that the enemy's Government maintains its supremacy over Ireland, by systematically breaking the "law," even its own law, defiling its temples of justice, and turning the judges of the land into solemn actors in a most immoral kind of play.

An armed steamer waited in the river, on the day of Mr. Mitchel's sentence; the whole garrison of Dublin was under arms, on pretence of a review in the Park; a place was secretly designated for the prisoner's embarkation below the city, where bridges over a canal, and over the entrance to the Custom House docks could be raised, in order to prevent any concourse of the people in that direction; and, two or three hours after the sentence, Mr. Mitchel was carried off, and never saw his country any more.

The enemy were themselves somewhat surprised at the ease with which they had borne him out of the heart of Dublin, at noon-day, in chains; and evidently thought they would have but small trouble in crushing any attempt at insurrection afterwards. The confederates waited until "the time" should come; and some of them, indeed, were fully resolved to make an insurrection in the harvest; yet, as might have been expected, "the time" never came. The individual desperation of Dillon, Meagher, O'Gorman, Leyne, Reilly, could achieve nothing while the people were dispirited both by famine and by long submission to insolent oppression. "When will *the time* come?" exclaimed Martin, "the time about which your orators so boldly vaunt, amid the fierce shouts of your applause? If it come not when one of you, selected by your enemies as your champion, is sent to perish among thieves and murderers, for the crime of loving and defending his native land—then it will never come—*never*."

During the trial, Dublin was under a complete reign of terror. Reilly was arrested on the charge of saying to men of his club, when turning into their place of meeting—"left wheel." It was a term of military drilling, though the clubmen were without weapons. He was kept in a station-house all night; and bail was refused in the morning. In the course of the day he was fully committed for trial, and bail was taken. During the whole week, the whole large force of the city police had orders to stop all processions, to arrest citizens, on any or on no charge; and generally to "strike terror." In the meantime, every day was bringing in more terrible news of the devastation of the famine, and evictions of the tenantry. "On Friday," says the Tipperary *Vindicator*, (describing one of these scenes,) "the landlord appeared upon the ground, attended by the sheriff and a body of policemen, and commenced the process of ejectment," &c. On that morning, and at that spot, thirty persons were dragged out of their houses, and the houses pulled down. One of the evicted tenants was a widow—"a solvent tenant comes and offers to pay the arrears due by the widow; but a desire on Mr. Scully's part to *consolidate*, prevented the arrangement."

The same week, a writer in the Cork *Examiner*, writing from Skibbereen, says:—

"Our town presents nothing but a moving mass of military and police, conveying to and from the Court House crowds of famine culprits. I attended the court for a few hours this day. The dock was crowded with the prisoners, not one of whom, when called up for trial, was able to support himself in front of the dock. The sentence of the court was received by each prisoner with apparent satisfaction. Even transportation appeared to many to be a relaxation from their sufferings."

On Tuesday, of the same week—it being then well known that the Crown would pack their jury—a meeting of the citizens of Dublin was held at the Royal Exchange, to protest; and Mr. John O'Connell went so far as to move this resolution: "*Resolved*, That we consider the right of trial by a jury as a most sacred inheritance; in the security of person, property, and character." The meeting then proceeded to protest against "the practice of arranging juries to obtain

convictions" During the same week the poor houses, hospitals, jails, and many buildings taken temporarily for the purpose, were overflowing with starving wretches ; and fevered patients were occupying the same bed with famished corpses ;—but on every day of the same week large cargoes of grain and cattle were leaving every port for England. The Orangemen of the North were holding meetings to avow hostility to repealers and to "Jezebel," and eagerly crying, "To hell with the Pope !" Thus British policy was in full and successful operation at every point, on the day when the Government seized on its first victim, under a new law specially made for his case, and carried him off in fetters, under the false pretence of a trial and conviction.

CHAPTER LXI.

1848—1849.

Reconstitution of the Irish Confederation—New National Journals Established — The *Tribune*—The *Felon* — New Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* — Numerous Arrests—O'Brien Attempts Insurrection —Ballingarry — Arrest and Trial of O'Brien and Others—Conquest of the Island—Destruction of the People—Incumbered Estates Act—Its Effects—No Tenant-Right—"Rate-in-Aid" — Queen's Visit to Ireland — Places Given to Catholics — Catholic Judges—Their Office and Duty—Ireland "Prosperous"—Statistics of the Famine Slaughter — Destruction of Three Millions of Souls—Flying from "Prosperity."

The fierce enthusiasm of the Irish Confederates appeared to be redoubled after the removal of the first convicted "felon." They hoped, at least, that if they were restrained from action *then*, it was to some good end, with some sure and well-defined purpose ; and, assuredly, there were many thousands of men then in Ireland who longed and burned for that end and that purpose, to earn an honorable death. How the British system disappointed them even of an honorable death, remains still to be told. A man may die in Ireland of hunger, or of famine-typhus, or of a broken heart ; but to die for your country—the death *dulce et decorum*—to die on a fair field, fighting for freedom and honor—to die the death ever of a defeated soldier, as Hofer died ; or so much as to mount the gallows, like Robert Emmet, to pay the penalty of a glorious "treason"—even this was an *euthanasia* which British policy could no longer afford to an Irish Nationalist.

Yet, with all odds against them—with the Irish gentry thoroughly corrupted or frightened out of their senses, and with the "Government" enemy obviously bent on treating our national aspiration as an ignominious crime, worthy to be ranked only with the offences of burglars or pickpockets —still, there were men resolved to dare the worst and uttermost for but one chance of rousing that down-trodden people to one manful effort of resistance against so grievous a tyranny. The Irish Confederation reconstituted its council, and set itself more diligently than ever to the task of inducing the people to procure arms, with a view to a final struggle in the harvest. And as it was clear there was nothing the enemy dreaded so much as a bold and honest newspaper, which would expose their plots of slaughter, and turn their liberal professions inside out, it was, before all things, necessary to establish a newspaper to take the place of the *United Irishman*.

It was a breach as deadly and imminent as ever yawned in a beleaguered wall ; but men were found prompt to stand in it. Within two weeks after Mitchel's trial, the *Irish Tribune* was issued, edited by O'Dogherty and Williams, with Antisell and Savage as contributors. In two weeks more, on the 24th of June, came forth another, and, perhaps, the ablest of our revolutionary organs—the *Irish Felon*. Its editor and proprietor was John Martin, a quiet country gentleman of the County Down, who had been for years connected with all national movements in Ireland—the Repeal Association, the Irish Confederation—but who had never been roused to the pitch of desperate resistance till he saw the bold and dashing atrocity of the enemy on occasion of Mitchel's pretended trial and conviction. He came at last, along with many other quiet men, to the conclusion that the nation must now set its back to the wall. James Fintan Lalor, one of the most powerful writers of his day, came up from Kildare County to aid in conducting the *Felon*, and for five weeks thereafter, "Treason-felony"

continued to be taught and enforced with great boldness and ability. But *six* weeks would have been too much for the patience of the Government. The police were ordered to forcibly stop the sale of papers by vendors in the streets; and warrants were issued for the arrest of all the editors—Martin, Duffy, O'Dogherty, and Williams. The country was beginning to bristle with pikes; men were praying for the whitening of the harvest; and it was plain that, before the reign of "Law and Order" should begin, other terrible examples must be made; other juries must be packed; then, after *that*, a Whig "Government" would surely begin to deal with Ireland in a conciliatory spirit!

Throughout all these scenes the horrible famine was raging as it had never raged before—the police and military, both in towns and in the country, were busily employed in the service of ejecting tenants—pulling down their houses—searching out and seizing hidden weapons—and escorting convoys of grain and provisions to the sea-side, as through an enemy's country. Yet, rumors began to grow and spread, (much exaggerated rumors,) of a very general arming amongst the peasantry and the clubmen of the towns; and the police had but small success in their searches for arms; for, in fact, these were carefully built into stone walls, or carried to the grave-yards, with a mourning funeral escort, and buried in coffins, shrouded in well-oiled flannel, "in hope of a happy resurrection."

The enemy thought it wisest not to wait for the harvest, and resolved to bring matters to a head at once. Accordingly, they asked Parliament to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland, so as to enable them to seize upon any person or number of persons whom they might think dangerous, and throw them into prison without any charge against them. Parliament passed the bill at once; and, in truth, it is an ordinary procedure in Ireland.

Instantly, numerous warrants were placed in the hands of the omnipresent police; and in every town and village in Ireland sudden arrests were made. The enemy had taken care to inform themselves who were the leading and active confederates all over the island, the Presidents and Secretaries of Clubs, and zealous organizers of drilling and pike exercise. These were seized from day to day, sometimes with circumstances of brutality, (which was useful to the enemy in "striking terror,") and thrust into dungeons, or paraded before their fellow-citizens in chains. Martin and the other editors were in Newgate Prison, awaiting transportation as felons. Warrants were out against O'Brien and Meagher.

Well, *the time* had come at last. If Ireland had one blow to strike, now was her day. Queen Victoria would not wait till the autumn should place in the people's hands the ample commissariat of their war, and decreed that if they *would* fight, they should, at least, fight fasting. O'Brien was at the house of a friend in Wexford County when he heard of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. He was quickly joined by Dillon and Meagher—Doheny and MacManus, with some others, betook themselves to the Tipperary hills, and "put themselves upon the country." O'Gorman hurried to Limerick and Clare, to see what preparation existed there for the struggle, and to give it a direction. Reilly and Smith ranged over Kilkenny and Tipperary, eagerly seeking for insurrectionary fuel ready to be kindled, and sometimes in communication with O'Brien and his party, at other times alone. To O'Brien, an account of his character, his services, and his value to the cause, the leadership seemed to be assigned by common consent.

It is very easy for those who sat at home in those days, to criticise the proceedings of O'Brien, and the brave men who sought, in his company, for an honorable chance of throwing their lives away. But, it must be obvious, from the narrative of the three years' previous famine, what a hopeless sort of material for spirited national resistance was then to be found in the rural districts of Ireland. Bands of exterminated peasants, trooping to the already too full poor houses; straggling columns of hunted wretches, with their old people, wives, and little ones, wending their way to Cork or Waterford, to take shipping for America;

the people not yet ejected frightened and desponding, with no interest in the land they tilled, no property in the house above their heads, no food, no arms, with the slavish habits bred by long ages of oppression ground into their souls, and that momentary proud flush of passionate hope kindled by O'Connell's agitation, long since dimmed and darkened by bitter hunger and hardship. It was no easy task to rouse such a people as this. But there is in the Irish nature a wonderful spring and an intense vitality, insomuch that the chances of a successful insurrection in '48 may have been by no means desperate. At any rate, O'Brien and his comrades were resolute to give the people a chance, knowing full well that though they should be mown down in myriads by shot and steel, it would be a better lot than poor houses and famine-graves.

It is needful, here, to speak of the Irish priesthood, and the part which they took in that last agony of our country. Hitherto, there has not been occasion to say much of the Catholic Church, though it makes so potent an element in Irish life, for the reason that in all vehement popular movements it always follows the people, and never leads—unless the movement be strong and sweeping enough to command and cöerce the clergy, the clergy keep aloof from it altogether. Instinctively the Church adheres to what is established, and opposes violent action. Thus, in O'Connell's Repeal agitation, several Bishops held themselves neutral; and hundreds of priests, as was well known, were zealous repealers against their will; only because the popular passion was too strong for them to resist. Afterwards, however, many of the Catholic clergy had come over to the "Young Ireland" party. Some of them, indeed, being more Irishmen than Romans, did from the first fully sympathize with the national aspirations of their island—did profoundly feel her wrongs, and burn to redress or avenge them. When the final scene opened, however, and the whole might of the empire was gathering itself to crush us, the clergy, as a body, were found on the side of the Government, and cannot be severely blamed for it, as they were convinced of the utter hopelessness of the struggle at that time.

O'Brien, Dillon, and Meagher, with some few followers, and without arms or stores taking the field against the potent monarchy of England, were, indeed, but a forlorn hope. They can scarcely be said to have had a plan. O'Brien resolutely refused to commence a struggle, which he felt to be for man's dearest rights, by attacking and plundering the estates and mansions of the gentry—who, however, were then generally fortified and barricaded in their own houses, to hold the country for the enemy.

For several days he went from place to place, attended by his friends, followed sometimes by two or three hundred people, half-armed, always expecting to meet a party with a warrant for his arrest; in which case it would be *war*, both defensive and offensive, to the last extremity. All around him were country mansions of nobles and gentlemen who had openly avowed themselves, (in their "Addresses of Confidence,") for the English, and against their own people, who had publicly branded *him* as a rebel, and offered their lives and fortunes for the work of crushing him; and he, an outlaw, declined to exact contributions from them to feed his followers and hold them together. All this was resolved and done from the purest and most conscientious motives, undoubtedly; but it was, perhaps, not the best mode of commencing a revolution.

All this while, from day to day, crowds of stout men, many of them armed, flocked to O'Brien's company; but they uniformly melted off, as usual—partly compelled by want of provisions, partly under the influence of the clergy. The last time he had any considerable party together, was at Ballingarry, where forty-five armed police had barricaded themselves in a strong stone house, under the command of a certain Captain Trant, who certainly had the long-expected warrant to arrest O'Brien, but who was afraid to execute it until after the arrival of some further reinforcement. O'Brien went to one of the front windows, and called on Captain Trant to surrender. Trant demanded half an hour to consider. During this half hour some of the crowd had thrown a few stones through the

windows; and Captain Trant, seeing that the people could not be controlled much onger by O'Brien, gave orders to fire. O'Brien rushed between the people and the window, climbed on the window, and once more called upon the police to surrender. At the first volley from the house two men fell dead, and others were wounded, and the crowd on that side fell back, leaving O'Brien almost alone in the garden before the house.

Trant was shortly afterwards reinforced by the force he expected. Mr. O'Brien's followers were by this time scattered and gone. He scarce made an effort even to provide for his own safety, and was soon arrested.

In fact, there was no insurrection. The people in those two or three counties did not believe that he meant to fight; and nothing would persuade them of that but some desperate enterprise. Yet, they were all ready and willing; and, indeed, are at all times ready and willing to fight against a dominion, which represents to them nearly all that they know of evil in this world.

From the first moment that the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* act placed the liberties of Irishmen at the disposal of Lord Clarendon, the police received secret orders to arrest all leading confederates, both in town and country. A return was in the beginning of the next year, 1849, made to Parliament of the number of persons, and their names, who were imprisoned under that law. There were one hundred and eighteen of them; including most of the very men on whom O'Brien might reasonably have relied to sustain his movement. They were all imprisoned in various jails, without any charge, or one word of explanation; removed in batches from one prison to some other, in a distant part of the island, with no other object, apparently, but to exhibit them in chains, and strike a wholesome terror into all spectators.

To arrive at an accurate list and due selection of leading confederates, Lord Clarendon employed without scruple, both Post Office spying * and the regular service of detectives.

Certain "trials" ensued in the usual style. First, the editors were brought to trial under the new "Treason-felony" act; and O'Brien and his immediate comrades, under the Common Law, for the crime of "high treason," having appeared in arms against the "Government." The Government would gladly have dispensed with these trials, and removed their captives out of the way by a more summary process. But they must not forget that they were a "liberal" Government, and had a reputation to support before the world. Ireland was not Naples, but, indeed, a far more miserable country, and political offenders could by no means be suffered to perish by long confinement in subterranean dungeons without trial. But, then, arose the question of juries; and the "Government" knew full well that no jury in Ireland impartially empaneled according to law, and really representing the nation, would convict one of those men for any offence whatsoever.

They could not refuse a trial; but one thing they could do, which the King of Naples had not yet learned—they could pack the juries. No doubt it was painful to have to pack juries *again*. Whig reputation could ill endure it. But they hoped this would be the last time. They knew that in the eyes of Englishmen, the extreme urgency of the occasion would justify this one last tremendous fraud. When we say, "in the eyes of Englishmen," the reader will understand that we mean the ruling classes of Englishmen—namely, the landed interests, and the monied and mercantile interests; in short, those Englishmen whose opinions and interests are alone consulted in the government of that country. To *them* it was an absolute necessity of their existence that Irish national movements should be crushed down by any means and all means.

The Whig Government, in fact, felt that if they satisfied the men of rank and money in England, they did the whole duty of Whigs; and the men of rank and money were eagerly crying out to have the

* The return on this subject laid before Parliament only brings down the letter-spies as far as Lord De Grey, in 1843. But as the report on the occasion declared the Post Office *espionnage* a needful branch of administration in Ireland, it may be assumed, without scruple, that it was resorted to not only by Lord Clarendon, but by every Viceroy since.

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last embers of that long national struggle stamped out.

O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donohoe were to have their trial before a special commission in Clonmel, the capital of Tipperary. On the details of these trials we need not dwell; because they were on the same pattern with other scenes of this same kind already narrated. The officials of the Crown showed a stern, dogged determination to disregard every remonstrance, to refuse every application, and to do the work intrusted to them in the most coarse, insolent, and thorough-going style. For example, Mr. Whiteside, O'Brien's counsel, reminded the Court "that, *in England*, persons charged with high treason are allowed a copy of the jurors' panel, and a list of the witnesses to be examined on the part of the Crown." Here is one extract from the report of the "trial":—

"The learned counsel put it to the Court, whether Mr. O'Brien, under trial in a country said to be under the same Government and laws as England, should not have the same privilege which he would enjoy, as a matter of right, if he happened to be tried on the other side of the channel.

"The Court decided that the prisoner was not entitled to the privilege."

When the clerk read the names of the jury-panel, Mr. O'Brien, of course, challenged the array, on the ground of fraud; and, of course, the Court ruled against him.

"Mr. Whiteside stated that it made little difference whether his client were tried by a jury selected from a panel thus constituted, or taken and shot through the head on the high road. No less than one hundred Catholics had been struck off the panel, and so few left on, that Mr. O'Brien's right to challenge was now little better than a farce. This objection was also overruled—Chief Justice Blackburne having decided that the panel was properly made out."

O'Brien, whose mind was made up to meet any fate, stood in the dock during this nine days' trial, with a haughty calmness. What thoughts passed through that proud heart as the odious game proceeded, no human eye will ever read; but of one thing we may be sure—his grief, shame, and indignation were not for himself, but for the down-trodden country where such a scene could be enacted in the open day, and against the will of nine-tenths of its inhabitants.

There followed, in due course, the usual barbarous death-sentence:—

"That sentence is, that you, William Smith O'Brien, be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you are dead; and that afterwards your head shall be severed from your body, and your body divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as Her Majesty shall think fit. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

He hears it unmoved as a statue; inclines his head in a stately bow; politely takes leave of his counsel, and returns to his prison.

Again, and again, and again, the same process was performed in all its parts. MacManus was next tried, then O'Donohoe, then Meagher; their juries were all carefully packed; they were all sentenced to be hanged; and they all met the announcement of their fate as men ought. For more than a month these trials went on, from day to day; and it was the 23d of October when the last sentence was pronounced. A strong garrison of cavalry, infantry, and artillery occupied the town, and inclosed the scene with a hedge of steel. Outside, the people muttered deep curses, and chafed with impotent rage. A few daring spirits, headed by O'Mahony, once contemplated an attack and rescue; but the people had been too grievously frightened, and too effectually starved by the Government, to be equal to so dashing an exploit; and so that solemn and elaborate insult was once more put upon our name and nation; and the four men who had sought to save their people from so abject a condition, lay undisturbed in Clonmel jail, sentenced to death. And whosoever has studied even the imperfect sketch given in these pages of the potent and minutely-elaborated system of oppression that pressed upon that nation at every point, and tied down every limb,

watching over every man, woman, and child, at their uprising and downlying, so as to be enabled to foresee and to baffle even the slightest approach to combination for a national purpose *—will assuredly not wonder at the utter and abject helplessness of the nation, in presence of so cruel an outrage.

The newspaper editors were still to be "tried." In the months of October and November, 1848, Duffy, of the *Nation*, Williams and O'Doherty, of the *Tribune*, and Martin, of the *Felon*, were successively brought up for trial in the City Court House, of Green street. Their newspapers had been suppressed weeks before, their offices broken up, their types, and presses, and books seized. O'Doherty and Martin were "convicted" by well-packed juries, containing not a single Catholic. In the cases of Duffy and Williams, the enemy ventured to leave one or two Catholics on the juries. Williams was acquitted; Duffy's jury disagreed, and he was retained in prison till a more tractable jury could be manufactured. Again he was brought to trial, and again the jury disagreed. Still he was kept in custody, though his health was rapidly failing; and, at last, when all apprehension of trouble seemed to be over, and the more dangerous conspirators were disposed of, the "Government" yielded to a memorial on his behalf, and abandoned the prosecution.

In the matter of those sentenced to death, Ministers, after much deliberation, decided on sparing their lives, and commuting their punishment to transportation for life. This was done under the false pretence of clemency; but it was, in truth, the most refined cruelty; it was, moreover, illegal—there being no law to authorize such a commutation. The prisoners, therefore, objected through their counsel; they had no use for life under such circumstances; and demanded to have the extreme benefit of the law. Ministers, however, were resolved to be merciful—introduced an act into Parliament, empowering the Queen to transport them—had it passed at once—and immediately shipped them off to herd with felons in the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land. O'Doherty and Martin having been originally sentenced to ten years' transportation, were sent away at the same time, but in another ship; and for more than five years, in the most degrading bondage, they expiated the crime of "not having sold their country."

A few unconcerted and desperate attempts were made in Munster, by O'Mahony and Savage, by Brennan and Gray, to draw the people together, and achieve some one daring act, which might awaken the insurrectionary spirit. They all failed, or were easily suppressed. The clergy were now decidedly and actively in the interest of "law and order;" that is, in the interest of England; and the more regular police were on the alert by day and night, and the island bristled with forty thousand bayonets. "Tranquillity reigned in Warsaw." John O'Connell, in Conciliation Hall, pointed to the sad fate of those who had disregarded the counsels of the "Liberator"—entreated the people to sustain him in his moral and peaceful appeals to Parliament; and promised that Ireland should be, at some early day, "first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea."

What to do now with this Ireland, thus fallen under the full and peaceful possession of her "sister island," was the subject of serious thought in England. The famine was still slaying its tens of thousands; and the Government emigration scheme was drawing away many thousands more and shooting them out naked and destitute on the shores of the St. Lawrence; so that it was hoped the "Celts" would soon be thinned out to the proper point. The very danger so lately escaped, however, brought home to the British Government, and to the Irish landlords, the stern necessity of continued extermination. It was better, they felt, to have too few hands to till the ground, than too many for the security of law and order.

A plan for a new "Plantation of Ireland" was promulgated by Sir Robert Peel—that is, for replacing the Irish with good

* We may once more refer to the memorable words of an English Attorney-General's description of the British *regime* in Ireland: "Notice is taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known not only now they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do."

Anglo-Saxons. This project for a new Plantation in Ireland was anxiously revolved in the Councils of the Government. It began to be believed that the peasant class, being now almost sufficiently thinned out—and the claim of tenants to some sort of right or title to the land they tilled, having been successfully resisted and defeated—that the structure of society in Ireland having been well and firmly planted upon a basis of able-bodied pauperism, (which the English, however, called "independent labor,") the time was come to effect a transfer of the real estate of the island from Irish to English hands. This grand idea afterwards elaborated itself into the famous "Incumbered Estates act."

The conquest of the island was now regarded in England as effectually consummated — England, great, populous, and wealthy, with all the resources and vast patronage of an existing government in her hands—with a magnificent army and navy —with the established course and current of commerce steadily flowing in the precise direction that suited her interests—with a powerful party on her side in Ireland itself, bound to her by lineage and by interest—and, above all, with her vast brute mass lying between us and the rest of Europe, enabling her to intercept the natural sympathies of other struggling nations, to interpret between us and the rest of mankind, and represent the troublesome sister island exactly in the light in which she wished to be regarded—England prosperous, potent, and at peace with all the earth besides—had succeeded, (to her immortal honor and glory,) in anticipating and crushing out of sight the last agonies of resistance in a small, poor, and divided island, which she had herself made poor and divided, carefully disarmed, almost totally disfranchised, and almost totally deprived of the benefits of that very British "law" against which we revolted with such loathing and horror. England had done this; and whatsoever credit and prestige, whatsoever profit and power could be gained by such a feat, she has them all. "Now, for the first time these six hundred years," said the London *Times*, "England has Ireland at her mercy, and can deal with her as she pleases."

It was an opportunity not to be lost, for interests of British civilization. Parliament met late in January, 1849. The Queen, in her "speech," lamented that "*another* failure of the potato crop had caused severe distress in Ireland;" and, thereupon, asked Parliament to continue, "for a limited period," the extraordinary powers; that is, the power of proclaiming any district under martial law, and of throwing suspected persons into prison, without any charge against them. The act was passed, of course.

Then, as the famine of 1848 was fully as grievous and destructive as any of the previous famines—as the rate-payers were impoverished, and, in most of the unions, could not pay the rates already due—and were thus rapidly sinking into the condition of paupers; giving up the hopeless effort to maintain themselves by honest industry, and throwing themselves on the earnings of others; as the poor houses were all filled to overflowing, and the exterminated people were either lying down to die or crowding into the emigrant ships—as, in short, the Poor law, and the New Poor law, and the Improved Poor law, and the Supplementary Poor law, had all manifestly proved a "failure." Lord John Russell's next step was to give Ireland *more* Poor laws.

The expression *failure* must, however, be qualified as before. They were a failure for their professed purpose—that of relieving the famine; but were a complete success for their real purpose—that of uprooting the people from the land, and casting them forth to perish. Irishmen have not much faith in the "Government" statistics of their country; but as it is well to see how much the enemy was willing to admit, we give some details from a report furnished in '48 by Captain Larcom, under the orders of Government, and founded on local reports of police inspectors. The main facts are epitomized thus, for one year:—

"In the number of farms, of from *one* to *five* acres, the decrease has been twenty-four thousand one hundred and forty-seven; from *five* to *fifteen* acres, twenty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine; from *fifteen* to *thirty* acres, four thousand two hundred and seventy-four; whilst of farms *above* thirty acres the *increase* has been

three thousand six hundred and seventy. Seventy thousand occupiers, with their families, numbering about three hundred thousand, were rooted out of the land.

"In Leinster, the decrease in the number of holdings not exceeding one acre, as compared with the decrease of '47, was three thousand seven hundred and forty-nine; above one, and not exceeding five, was four thousand and twenty-six; of five, and not exceeding fifteen, was two thousand five hundred and forty-six; of fifteen to thirty, three hundred and ninety-one; making a total of ten thousand six hundred and seventeen.

"In Munster, the decrease in the holdings, under thirty acres, is stated at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fourteen; the increase over thirty acres, one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine.

"In Ulster, the decrease was one thousand five hundred and two; the increase, one thousand one hundred and thirty-four.

"In Connaught, where the labor of ex termination was least, the clearance has been most extensive. There, in particular, the roots of holders of the soil were never planted deep beneath the surface, and consequently were exposed to every exterminator's hand. There were in 1847, thirty-five thousand six hundred and thirty-four holders of from one to five acres. In the following year there were less by nine thousand seven hundred and three; there were seventy-six thousand seven hundred and seven holders of from five to fifteen acres, less in one year by twelve thousand eight hundred and ninety-one; those of from fifteen to thirty acres were reduced by two thousand one hundred and twenty-one; a total depopulation of twenty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-nine holders of land, exclusive of their families, was effected in Connaught in one year."

On this report it may be remarked that it was a list of killed and wounded in one year of carnage only—and of one class of people only. It takes no account of the dead in that multitudinous class thinned the most by famine, who had no land at all, but lived by the labor of their hands, and who were exposed before the others, as having nothing but life to lose. As for the landlords, already incumbered by debt, the pressure of the Poor-rates was fast breaking them down. In most cases, they were not so much as the receivers of their own rents, and had no more control over the bailiffs, sheriffs, and police, who plundered and chased away the people, than one of the pillars of their own grand entrance-gates.

The slaughter by famine was enormous this season. Here is one paragraph from amongst the commercial reports of the Irish papers, which will suggest more than any labored narrative could inculcate:—

"Upwards of one hundred and fifty ass hides have been delivered in Dublin from the County Mayo, for exportation to Liverpool. The carcasses, owing to the scarcity of provisions, had been used as food!"

But those who could afford to dine upon famished jackasses were few, indeed. During this winter of 1848–9, hundreds of thousands perished of hunger. During this same winter, the herds and harvests raised on Irish ground were floating off to England on every tide—and, during this same winter almost every steamship *from* England daily carried Irish paupers, men, women, and children, away from Liverpool and Bristol to share the good cheer of their kinsmen at home.

It was in this state of things that Lord John Russell, having first secured a continued suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, proposed an additional and novel sort of Poor-rate for Ireland. It was called the "Rate-in-Aid." That is to say, Poor Law Unions which were still solvent, and could still in some measure maintain their own local poor, were to be rated for relief of such unions as had sunk under the pressure. Assuming that Ireland and England are two integral parts of an "United Kingdom," (as we are assured they are,) it seems hard to understand why a district in Leinster should be rated to relieve a pauper territory in Mayo—and a district in Yorkshire not. Or to comprehend why old and spent Irish laborers, who had given the best of their health and strength to the service of England, should be shipped off to Ireland to increase and intensify the pauperism and despair. But so it was: the maxim was,

that "the property of Ireland must support the poverty of Ireland;" without consideration of the fact that the property of Ireland was all this time supporting the luxury of England.

The next measure passed in the same session of Parliament was the "Incumbered Estates act"—the act of Twelfth and Thirteenth Victoria, chap. 77. Under this, a royal commission was issued, constituting a new court "for the sale of Incumbered Estates;" and the scope and intent of it were to give a short and summary method of bringing such estates to sale, on petition either of creditors or of owners. Before that time the only mode of doing this was through the slow and expensive proceedings of the Court of Chancery; and the number of incumbered landlords had grown so very large since the famine began, their debts so overwhelming, and their rental so curtailed, that the London Jews, money-brokers, and insurance offices, required a speedier and cheaper method of bringing their property to the hammer. What ought to be fully understood is, that this act was not intended to relieve, and did not relieve, anybody in Ireland; but that, under pretence of facilitating legal proceedings, it contemplated a sweeping confiscation and new plantation of the island. The English press was already complacently anticipating a peaceable transfer of Irish land to English and Scotch capitalists, and took pains to encourage them to invest their money under the new act. Ireland, it was now declared, had become tranquil; "the Celts were gone;" and if any trouble should arise, there was the *Habeas Corpus* Suspension act; and the horse, foot, and artillery, and the juries. Singular to relate, however, the new act did not operate satisfactorily in that direction. English capitalists had a wholesome terror of Tipperary, and of the precarious tenure by which an Irish landlord holds his life; insomuch that the great bulk of the sales made by the commissioners were made to Irishmen; and in the official return of the operations of the Court, up to October, 1851, it appears that while the gross amount produced by the sales had been more than three and a half millions sterling, there had only been fifty-two English and Scottish purchasers to the amount of £319,486.*

Seeing this imperfect progress in the new plantation of Ireland, Ministers, in March, 1850, introduced a supplemental bill. The Solicitor-General who moved it was even so incautious as to admit the motive. "They had devised a plan," he said, "which, it was hoped, would induce *capitalists from England* to take an interest in these sales." The plan was a mere financial operation, creating a species of debentures chargeable on the land, and passing current like any other stock or scrip; but it need not be described in detail; for the plan was abandoned, and it is only mentioned here to exhibit the policy of England as indicated by the Solicitor-General.

Down to the 25th May, 1857, there had been given orders for sale to the number of three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven; the property had been sold to seven thousand two hundred and sixteen purchasers, of whom six thousand nine hundred and two were Irish—the rest English, Scotch, or other foreigners. The estates already sold brought upwards of twenty millions sterling, which was almost all distributed to creditors and other parties interested. The result to Ireland was simply this—about one-fifteenth part of the island had changed hands; had gone from one landlord and come to another landlord; the result to the great tenant class was simply *nil*. The new landlord came over them armed with the power of life and death, like his predecessor; but he had no local or personal attachment which in some cases used to mitigate the severity of landlord rule—and he was bound to make interest on his investment. The estates, therefore, have been broken up, on an average, into one-half their former size, and this has been much dwelt upon as an "amelioration;" but we have yet to learn that small landlords are more mild and merciful than great ones. On the whole, the "Incumbered Estates act" has benefitted only the money-lenders of England.

As to "tenant-right," the salutary custom explained before, and which did once prac-

* Almanac and Directory, 1852.

tically secure to the tenantry in some portions of Ulster, a permanency of tenure on payment of their rent, our Parliamentary patriots have been agitating for it, begging for it, conferring with Ministers about it, eating public dinners, making speeches, and soliciting votes on account of it; but they have never made, and are never likely to make, an approach by one hair's-breadth to its attainment. It is absolutely essential to the existence of the British Empire that the Irish peasant class be kept in a condition which will make them entirely manageable —easy to be thinned out when they grow too numerous, and an available *materiel* for armies. It is a necessity for the British commercial, social, and Governmental system—but this is not said by way of complaint. Those who are of opinion that British civilization is a blessing, and a light to lighten the world, will easily reconcile themselves to the needful condition. Those who deem it the most base and horrible tyranny that has ever scandalized the earth, will probably wish that its indispensable prop —Ireland—were knocked from under it.

In the meantime, neither the Incumbered Estates act, nor any other act, made or to be made by an English Parliament, has done or aimed to do anything towards giving the Irish tenant-at-will the smallest interest in the land he tills; but, on the contrary, the whole course of the famine-legislation was directed to the one end of shaking small lease-holders loose from the soil, and converting them into tenants-at-will, or into "independent laborers," or able-bodied paupers, or lean corpses. Understand, further, that the condition of an Irish "tenant-at-will" is unique on the face of the globe,* is utterly unintelligible to most civilized Europeans, and is only to be found within the sway of that Constitution which is the envy of surrounding nations. The German, Von Raumer, making a tour in Ireland, thus tries to explain the thing:—

"How shall I translate *tenants-at-will*? *Wegjagbare*? Expellable? Serfs? But n the ancient days of vassalage, it consisted rather in keeping the vassals attached to the soil, and by no means in driving them away. An ancient vassal is a lord compared with the present tenant-at-will, to whom the law affords no defence. Why not call them *Jagabare* (*chaseable*)? But this difference lessens the analogy—that for hares, stags, and deer, there is a season during which no one is allowed to hunt them—whereas tenants-at-will are hunted all the year round. And if any one would defend his farm, (as badgers and foxes are allowed to do,) it is here denominated *rebellion*."

In 1849, it was still believed that the depopulation had not proceeded far enough; and the English Government was fully determined, having so gracious an opportunity, to make a clean sweep. One of the provisions of Lord John Russell's *Rate-in-Aid* bill was for imposing an additional rate of two shillings and sixpence in the pound, to promote *emigration*. During the two years, 1848–9, the Government Census Commissioners admit nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five deaths by famine alone; a number which would be about true if multiplied by twenty five. In 1850, they were nearly seven thousand, as admitted by the same authorities; and in the first quarter of 1851, six hundred and fifty-two deaths by hunger, they say, "are recorded."

In the very midst of all this havoc, in August, 1849, Her Majesty's Ministers thought the coast was clear for a royal visit. The Queen had long wished, it was said, to visit her people of Ireland; and the great army of persons, who, in Ireland, are paid to be loyal, were expected to get up the appearance of rejoicing. Of course, there were crowds in the streets; and the natural courtesy of the people prevented almost everything which could grate upon the lady's ear, or offend her eye. One Mr. O'Reilly, indeed, of South Great George's street, hoisted on the top of his house a large *black* banner, displaying the crownless harp; and draped his windows with black curtains, showing the words *famine* and *pestilence*; but the police burst into his house, tore down the flag and the curtains, and thrust the proprietor into jail.

On the whole, the Viceroy's precautions against any show of disaffection, were com-

* Paralleled in some sort only by the *ryots* of India —another people privileged to enjoy the blessings of British rule.

plete and successful. Nine out of ten citizens of Dublin eagerly hoped that Her Majesty would make this visit the occasion of a "pardon" to O'Brien and his comrades. Lord Clarendon's organs, therefore, and his thousand placemen, and agents of every grade, diligently whispered into the public ear, that the Queen would certainly pardon the state prisoners, if she were not insulted by repeal demonstrations—in short, if there was not one word said about those individuals. The consequence was, that no whisper was heard about repeal, nor about the state prisoners.

Although there was no chance of tenant-right, no chance of Ireland being allowed to manage her own affairs—yet, towards Catholics, of the educated classes, there was much liberality. Mr. Wyse was sent as an ambassador to Greece; Mr. More O'Ferrall was made Governor of Malta; many barristers, once loud in their patriotic devotion at Conciliation Hall, were appointed to commissionerships and other offices,* and Ireland became "tranquil" enough. For result of the whole long struggle, England was left, for a time, more securely in possession than ever of the property, lives, and industry of the Irish nation. She had not parted with a single atom of her plunder, nor in the slightest degree weakened any of her garrisons, either military, civil, or ecclesiastical. Her "Established Church" remained in full force—the wealthiest church in the world, quartered upon the poorest people, who abhor its doctrine, and regard its pastors as ravening wolves. It had, indeed, often been denounced in the London Parliament, by Whigs out of place; Mr. Roebuck had called it "the greatest ecclesiastical enormity in Europe;" Mr. Macauley had termed it "the most utterly absurd and indefensible of all the institution now existing in the civilized world." But we have already learned what value there is in the liberal declarations of Whigs out of place. Once in place and power, they felt that the "enormity" of the Established Church, absurd and indefensible as it was, constituted one of their greatest and surest holds upon the Irish aristocracy, to whose younger sons and dependents, it affords a handsome and not too laborious livelihood.

The Orangemen, also, were still maintained in full force. They are all armed; for no bench of magistrates will refuse a good Protestant the liberty of keeping a gun; and, lest they might not have enough, the Government sometimes supplies arms for distribution among the lodges. The police and detective system continued to be more highly organized than ever; and the Government Board of "National" Education, more diligently than ever inculcated the folly and vice of national aspirations.

Yet Ireland, we are told, has been, since the famine, improving and prosperous. Yes; it cannot be denied, that two millions and a half of the people having been slain, or driven to seek safety by flight, the survivors began to live better for a time. There was a smaller supply of labor, with the same demand for it—therefore, wages were higher. There was more cattle and grain to export to England, because there were fewer mouths to be fed; and England, (in whose hands are the issues of life and death for Ireland,) can afford to let *so* many live.

* By degrees, considerable numbers of Catholic barristers have been admitted to the judicial bench, (although never to the rank of Chancellor) They usually earned this promotion by political services; and they have proved, in fact, the most useful servants to the English Government, in carrying on the infamous transactions which pass for trials of "political offenders" in Ireland. They sit by gravely and complacently, and see juries packed for the destruction of better and braver men than those judges ever were. They know that the object of the odious fraud over which they preside, is to perpetuate British dominion over their unhappy country—unhappy in nothing more than in having given birth to *them*. They know, further, that the operation and intent of that British domination are to plunder and to exterminate their countrymen, their kinsmen, their own flesh and blood. And they have deliberately elected their side—against their countrymen and kinsmen, and with the mortal enemies of their countrymen. In other words, they have sold their country and themselves; and the special service which *they* are expected to do—the job which they sit on that bench to put through—is precisely to countenance this very fraud and villany of jury-packing—to grace it with their robes and ermine—to preside with dignified gravity while the Sheriff and Attorney-General do their wicked business—looking all the while as if it were a solemn inquest they are holding—and then, with feeling voice, and in a high moral tone, and with the solemn prate usual on such occasions, to sentence to death or exile, a man who has *not been tried;* a man, too, whom they are forced to respect, even in their own depraved hearts, while they hypocritically lecture him upon his own enormous iniquities.

Upper classes, and lower classes, merchants, lawyers, state-officials, civil and military, are ndebted for all that they have, for all that they are, or hope for, to the sufferance and forbearance of a foreign and hostile nation. This being the case, the prosperity of Ireland, even such ignominious prosperity as it is, has no guarantee or security.

A few statistics may fitly conclude this part of the subject.

The census of Ireland in 1841 gave a population of eight millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and twenty-five. At the usual rate of increase, there must have been, in 1846, when the famine commenced, at least eight millions seven hundred and fifty thousand; at the same rate of increase, there ought to have been, in 1851, (according to the estimate of the Census Commissioners,) nine millions eighteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine. But in that year, after five seasons of artificial famine, there were found alive only six millions five hundred and fifty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-five—a *deficit* of about two millions and a half. Now, what became of those two millions and a half?

The "Government" Census Commissioners, and compilers of returns of all sorts, whose principal duty it has been, since that fatal time, to conceal the amount of the havoc, attempt to account for nearly the whole deficiency by emigation. In *Thom's Official Almanac*, we find set down on one side, the actual decrease from 1841 to 1851, (that is, without taking into account the increase by births in that period,) one million six hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-four. Against this, they place their own estimate of the emigration during those same ten years, which they put down at one million five hundred and eighty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-three. But, in the first place, the decrease did not *begin* till 1846—there had been till then a rapid increase n the population—the Government returns, hen, not only ignore the increase, but set the emigration of *ten* years against the depopulation of *five*. This will not do; we must reduce their emigrants by one-half, say to six hundred thousand—and add to the depopulation the estimated increase *up* to 1846, say half a million. This will give upwards of two millions, whose disappearance is to be accounted for—and six hundred thousand emigrants in the other column. Balance unaccounted for, *a million and a half*.

This is without computing those who were born in the five famine years; whom we may leave to be balanced by the deaths from *natural* causes in the same period.

Now, that million and a half of men, women, and children, were carefully prudently, and peacefully *slain* by the English Government. They died of hunger in the midst of abundance, which their own hands created; and it is quite immaterial to distinguish those who perished in the agonies of famine itself from those who died of typhus fever, which in Ireland is always caused by famine.

Further, this was strictly an *artificial* famine—that is to say, it was a famine which desolated a rich and fertile island, that produced every year abundance and superabundance to sustain all her people and many more. The English, indeed, call that famine a dispensation of Providence; and ascribe it entirely to the blight of the potatoes. But potatoes failed in like manner all over Europe, yet there was no famine save in Ireland. The British account of the matter, then, is, first, a fraud; second, a blasphemy. The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine.

And, lastly, it has been shown, in the course of this narrative, that the depopulation of the country was not only encouraged by artificial means, namely, the Out-door Relief act, the Labor-rate act, and the emigration schemes, but that extreme care and diligence were used to prevent relief coming to the doomed island from abroad; and that the benevolent contributions of Americans and other foreigners were turned aside from their desired objects—not, let us say, in order that none should be saved alive, but that no interference should be made with the principles of political economy.

The Census Commissioners close one of their late reports with these words:—

RICHES ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

"In conclusion, we feel it will be gratifying to your excellency to find that, although the population has been diminished in so remarkable a manner, by famine, disease, and emigration, and has been since decreasing, the results of the Irish census are, *on the whole, satisfactory.*"

The commissioners mean to say that, although there are fewer men and women, there are more cattle and hogs for the English markets.

But the depopulation of the country by no means ended with the famine. Between 1851 and 1861, during which period of ten years there was no officially-declared famine, but, on the contrary, Ireland was continually felicitated by English Viceroys and statesmen upon her returning prosperity, we find that the diminution of the people steadily proceeded, so that, in 1861, the Census Commissioners found alive upon the Irish soil only five millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and forty-three individuals—less by three millions of souls than the population in 1845. This destruction of people is to be accounted for only in part by emigration, although emigration was very large in all those years. But, there is no fact better established in social and economic science than that emigration never does thin the people of any country to anything like its apparent amount; because, in a healthy condition of society, the loss from this cause is compensated by the greater increase of people at home. But the cruel truth is, that society in Ireland is in ruins; it has no longer any recuperative energy. British civilization has taken so powerful and deadly a hold of it, that not only do the people fly in multitudes from the terrible "prosperity" of their country, but those who remain and strive to hold their ground are perishing where they stand.

CHAPTER LXII.

1850—1851.

Depopulation — Emigration — "Plea for the Celtic Race"—Decay of the Irish Electoral Body—Act to Amend Representation—"Papal Aggression"—Rage in England—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Never Enforced—And Why—Orange Outrage in Down County—"Dolly's Brae"—Style of Orange Processions—Condition of the Country—Further Emigration—Still more Extermination—Crime and Outrage—Plenty and Prosperity in England—Conclusion.

In 1851 the island of Ireland still contained six and a half millions of people; which was much too large a pophlation to be compatible with English policy. It has been seen, in an earlier page of this narrative, that the British Government and Parliament had been long anxiously occupied, even before the first symptom of the "famine," in devising the best, cheapest, and readiest mode of getting rid of what was constantly called the "surplus population" of Ireland. In fact and practice, the migration of the poorer people had been proceeding on a considerable and still increasing scale for many years. No season passed in which thousands of Irishmen, wearied and worn out by the struggle against remediless misery and hopeless aggression, did not bid adieu to their dear native country, to seek a happier future in some distant land. The general use of steam in ocean navigation had also greatly facilitated the movement of emigration, by shortening distances and bringing continents nearer to one another. The whole amount of the emigration from Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1815, was but two thousand and eighty-one persons; but in 1852 it amounted to one hundred and seventy-six times that number—namely, three hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty four.*

In 1835, a Parliamentary Commission reported that there were in Ireland two millions three hundred and eighty thousand persons always in danger of perishing by hunger; and the island (although the most fertile country in all the earth,) being even

*General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1861. Appendix.

then periodically visited by terrible dearths and famine, it may have been natural to conclude that it would be doing Ireland a signal service to multiply the means of emigration ; but in carrrying out this idea, the Government was resolved to bring the whole movement of emigration, as well as everything else that was *Irish*, under its own control, as far as possible. During the fifteen years which preceded the famine, (1831–1846,) Ireland alone had furnished more than eight hundred thousand emigrants out of the total emigration from the three kingdoms. The exact numbers are eight hundred and nine thousand two hundred and forty-four, making an annual average of fifty-three thousand nine hundred and forty-nine ; and the number for all the three kingdoms during the same period was one million one hundred and seventy-one thousand four hundred and eighty-five.* Yet, the excess of births over both deaths and emigrations continued to make a sensible increase in the population ; and in the very same year (1841,) in which had occurred the largest *exodus* during that period, the census showed that the population of the island was greater than it had ever been before, and greater than it has ever been since officially declared, namely, eight millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and twenty-four. ‡

This result, showing the nullity of emigration as an agency of depleting a population, might have been more surprising if it had not been long foreseen. Far from deranging the calculations of economic science, it confirmed the conclusions of the best economists. No writer, native or foreign, who has treated of Irish affairs, has estimated with more sagacity the actual condition and necessities of our country than the illustrious French publicist, M. Gustave de Beaumont. Studying, in 1839, the condition of Ireland, and considering whether the favorite British prescription of emigration could in any great measure cure the miseries which he had witnessed in the country M. de Beaumont applied himself to the solution of these questions: 1st. What should be the proportions of the emigration if it were to materially affect the situation of the people? 2d. Would emigration upon such a scale be possible? 3d. Supposing it possible, would it be a radical solution of the difficulty? The advocates of wholesale emigration (all of them Englishmen,) answered the first question by estimating at two millions—or from two to four millions—the number of persons who must quit Ireland, in order to create at once so sensible a void in the population as should leave the rest at ease. The second question, then, was easy to answer—that on so vast a scale the project was simply impossible, for want of sufficient means of transport. For supposing that each emigrant vessel carried a thousand passengers, there must be employed in the operation two thousand ships. This would put in requisition the whole British merchant navy, and withdraw it from the commerce of the world for a project in itself chimerical ; for it would have been impossible to provide funds for the needful expenses ; and no country, not even the United States, could be expected to receive such an invasion *en masse*, and provide the unhappy invaders with the means and opportunity of earning their bread by their labor. But, assuming all these difficulties overcome, then arose M. de Beaumont's third question: Was it certain that, the system of land-tenure remaining the same, emigration would cure the evils of the country, and effect a social transformation? On this point, our very intelligent foreign visitor found it easy to demonstrate that the removal of one-third, or even half, of the population would be no radical remedy. The difficulty for Ireland, as he plainly saw, was not to make the land produce a sufficiency of food for all its people, but lay altogether in the system of land-tenure. "For," says the author, "if it be one of the settled principles of land proprietors, that the farmer should have no other profit out of his cultivation but just

* Reports of Commissioners of Emigration, in Thom's *Official Directory*. We often cite this statistical annual, prepared by authority of the British Government. But (on that very account,) it is untrustworthy, unless when it bears necessarily or unintentionally *against* the Government, and it is only for such evidence that we have recourse to it.

† But, in 1845, (when no census was taken,) the population must have amounted almost to nine millions. This fact is too often overlooked, and by the enemy's Government purposely ignored, for obvious reasons.

what is strictly necessary for his subsistence; and if it be the general custom to apply this system rigorously, so that every improvement in the farmer's way of living brings with it necessarily a rise in his rent—on this hypothesis, which, for those who know Ireland, is a sad reality, what would be the advantage of a diminution of the population?" * "Thus," he continues, "after many thousands of the Irish shall have disappeared, the lot of the remainder will probably be no way altered—they still may remain as miserable as they were before It has been seen, in the preceding inquiry, that with but one-third of its present inhabitants, Ireland was a century ago as indigent as in our own day, being subjected then, as at present, to the same causes of misery, independent of numbers." M. de Beaumont here refers to the authority of Swift and of Berkeley, which sufficiently establishes the misery of Ireland in their days.

In all this investigation the singularity is, that M. de Beaumont, knowing the wealth nd fertility of Ireland, and how she not only produced every year more than her people could consume, but also exported immense quantities of her produce, did not come at once to the conclusion, and proclaim his conclusion—that Ireland and the Irish are under the control of mortal enemies, whose single policy is to abolish the Irish race off the face of the earth.

Another calm and diligent inquirer,† after giving an account of the immense schemes of wholesale emigration, remarks: "It is in view of these sad teachings of the past that the most sincere and intelligent friends of Ireland counseled the British Government, rather to expend in vast works of drainage and cultivation, the sums estimated as required for the transport of emigrants. Lord Devon's Commission calculated that the emigration of one hundred thousand persons *per annum*, if effected at the public expense, and putting the cost at the moderate amount of six pounds sterling for each person, would cost £600,000 a year;—a sum which, annually applied to the purchase and improvement of unproductive lands, would undoubtedly permit the Irish to live at home, and rescue them from the necessity of going into exile to save their lives." Here the Abbé Perraud also seems to misapprehend, or else shrinks from uttering the horrible fact—that the object of all British policy in Ireland is now, and ever has been, to make it impossible for the Irish to live at home. In the writings of foreigners, even the most acute, and most friendly to Ireland, there is a steady—almost stolid—persistence in assuming that British statesmen, if they only knew how, would hasten to redress the ills of Ireland. For this reason, and for this alone, has the real history of Ireland remained a puzzle and a secret to even the most intelligent inquirers from other countries. They may as well understand at once, that the key of the whole mystery is this one fundamental truth—the single policy of England towards Ireland is, as it always has been, to extirpate the Irish nation. This maxim, well borne in mind, everything becomes simple enough.

In 1841, the number of inhabited houses in all Ireland, according to the official census,‡ was one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine. In 1851, it was one million forty-six thousand two hundred and ninety-four. But this decrease between those two periods of the census does not by any means represent the actual amount of destruction; because from 1841, (the census year,) till 1845, the population had been rapidly increasing, (as has been observed in a former chapter.) When the "famine" commenced, in 1846, we may fairly assume that the inhabited houses amounted to one million and a half; the decrease, then, in 1851, must be set down at almost *half a million* of houses or cabins, giving shelter on an average to five human beings each. These figures are in themselves sufficient to give a ghastly idea of the agony of Ireland, and of the too cruel efficiency of the methods so steadily pursued for the extirpation of its native inhabitants. "The Celts were gone,"

* M. de Beaumont II. 108.

† The Abbé Perraud. *Etudes sur l' Irlande contemporaine.*

‡ See *Thom's Official Almanac and Directory*, 1861.

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or rapidly going ; and this not the result of emigration, as we have seen, but of mere hunger and hardship. The system, and the motives and operation of the system became at length so clear and plain, that Mr. Isaac Butt, a Protestant barrister, (O'Connell's opponent in the famous Corporation Debate upon Repeal,) published some years later, (1866,) a work entitled *"A Plea for the Celtic Race,"* urging the impolicy, even in the interest of England, of entirely abolishing the whole breed.*

It is no way surprising, then, to find that the number of persons in all Ireland qualified to vote for county representatives in Parliament, had dwindled down on January 1, 1850, to considerably less than one thousand for each county ; or twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty for the thirty-two counties. The great County of Mayo had but two hundred electors ; and these almost all landed proprietors. This cannot be surprising to those who have followed the narrative of that long, wasting war systematically made on the race of small farmers—first by the abolition of the forty-shilling franchise ; then by the "consolidation" of farms ; by the frequent ejectment acts ; by the stimulus given to extermination and emigration ; finally, by the Poor laws and the famine.

The condition of the county representation, therefore, had become so scandalous, that Ministers, in 1850, judged it needful to extend, somehow or other, the numbers qualified to vote. But here arose a difficulty —there were no more freeholders ; that class had been too effectually shaken loose from the soil, impoverished, and extirpated. Many thousands of them who had escaped death, were by this time digging canals and railways in America. It was evident that nothing like an apparently adequate representation could be looked for, based upon the old and respectable condition of a freehold estate in land. But it occurred to Lord John Russell to found the franchise upon the *Poor-rates ;* thus connecting this ancient privilege of freemen with the odious and destructive system of public pauperism, which had been forced upon the island against its will, and had been corroding its people so fatally ever since.

Accordingly, a bill was introduced to "amend" the representation, both in counties and in boroughs. The Irish *Official Directory* thus shortly states the facts :—

"The number of electors under the Reform act was, in 1832, ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven ; on January 1, 1850, the constituency had diminished to sixty-one thousand and thirty-six —twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty in the counties, and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six in the cities and boroughs. The act 13th and 14th Vic, chap. 69, was passed in 1850, to amend the representation ; and in addition to those persons previously qualified to register and vote in county elections, occupiers of tenements *rated in the last Poor-rate* at a net annual value of £12 and upwards, are entitled to vote in elections for counties, subject to registration, in accordance with the act, and to certain limitations therein ; also owners of cetain estates of the rated net annual value of £5. But no persons are to be entitled to vote in counties in respect of

* We give two suggestive passages from this performance : "Whatever may be the difficulties that attend the discussion of the question, any man who can contribute ever so little to its investigation does some service to his country To say that the land question is the most important part of all Irish public questions, but feebly expresses its magnitude. It would be nearer the truth to say, that it forms the whole. While the "unsatisfactory relations" between the owners and occupiers of the soil continue, there can never be peace or prosperity in the land. Let these relations be placed on a satisfactory basis, and all other questions will very soon adjust themselves. The question, however, is not exclusively of Irish interest It is true that, so far as Ireland is concerned, it involves nothing less than the continued existence in their own land of the old Irish race. But, in the face of troubles which are gathering and darkening over Europe, it is not too much to say, that the continuance of England's greatness may depend upon her being able to satisfy and conciliate that race in their native land.

"English statesmen must ask themselves whether the British Empire can afford to lose the hardy and bold population, portion of which every month is now transferring itself to the other side of the Atlantic. They must seriously reflect on the danger which arises from sending a hostile and embittered Irish colony to the American continent. All the emigrants who are now leaving the country carry with them the most determined hatred of British power. Those whom they leave behind sympathize in their feelings, and whenever the opportunity occurs, the Irish abroad and a large portion of the Irish at home will be ready to aid any attempt that can strike a blow at that power.



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tenements in virtue of which they may be entitled to vote in boroughs. In boroughs, occupiers rated in the last Poor-rate at £8 and upwards are entitled to vote, subject to registration and certain limitations in the act. By the 13th and 14th Vic., chap. 68, the polling at contested elections is to continue in counties for two days only, and in cities and boroughs for one day only; the returning officer is to provide booths, so that not more than six hundred voters shall poll at each booth for a county, and two hundred for a city or borough. The number of electors registered under the new act, on January 1, 1851, was one hundred and sixty-three thousand five hundred and forty-six, being one hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and forty-five in the counties, and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and one in the cities and boroughs."

This enlargement of the electoral basis was undoubtedly a seeming advantage—assuming that the Irish representation in a British Parliament is a thing desirable. But it was not in the nature of the Whigs, nor, indeed, of the Tories, to concede to Ireland even an apparent advantage, and not accompany the "boon" with an outrage. Lord John Russell flung us the Franchise act with one hand, and with the other a new Cöercion law, and the "Ecclesiastical Titles act." As for the former, it was only the usual atrocity; this time under the title of an "Act for the better Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Ireland;" with the customary powers, to proclaim districts, to quarter police on them, to search for arms, to keep everybody at home after sunset, and to transport delinquents. There was nothing uncommon in this; and the uncommon and exceptional thing for Irishmen would have been to find themselves living under the civil laws of the land. But the other measure, (Ecclesiastical Titles bill,) needs further notice.

In the summer of this year, 1850, arrived in England a most startling document; nothing less than a Papal Brief, direct from Rome, directing the English Catholic "Vicars Apostolic"—who were Bishops, in fact, possessing all episcopal jurisdiction—to assume the true titles of their Sees, as Bishop of Hexham, Bishop of Birmingham, and so forth; and further appointing the illustrious Doctor Wiseman a Cardinal and first Archbishop of Westminster. The soil of Protestant England was thus mapped out by a foreign prince into separate governments, (dioceses,) and placed under the control of certain Popish priests; in utter disdain of the exclusive rights of the Anglican Church and of the Queen as its Pope and head. Here was papal aggression! Immediately arose a vehement "No-popery" excitement throughout England. It is true, that the Pope herein exercised the undoubted jurisdiction which he possessed in things spiritual over his Church; and which he had long notoriously exercised under other names and forms. Still, it was against the "law"—that is, against some of the old penal laws, yet unrepealed, but always violated, to introduce into Great Britain or Ireland any Papal Bull, Brief, Rescript, or writing whatsoever. And then the high tone assumed (necessarily) by the Pope, in his Brief, and by Cardinal Wiseman in promulgating it, appeared to the enlightened mind of Protestant England, to amount to nothing less than Jezebel herself, formally entering in and taking possession.

At once there was a shout of alarm and wrath, from all the ends of England and Scotland, to which the Irish Orangemen, of course, contributed their best vociferation. County meetings were held, all over England, to denounce this audacious "Papal aggression;" and platforms, pulpits, and press rung for months with the old and well-worn denunciations against Jezebel, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the whole mystery of iniquity generally. Lord John Russell, a statesman who hated Catholics and their religion, with all the venom of his small, shriveled, and spiteful soul, and who was distressed besides by the late concession of franchise to certain Catholics in Ireland, Lord John Russell, though Prime Minister of the Queen, was not above the paltry task of stimulating this ignoble rage. He selected the 4th of November, the day before the anniversary of the "Gunpowder Plot," to publish in the newspapers a letter to the Bishop of Durham, expressing alarm and indignation, "but less alarm than indignation," at the daring invasion of England

by the Pope of Rome; enlarging upon the enormity of Catholic doctrines, and terming Catholic worship "superstitious mummery." His lordship, however, though he saw great cause for apprehension, assured the Bishop that the noble Protestant State of England should never, never be yielded up into the hands of a foreign priest. Next day was the fifth, when Guy Fawkes is always burned in effigy. This time there was in many towns of England, and especially in London, an astonishing uproar of "No-Popery" zeal; multitudinous processions celebrated the occasion; orators spouted out of Fox's Martyrs, (taking care to say nothing of the martyrs that Protestants had made,) and the ignorant masses were inflamed to madness by pictures of the racks and pincers which they were assured were shortly to be introduced into England, under the new Papal Bull. Instead of Guy Fawkes, they burned effigies of the Pope, of the Virgin, of Cardinal Wiseman; and swore deep oaths, under the influence of deep potations, that they would all die, with the Bible on their bosoms, before they would submit to the tyranny of the Propaganda and the pincers of the Inquisition. It would have been an insane action, on the part of any Catholic priest, to allow himself to be seen in the streets upon that evening.

The conclusion of this affair of "Papal Aggression" belongs to the following year, 1851; but we may here anticipate a little. Lord John Russell lost no time in availing himself of the stupid fanaticism of his countrymen. Parliament met again in February, 1851; he made the chief feature in the Queen's speech this very affair of the Pope's Bull; and made her earnestly recommend to Parliament efficient action upon so important a subject. A bill was at once introduced by his lordship, absolutely prohibiting the assumption of the title of any existing See, or of any title whatsoever, from *any place* in the United Kingdom, under a penalty of £100 for each such offence. This was an extension of the provisions of the Catholic Relief act of 1829, which imposed the same penalty on the assumption of the title to any *existing See* only. That prohibition in Ireland, and the penalty attached to it, had been always entirely neglected and ignored by the Catholic hierarchy; and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh signed himself Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, just as the other one did. In the new ecclesiastical division of England, however, care had been taken to avoid giving to Catholic Bishops the precise titles of Protestant Sees —except in one instance—and, therefore, it became necessary for the legislators against Papal Aggression to extend the prohibition and penalty to all territorial titles whatsoever, derived from any place in the three kingdoms.

The new bill, which was intended to be highly stringent and menacing—a new and formidable bulwark to the Reformation in England—was only on its passage when Lord John Russell's Government went out, and the Tories, under Lord Derby, came in. It made no difference in this case. The bill to repress "Papal Aggression" was not only taken up by the new administration, but was eventually passed, with amendments, extending the penalty to the introduction of *any* document or rescript from Rome, as well as the one lately arrived, and further empowering and inviting any common informer to prosecute. The bill was carried through all its stages by immense majorities, English Whigs and English Tories being once more an unit on this vital matter; and, thereafter, it was not only to be illegal for the Archbishop of Westminster to sign himself Archbishop of Westminster, but for the Archbishop of Armagh to take the title of his undoubted office, under the penalty of £100 for each offence.

On the passage of this bill, it was really believed by ignorant Protestants, that a new and mighty bulwark had been set up against the Pope, and that the "Reformation" was at length secured. Much to the surprise of these ignorant Protestants, no notice whatever was taken of the new law by English Bishops or by Irish Bishops. Indeed, Doctor MacHale, the bold Archbishop of Tuam, who has the spirit of a patriot and, if need be, of a martyr, took an early occasion of publicly violating the new law, by reading in his cathedral the actual rescript of the Pope, and inviting any informer, or priest-hunter, who might wish

to earn a hundred pounds, to institute a prosecution against him. The law was never executed in a single instance. Doctor Newman signed his name in public documents as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Archbishop of Armagh continued to style himself Primate of All Ireland. The "Law" stands on record upon the scandalous chronicle of English legislation as a mere impotent example of No-Popery spite.

Why was this law, passed by immense majorities, and with every appearance of determination, never enforced in a single case? Why were not the Catholic Bishops prosecuted under its provisions? The answer is too obvious—the Irish Catholic bishops have been so useful to the British Government, ever since the Union, in preserving the "peace of the country;" that is, its perpetual subjugation to England, that it was not safe to make enemies of them. On this subject we may trust the Rev. Father Perraud, who thus expresses himself in his able work on Ireland.* "It is useless to conceal the fact; it is not the regiments encamped in Ireland; it is not the militia of twelve thousand *peelers* distributed over the whole of the surface of the land, which prevents revolt and preserves the peace. During a long period, especially in the last century, the excess of misery to which Ireland was reduced, had multiplied, even in the most Catholic counties, the *secret societies* of the peasantry. At this very moment, it is said, America is making great efforts to entice patriotic young men into those obscure associations in which men *swear hatred to governments*, in which are prepared the conspiracies against *public institutions*, in which are silently organized social wars. . . But, who have ever been so energetic in resistance to secret societies as the Irish episcopacy? Who have denounced these *illegal* associations with the most persevering, powerful, and formidable condemnation? On more than one occasion the Bishops have even hazarded their popularity in this way; they could at a signal have armed a million combatants against a persecuting government; *and that signal they refused to give.*"

Passing over the various singular misstatements of the reverend writer—that secret societies in Ireland swear hatred to governments in general, instead of the English Government *alone*—that they conspire against "public institutions" generally, instead of the institutions of famine and packed juries, and the rest of our British institutions—and that they organize "social war," instead of war against the English troops—passing over these errors one thing is, at least, evident from the pages of the *Père* Perraud—that the Catholic Bishops take credit to themselves for preserving British institutions and British Government in Ireland.† It is possible that they are entitled to this credit, such as it is. And herein lies the reason why they were never prosecuted under the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill." The English Government did not enforce its own law, because it dared not. ‡

The Parliamentary session of 1850 is further notable as the occasion of a discussion upon the Orange outrage at Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, in the County Down. The transaction had taken place in the July of the year before, at the usual celebration of the Orange anniversary. It happened in this manner: The Orangemen of various districts of that region had assembled, marching by various routes, at the splendid demesne called Tollymore Park, the seat of the Earl of Roden, one of the highest dignitaries of their Order. One of the parties had marched through an exclusively Catholic district, and in the true spirit of the anniversary, had insulted the peaceable people with the flaunting of their Orange banners and lilies, and by playing

* *Etudes sur l' Irland contemporaine.* Par le R. P. Adolphe Perraud. Paris: 1862.

† M. Perraud had made two visits to Ireland, in order to collect materials for his valuable work; had communicated freely with the Catholic Bishops; and must be supposed to speak *for them* in claiming merit for them on account of their loyal efforts.

‡ It is observable that Father Perraud speaks of the Bishops as denouncing "illegal associations." But there is no society in Ireland so *illegal* as the Catholic Episcopacy. No White-Boy, Young Irelander, or "Fenian," ever more deliberately broke the law than those Bishops habitually do, in taking the title of their Sees, and in reading Rescripts from Rome.

before the poor cabins the tune of "Croppies Lie Down."* After the muster at Tollynore Park, a dinner, and some drink, and a speech from Lord Roden concerning the Mystery of Iniquity, and the duty of all good Protestants — if they were to be martyred for their faith—at least to die with their Bibles clasped to their bosoms, it was determined to march back by way of Dolly's Brae. One Beers, a very ignorant Orange magistrate, accompanied them. Violent proceedings were expected to occur upon the passage by Dolly's Brae, and might have been prevented by Lord Roden and other magistrates present at the banquet, if they had used their influence to prevent the march by that particular road; but it was thought advisable to give the Papists a lesson; and the Lodges started for Dolly's Brae. It appeared, on the subsequent investigation, that so strong was the reason to apprehend disturbance as to induce some magistrates to send forward a strong force of police. On the arrival of the Orangemen in the townland, it was found that most of the inhabitants were gathered near the roadside, whether for mutual protection or for active resistance to the Orange march in that direction, did not clearly appear; but the latter motive was unlikely, as the Catholics were quite unarmed, save with a few scythes and hayforks. An immediate collision took place, of course. The chief of police led his men at once into the scene of disorder, ascertaining to his own satisfaction, as usual, that the Catholics were solely to blame, and were the atrocious aggressors, he directed all the efforts of his force against them. In short, by the joint operations of the armed Orangemen and the armed police, the unarmed Papists were victoriously defeated; several corpses were left upon the field, and most of the houses were burned or wrecked.

Such was the day of Dolly's Brae. A lawyer was sent down from Dublin as a "Commissioner," on the usual pretence of examining into the facts, and collecting the evidence; and it appears that his report was not so grossly partial as had been expected; for Lord Clarendon could not avoid the plain necessity of dismissing from the Commission of the Peace both Lord Roden and Beers. It was on this report that the debate arose in Parliament, and many severe judgments were expressed of the conduct of the Irish Government in encouraging and arming such a banditti as the Orangemen. Lord Clarendon, who attended in his place in the House of Peers upon

* The usual Orange style is thus described by one who knew the North of Ireland well: "In some districts of that country, Protestants are the majority of the people; the old policy of the "government" has been to arm the Protestants and disarm the Catholics. The magistrates at all sessions are Orangemen or high British loyalists. In those districts, therefore, Catholics lead the lives of dogs—lie down in fear and rise up with foreboding; their worship is insulted, and their very funerals are made an occasion of riot. One of the July anniversaries comes round—the days of Aughrim and the Boyne; the pious Evangelicals must celebrate those disastrous but hard fought battles where William of Nassau, with his army of French Huguenots, Danes, and Dutchmen, overthrew the power of Ireland, and made the noble old Celtic race hewers of wood and drawers of water even unto this day. Lodges assemble at some central point, with drums and fifes playing the "Protestant boys." At the rendezvous are the Grand Masters, with their sashes and aprons —a beautiful show. Procession formed, they walk in Lodges, each with its banner of orange or purple, and garlands of orange lilies borne high on poles. Most have arms, yeomanry-muskets or pistols, or ancient swords, whetted for the occasion. They arrive at some other town or village, dine in the public-houses, drink the "glorious, pious and immortal memory of King William," and "To Hell with the Pope;" re-form their procession after dinner, and *then* comes the time for Protestant action. They march through a Papist townland: at every house they stop, and play "Croppies lie down!" and the Boyne Water, firing a few shots over the house at the same time. The doors are shut—the family in terror—the father standing on the floor with knitted brows and teeth clenched through the nether lip, grasping a pitchfork, (for the police long since found out and took away his gun.) Bitter memories of the feuds of ages darken his soul—Outside, with taunting music, and brutal jests and laughter, stand in their ranks the Protestant communicants. The old grandmother can endure no longer: she rushes out with gray hair streaming, and kneels on the road before them, she clasps her old thin hands, and curses them in the name of God and his Holy Mother. Loud laughs are the answer, and a shot or two over the house, or in through the window. The old crone in frantic exasperation takes up a stone and hurls it with feeble hand against the insulting crew. There; the first assault is committed; everything is lawful now: smash go the unglazed windows and their frames; zealous Protestants rush into the house raging; the man is shot down at his own threshold; the cabin is wrecked; and the procession, playing "Croppies lie down!" proceeds to another Popish den.

"So the Reformation is vindicated. The names of Ballyvarley and Tullyorier will rise to the lips of many a man who reads this description."

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this occasion, defended his proceedings as he best could ; and in particular, he most emphatically denied that in 1848 he had furnished arms to Orange Lodges. He said that, in fact, a certain Captain Kennedy (at the time of the debate serving in India,) had given money out of his own pocket to provide arms for Lodges ; but he, Lord Clarendon, was quite innocent of any such proceedings. It is scarcely necessary to say that nobody believed his lordship. What had been charged was, that not money, but *arms*, had been sent from Dublin Castle to Belfast for distribution amongst Orangemen ; and, besides, if the money given by Captain Kennedy came, in fact, out of the Secret Service fund, Lord Clarendon, as the distributor of that fund in Ireland, would have felt it his right and his duty to deny the fact when charged. It is an official necessity ; because, otherwise, there would be nothing secret nor sacred in Secret Service money.

It only remains to be mentioned, that no person was ever brought to justice for the predetermined massacre of Dolly's Brae.

At this point—the middle of the current century—the present history closes. It leaves in full operation the whole system of British rule in Ireland. Every department of Irish life was brought under complete subordination to English interests ; and the arrangements seemed to be perfect for preventing national aspirations or national interests in Ireland from ever again becoming a disturbing element in the course of imperial policy. The Celtic population was securely put in the way of steady diminution.* The famine was past ; and the people were continually called on by the smooth-spoken Viceroy, to rejoice in the return of prosperity ; yet there was still a multitudinous rush to the sea, in order to escape from such prosperity. The emigration from Ireland, in 1851, amounted to two hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-two. The number of paupers relieved in the poor houses in 1850, was eight hundred and five thousand seven hundred and two, without counting nearly four hundred thousand who were receiving "out-door relief." No attempt had been made to secure to the tenant by just laws any right whatsoever in the improvements he might make on his farm. Extermination of peasantry was not only the practice but the fashion ; and ruthless consolidation of farms had come to be thought the criterion of high intelligence, and even philanthropy in an Irish proprietor ; because it proved that he had studied the "Devon Commission" report, and appreciated the conclusions of the Commissioners.

In the same year, 1850, the Government was holding in its own hands, by means of the Savings Banks, the earnings and savings of poor Irish people to the amount of £1,291,798 ; so that every industrious artizan and careful maid-servant who had made a deposit, was directly interested to the amount of such a deposit, in maintaining what is called "the peace of the country," that is to say, submitting implicitly to the British system, and influencing others to submit.

The Established Church and the police were flourishing ; the Orangemen were as insolent and ferocious as they had ever been ; and the Cöercion act (for suppression of "Crime and Outrage,") was always ready in the Castle, to be launched at a moment's warning against any barony or county in the land. Yet the truth is, that Ireland was at that time remarkably free from crimes and outrages, (except those perpetrated against her people,) and it is instructive to remark, that crimes and outrages were at the same time steadily on the increase in England and Scotland. A speech in Parliament of Lord John Russell, contains a wonderful revelation upon this point.† His lordship stated, that in one year, (1857,) the *convictions* in Great Britain were—for "shooting, stabbing, and wounding," two hundred and eight ; for highway robbery, three hundred and seventy-eight ; for burglary and housebreaking, one thousand and thirty-four ; for forgery, one hundred and eighty-four ; a catalogue which could by no means be matched in Ireland. However, those English and

* It is now, (1868,) considerably under six millions.

† It is cited by Sir Archibald Alison, in Chapter 56 of his History.

Scotch crimes and outrages were not done in assertion of public right, or resistance of public wrong; that is to say, they were real crimes and outrages; they did not alarm the higher classes; and had seldom any social, political, or religious character. Therefore, it never entered into the mind of Government or Parliament to apply their "Crime and Outrage act" to England or Scotland. In other words, the series of Cöercion laws for Ireland have always been proposed and passed under a false pretence; they are not to prevent crime, but to keep the people forever helpless in the hands of their mortal enemies. They are not measures for reformation of society, but engines and arms for perpetuation of British rule in Ireland.

While our country was so rapidly sinking to beggary, and diminishing in population, it may be useful to cast a glance at the progress of the other island. This cannot be done better than by quoting a passage from Alison, (*chap.* 56,) in which he gives a general view of English affairs during a period of four years: "From 1848," he says, "to 1853, the effects of free-trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. *Plenty had again returned*, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favorable, that at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it;* and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree throughout the period." The same historian proceeds to give statements exhibiting the enormous development of English commerce and wealth during the same period of four years, by reason of the gold discoveries in California and in Australia. But nothing of all that prosperity is for Ireland. Having scarcely any manufactures, she has no commerce, except her fatal commerce with England, under that "free-trade" which cheapens all which she has to sell, and makes dearer to that precise amount everything which she is forced to buy.

It may, therefore, be affirmed that in or about the year 1850, Ireland became thoroughly subjugated, without almost a hope of escape. Everything was fitted to the hand of her enemy, and that enemy made most unrelenting use of the advantage.

The Catholic bishops counseled obedience and submission; the formidable kind of "agitation" devised by O'Connell had become altogether impossible: because in the first place the very material for it, (the "surplus population,") had been swept off the face of the earth, and besides the English Government had now so firm a hold of the poor, through "Crime and Outrage acts," police and poor-laws, that it was more difficult than formerly to move the masses.

Parliamentary efforts, or rather pretences of effort, were made from time to time, to obtain ameliorations of some grievance or other. These pretences of effort, if they really tended to any good for Ireland, were always defeated, or rather indeed, spurned by Parliament with disdain and insult, as it was always known they would be: and the total result of those Parliamentary movements may be defined as consisting of a few places distributed to rhetorical patriots. Thus, far from the Irish representation in Parliament serving as means of asserting Irish rights or interests, it helps to rivet the chains of our unhappy island, by opening a market overt, where patriots may be purchased, (while still vociferating for justice to Ireland,) and so silenced forever.

Whatever has been effected for the good of the Irish people, whether to promote their moral and intellectual culture, or even to aid them in saving their lives, has been done exclusively by themselves. Two wonderful examples of this nature must be mentioned: *first*, the establishment of the Catholic University; and *second*, the immense fund which has been systematically contributed for some years by Irish people settled in the United States to aid their friends in escaping from British government.

It has already been seen, in the course of this history, what rigorous means were used during the last century to prevent the Catholic people, under the heaviest penalties, from being educated at all; and how the extraordinary eagerness for education on the part of those people had impelled them

* The harvest of 1847 was also very abundant in Ireland, and it was one of the deadliest years of famine. The English offered thanksgivings to God for the Irish harvests, and then devoured them.

to seek in foreign schools and universities the instruction which none dared to give them at home; although there were both great risk and enormous expense incurred in these efforts to obtain contraband learning. It was the true English horror of "French principles," about the time of the great French Revolution, which caused the penal laws against education to be relaxed; but no measures were taken by the enemy's government to supply the place of that continental education for many years after, and when at last the "National Schools" were established, and, later still, when the three "Queen's Colleges" were built and endowed, it was found that the National Schools were so constituted as to be extremely unnational, or anti-national; and that the Queen's Colleges were still more adroitly arranged to wean Catholic students both from national sentiment, and from the faith and morals of their church. Such, at least, was the judgment of the majority of the Irish bishops and clergy; and when we reflect upon the two chairs of history and moral philosophy, which must exist in every university, and on the effect of training up Catholic youth in the British principles upon these subjects, and causing them to regard human life and history from a strictly British point of view, it cannot be matter of wonder if the Catholic hierarchy lifted its voice against the new plans of education imposed on us by a London Parliament. In short, there was a necessity to provide some other and better system for the collegiate education of Catholic youth, and therefore, in the year 1854, pursuant to a recommendation coming from Rome, the Irish bishops formally instituted a free Catholic University, destined, like the Church (whose offspring it was,) to subsist only upon the charity of the faithful, and to be completely independent of the State. Yet all this while the wealthy Protestant Corporation of Trinity College was maintained in splendor by estates plundered from Catholic monasteries, and the "Queen's Colleges" were kept up at the public cost, to which the Catholics, as tax-payers, of course had to contribute their full share. There was nothing, indeed, new in all this: they had been long used to maintain schools and churches for others, and to find the means of providing for their own religious services, and instruction also, as best they could.

The Board of the Catholic University of Dublin consists of the four archbishops, and two other prelates for each province. The institution comprises five faculties: those of theology, law, medicine, belles-lettres, and science. Its government is carried on by a committee of archbishops and bishops, meeting once a year. The immediate and ordinary administration is conducted by the "Senate" of the university, consisting of the rector and vice-rector, the secretary, the professors, the superiors of certain institutions dependent on the University, and the Fellows.* A yearly collection, made in every diocese, provides for the expenses of the foundation. The spirit and zeal with which this great national enterprize has been sustained, form an admirable illustration of the unselfish devotedness of the Irish people to an object which they believe to be good, or in other words, anti-English. In the year 1859, they had already bestowed freely—and given their blessing along with it—the considerable sum of £80,000 sterling, for promotion of this noble object; and every year, even in the poorest chapels among the mountains of remote parishes, the appeal of the parish priest in favor of an institution blessed by the Pope and the bishops, brings forth an offering even from the poorest.

All this great work has been done, it is true, in contravention of the views and policy of the British Government, not only without its help, but under the frown of its displeasure. The Catholic University has no charter of incorporation, and no legal right to confer degrees in arts or laws. In the eyes of the Government, it is but a private association, tolerated but not recognized, as indeed the Catholic Church itself is.

Another strange and admirable example of the generous zeal of the Irish people in resisting the utter destruction of their race, is seen in the regular and systemized aid furnished by Irish citizens of the United

* *Rules and Regulations.* § 7. The institutions dependent on the Catholic University are those of St. Patrick, St. Lawrence, (Harcourt street,) Carmel and Corpus Christi.

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States, to assist their friends and relatives in withdrawing themselves from the domination of England, and establishing themselves in a free country. The emigration of what is called the "surplus population" of Ireland, has been aided and furthered in several ways. The landed-proprietors, with a view to facilitate the consolidation of farms, and also to reduce the burden of poor-rates in their respective "unions," have largely contributed to help the emigration of the poor people whom they themselves exterminate; but this is a matter of private arrangement, and no *data* exist for even approximating to the amount supplied from this source In 1848 the Poor-Law Unions were invited by the Government to cöoperate in the movement of deportation, in order to furnish a gratuitous passage to such poor persons as had no other resource than expatriation. But this was to be at the expense of the Irish rate-payers, and was, moreover, to be in strict accordance with the views of the British Government itself. The emigration, thus promoted, was, therefore, to be almost entirely to the British Colonies, especially Australia. From 1847 to 1859 inclusive, the unions contributed about £100,000 to the cost of emigration, removing from Ireland about 25,000 persons. But this was a trifle: the great rush of emigrants was to the United States, and the cost of the immense exodus was mainly provided for by the savings of Irish citizens already settled in that Republic.

The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, in their twelfth report, state that they do not believe that "The emigration will be arrested by anything short of a great improvement in the position of the laboring population in Ireland; all those obstacles which in ordinary cases would be opposed to so wholesale an emigration, appear in the case of the Irish to be smoothed away. The misery which they have for many years endured, has destroyed the attachment to their native soil, the numbers who have already emigrated and prospered, remove the apprehension of going to a strange and untried country, while the want of means is remedied by the liberal contributions of their relations and friends who have preceded them. The contributions so made, either in the form of prepaid passages, or of money sent home, and which are almost exclusively provided by the Irish, were returned to us as in

1848,	upwards of	£460,000
1849,	"	540,000
1850,	"	957,000
1851,	"	990,000

And although it is probable that all the money included in these returns is not expended in emigration, yet as we have reason to know that much is sent home of which these returns show no trace, it seems not unfair to assume that of the money expended in Irish emigration in each of the last four years, a very large proportion was provided from the other side of the Atlantic."

The Abbé Perraud, in his *Etudes sur l' Irlande Contemporaine*, says: "From the returns furnished by American bankers, the Emigration Commissioners give the precise amount of these remittances of money; but for North America only. The total for thirteen years, (1848–61,) is £11,674,596 sterling. These statistics apply, indeed, to the emigrants from the three kingdoms but as the Irish are in the immense majority so it is the Irish who remit the far larger proportion of the money." It must be added, that the reports made up by American bankers, can represent only a portion of the remittances from Irish citizens to their friends at home, because much money is sent through other channels, which cannot enter into those returns. On the whole, however, it is evident that the strong natural affection of the Irish for their parents and relatives, and their constant and ardent desire to deliver them from an odious bondage, have in this instance materially served the policy of the British Government, which is, to get rid of the Celtic enemy by any and by all means.

And, for the present, the policy of that Government seems to be eminently successful. The Celtic Irish in Ireland have greatly diminished in numbers, and are still diminishing. Yet there is another aspect of this affair: a vast mass of Irish power and Irish passion has been gathering and growing in the United States, all of it cherishing a mortal hatred of the British Empire, and a fierce thirst of vengeance on their enemies, as well as a loving and generous desire to

emancipate their native country from the bitter thraldom of so many ages. From the Celtic Irish on the American continent, arises one universal cry of execration against English dominion and English ideas. With independent means, a fair career for industry, and an increased and still increasing acquaintance with the story of their native country, there has grown up in their hearts an intense desire to right the wrongs of centuries, to lift up their kinsfolk and ancient clansmen out of the abject misery in which British policy requires them to be kept, and to see their countrymen in fair and full possession of the lovely land where Providence has placed them. This is a dangerous matter for the British Empire.

For the present, indeed, it may seem, that by the operation of all the well-devised arrangements for getting rid of the Irish people, what used to be called the "Irish Difficulty" has become more manageable; the "Irish Enemy," if not wholly destroyed, is at least disarmed and bound. No way of redress is left open except a violent revolution; and for this the people of Ireland and their kinsmen in America only await the opportunity of a war which shall tax the strength of their enemy.

A tabular summary of the financial condition of the country, (as furnished by her enemy,) up to the year 1852, may fitly close this story. It is to be observed upon these official returns, that we have no means of checking them, because our books are kept in England. Yet one or two remarks are obvious:—

Most Irishmen are of opinion that they do not receive value for the charge on account of "Army, Navy, and Ordnance;" believing, in fact, that the money would be much better spent in destroying those British services [*Tabular Summary, see next page.*]

CONCLUSION.

The compiler of this continuation of the Abbé MacGeoghegan's History of Ireland, purposely stops short of the most recent events which have agitated that country, and disquieted and exasperated England The time for relating the history of those events has not yet arrived. It may be said, however, that a powerful illustration has been thereby given to the fact, that while England is at peace with other powerful nations, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make so much as a serious attempt at a national insurrection, in the face of a government so vigilant and so well prepared.

The high patriotic enthusiasm that impelled many brave Irishmen in America to fly across the Atlantic and devote to the rescue of their country that art of war which they had learned chiefly to that end, their experience in training men, the gallantry of the peasants, their extensive secret organizations—all seemed to break and dissolve away in the very hour of highest hope and resolve. All honor be to the men who made the daring effort, and staked their lives upon it. Whatever judgment may be formed of others, *they*, at least, "stood the cast their rashness played," and the best of them are expiating in dungeons the crime of loving their country and striving to serve her—just as Irishmen have generally expiated that offence for many ages. Yet no cause is utterly lost so long as it can inspire heroic devotion. No country is hopelessly vanquished whose sons love her better than their lives.

ACCOUNT of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE of IRELAND, in the Years ending 5th January, from 1847 to 1852, inclusive; showing the whole of the Ways and Means provided within the same period, together with the application thereof.—[*House of Commons Papers*, No. 528, 1849; No. 600, 1850; No. 477, 1851; No. 504, 1852.]

INCOME.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Net Payments into the Exchequer of the following several Duties or Revenues, viz. :—						
Customs,	2,258,043 7 9	2,009,132 10 5	2,069,772 16 11	1,941,122 1 5	1,827,289 9 10	1,854,268 5 7
Excise,	1,467,060 4 5	1,152,931 12 1	1,321,914 19 9	1,231,548 8 3	1,312,122 15 10	1,348,911 6 5
Stamps,	573,766 10 4	567,996 9 1	532,924 8 6	502,072 19 1	462,190 1 11	451,534 5 11
Postage,	29,000 0 0	59,000 0 0	39,000 0 0	26,000 0 0	—	5,000 0 0
Crown Lands,	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poundage Fee, Pells Fee, Treasury Fees, Hospital Fees, and Casualties,	6,062 5 4	5,698 18 4	4,835 1 6	6,632 17 1	5,744 2 7	8,999 11 10
Total Ordinary Revenue	4,333,932 7 10	3,794,759 9 11	3,968,447 6 8	3,707,376 5 10	3,607,847 19 2	3,668,713 9 9
Moneys remaining in the Exchequer at the commencement of the year	791,504 8 7¾	702,151 3 10¾	834,453 7 11¾	815,371 13 9¾	1,026,990 8 10¾	621,891 8 3¾
Other Receipts :—						
Repayment of Money Advanced for Public Works and other Public objects,	352,641 17 2	484,974 5 1	304,927 9 0	621,155 6 11	480,741 16 3	327,498 11 1½
Moneys Repaid by Public Accountants, and other Miscellaneous Payments,	5,887 19 0	46,160 5 0	2,000 16 9	3,948 3 3	6,063 5 5	4,469 16 6
Total Income,	5,483,966 12 7¾	5,027,995 3 10	5,109,829 0 4¾	5,147,831 9 9¾	5,121,643 9 8¾	4,622,573 5 8
EXPENDITURE.						
Dividends, Interest, and Management of Public Funded Debt, payable in Ireland,	1,315,550 3 10	1,347,611 17 2	1,391,586 14 7	1,386,101 1 2	1,373,222 4 0	1,394,097 17 1
Other Payments out of the Consolidated Fund,	902,855 15 0	849,082 4 8	949,957 12 4	939,321 18 10	909,836 1 0	854,272 7 2
Total Payments out of the Consolidated Fund,	2,218,405 18 10	2,196,694 1 10	2,341,544 6 11	2,325,423 0 0	2,283,058 5 0	2,248,370 4 3
Payments on account of Grants of Parliaments, viz.:						
Army,	1,143,980 0 0	910,000 0 0	625,000 0 0	626,000 0 0	785,000 0 0	585,000 0 0
Navy,	3,940 0 0	—	—	—	—	—
Ordnance,	105,000 0 0	91,850 0 0	31,400 0 0	—	—	—
Miscellaneous,	468,463 13 6	642,640 12 3	554,216 13 9	565,903 11 7	664,049 3 1	611,382 4 8
Other Payments :—						
Money Advanced out of the Consolidated Fund for Public objects,	790,214 3 5	301,022 17 6	695,738 9 7	554,336 14 6	778,272 1 2	300,493 7 2
Total Expenditure,	4,730,003 15 9	4,143,207 11 7	4,247,899 10 3	4,071,663 6 1	4,460,379 9 3	3,745,245 16 1
Application of the Ways and Means provided :—						
Applied to the Redemption of Exchequer Bills, per Act 57, Geo. III., cap. 48 (Deficiency Bills,)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sums remitted through the Excise in Ireland, to the Exchequer in England,	51,811 13 0	50,334 4 4	46,557 16 4	49,177 14 10	39,372 12 2	101,888 11 6
	4,781,815 8 9	4,193,541 15 11	4,294,457 6 7	4,120,841 0 11	4,499,752 1 5	3,847,134 7 7
Money remaining in the Exchequer at the end of the year,	702,151 3 10	834,453 7 11¾	815,371 13 9¾	1,026,990 8 10¾	621,891 8 3¾	775,438 18 1
TOTAL,	5,483,966 12 7¾	5,027,995 3 10¾	5,109,829 0 4¾	5,147,831 9 9¾	5,121,643 9 8	4,622,573 5 8

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

FLORENCE O'MAOLCONAIRE, OR CONROY.

Archbishop of Tuam, Founder of the Irish College, Louvain, Author of "Compendium of the Works of Saint Augustine," "Christian Instruction," "Peregrinus Jerisonthus," &c., &c.

Florence Conroy was a native of Galway—it is the country of his family. They were in Connaught, in earlier days, the crowners of the Provincial Kings and bestowers of the white wand of dominion. But the office had become one of title merely, without duties or emoluments, and the young members of the crowning house were now destined either for the Church at home, or for some stranger's service abroad. The lot of Florence was cast in the former field of duty.

At an early age he was sent abroad for the completion of his studies. His education was partly derived from a college in the Nether lands, and afterwards from some Spanish seminary. Before he had ever published, he seems to have enjoyed a general reputation for learning, and was held to be the best student of Saint Augustine's works, then in Europe. Although he entered the Franciscan Observantine Order, he did not abandon that favorite author, to whom, as his life wore on, he appears to have grown attached more and more.

The question of the Immaculate Conception formed at the close of the sixteenth century the leading controversy with the Schoolmen. The Dominicans and Jesuits were opposed in the matter. The debated point was, whether the Virgin Mother was conceived without sin, and if so, whether this was a received Doctrine of the Church of Rome. The Franciscan Order contended that it was and should be so. In Spain, the affirmative was argued with great fervor in many publications. It was in that country a dispute of old standing. Its character, of course, reached Conroy, who at once turned for aid to his great authority, Augustine. Out of that Doctor's works he drew such reasons in its affirmation, as greatly enhanced his own fame, and procured him the acquaintance of Philip the Second, then fitting out his grand Armada against Elizabeth and England. Soon after his introduction at Court he was appointed "Provincial" of the Franciscans in Ireland, and prepared to return to his country, at the request of the Spanish King, with the royal fleet.

In 1588, that tremendous navy lumbered out to sea, steering towards the North. In which ship our ecclesiastic came we cannot ascertain. How he fared in the destruction of the Armada, is not apparent; whether his ship bore him like a fate to his native shore, or cast him upon the less friendly one of the Scots, we cannot decide; but we find him back again in Spain, in 1593. In this year he translated from Spanish into Irish, a short work of a religious character, which he calls "A Christian Instruction."*

Conroy continued to reside in the Peninsula, ever planning with a loving heart some good for Ireland.

In 1602, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell arrived at Corunna, to seek an interview with King Philip to the end that one last grand rally should be made for Ireland. He saw the king at Zamora, and then retired to Simancas to await the fitting out of a new Armada.† Here he was attended by Conroy who seems to have acted as his chaplain from the date of his arrival in Spain until his death.

In 1609–10, Maolmuire O'Higgin, brother to the famed Munster bard of that name, then Archbishop of Tuam, returning from a visit to Rome through the Netherlands, died at Antwerp. To the vacant Archiepiscopacy, the Propaganda and Pope appointed Conroy, with equal wisdom and propriety.

He was one of the first, if not the very first, to start the project of an "Irish College" on the Continent. His influence with King Philip was all exerted for the accomplishment of this scheme and he met with full success. It was arranged that Louvain should be the site of the building, and the patron St. Anthony of Padua. In the year of grace 1616, the corner stone was laid by the Archduke Albert, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and his Princess, the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip the Second.

The establishment and discipline of the new college did not solely occupy the mind of its founder. He in common with the Irish then in Spain fondly entertained the hope of a Spanish alliance, which would restore Catholicism and Nationality together. A correspondence between them and Aodh O'Neil and his fellow exiles in Rome, did but increase their anxiety and industry. But still some event or other occured to frustrate their plans. In 1618, Conroy presented to the Council of Spain, Philip O'Sullivan Beare's "Relation of Ireland and the numbers of Irish therein," and in the following year his own "statement of the severities practiced by England against the Irish Catholics."

Towards the close of his days he returned to Madrid, and took up his abode in one of the Franciscan convents of that capital. There he remained until the 18th of November, 1629, when full of services and of sanctity he breathed his last. In 1654 the faculty of the Louvain College had his remains transferred from Madrid to their Collegiate Chapel, where, under a marble monument, with a fitting inscription in Latin, they repose, at the Gospel side of the high altar.

*O'Reilly, in his Irish Writers, calls it a "Mirror of Christian Life," and mentions it as published at Louvian in 1626; but it is called as in the text in the MS. copy, in the Royal Irish Academy.

† Mitchel's "Aodh O'Neill," p. 215.

FATHER LUKE WADDING.

Author of "Scriptures Ordinum Minorum," "Annals of the Friars Minor," and Founder of St. Isidore's College Rome.

FATHER LUKE WADDING was a native of the city of Waterford. He was born on the 8th of October, 1588. His father was a merchant in wealthy circumstances; his mother, sister to Peter Lombard, the Catholic Primate of Ireland. An elder brother, Matthew, superintended his preliminary studies, until he was of an age to be sent abroad for their completion. In 1603, he was placed under the tuition of the Irish Jesuits in Lisbon. He graduated, finally, under the roofs of the venerable Coimbria.

In his seventeenth year he commenced a novitiate, according to the rules of the Friars Minor of St. Francis, and at twenty-five was ordained by John Emanuel, bishop of Visco.

As a priest, the first field of his labors was the convent church of Liria,* in whose pulpit he preached with great success, "in the language of the country." From Liria, he was called by the University of Salamanca, famous all over Europe for its learning and munificence, where he was successively installed as Master of the Students, and as Professor of Divinity. Here the controversy of the "Immaculate Conception" was strenuously urged to a determination, and by none more so than by Wadding. In 1618, Philip the Third resolved on sending a deputation on this purpose to Rome, at the head of which, was a' Trejo, bishop of Carthagena. Wadding was appointed theologian to the embassy, and he set out with the rest from Madrid for the eternal city.

Arrived in Rome, the deputation took up its abode in the palace of Cardinal a' Trejo, brother to the bishop. The latter, after various interviews with the college of cardinals, effected his purpose, and all, but Wadding, returned rejoicingly to Spain. He had resolved to remain in Rome. Here was to him a whole world of labor, and in the centre of Christendom, where the chiefs of the church had their home. Here, in innumerable archives, were mouldering manuscripts, passing daily into dust, and thus dissolving the labors of many a laborious brain. It would, indeed, be a shame, if, while Florence and all Italy were raging, in their Hellenic fever, of Plato, and Aristotle, and Sophocles, the pious writings of Christian saints and fathers, with which the city abounded, should know no *revival*. He beheld herein a great literary province stretched out before him, but one totally untrodden and unused by man. He, therefore, resolved not to return to Salamanca.

The success of the mission of the Immaculate Conception had made his name extensively known in Catholic countries. From various religious bodies in Italy and Spain he received letters of thanks for his great exertions, and full of admiration at his learning.

Angelo de Paz, a deceased brother of St. Peter's convent, had left behind him several tracts of value and learning, which Wadding collected and published in successive volumes in the years 1621, '23, and '25 successively. In 1623, he also published an edition of the works of St. Francis, the founder of his Order, with original annotations. In 1624, he edited two separate works on Biblical Criticism, which had hitherto lain unknown; the one from the pen of St. Anthony of Lisbon, the other composed by an anonymous Irish Franciscan, styled *Thomas Hibernicus*.

Wadding's industry now took an historical direction. He resolved on writing the Annals of his wide-spread Order, from its institution to his own time. It proposed to inweave the records of its thousands of saints and doctors, its missionaries and authors. The design was gigantic but the giant's load is light to the giant's arm. Yet he took twenty-six years to bring out his eight tomes of the "Annals"—from 1628 to 1654.

In 1637, he published a "Life of Thomasius, Patriarch of Alexandria," and in 1641, that of St. James of Picenium. In 1650, he wrote the life of the Franciscan Gaullensis, and, in 1657, "A Memoir of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca."

In 1625, when but seven years in Rome, he founded on the ruins of a Spanish convent dedicated to St. Isidore, patron of Madrid, the Irish college, which bore and bears the same name. In 1628, he succeeded in inducing Cardinal Loudovisius to establish a secular Irish college. In 1630 he was elected Procurator of the Franciscans at Rome, and in 1645, he was Vice-Commissary of his Order.

The news of the Irish rising of 1641 had no sooner reached Wadding than he exerted himself to procure foreign co-operation for the confederates. The "confederate Catholics" aware of his anxiety for their success, appointed him in 1642 their agent at Rome, at the same time formally thanking him for his "past zeal and services." Soon after, when Urban VIII., of the family of Barberini, was raised to the Papacy, his influence still increased, and he obtained the appointment, or caused it to be rendered operative, of Nicholas Rinnuncinni, Archbishop of Fermo, as Nuncio to Ireland.

The mission of Rinnuncinni failed. While he was in Ireland, the sword of Aodh O'Neil came into the possession of Father Wadding; he transmitted it by the Dean of Fermo to the Nuncio, who presented it to Owen Roe O'Neal.

In 1645, the confederates sent Mr. Richard Belling, as their ambassador to Rome, to congratulate Urban on his elevation to the Papacy. In '46 the confederates petitioned his Holiness that he might raise him to the dignity of Cardinal.

After the return of the luckless Nuncio to Italy, the connection between Ireland and Rome ceased to be official, and Wadding's duties as Irish agent became less numerous and pressing. The intervals of his leisure he again turned to literary account.

In his declining years he became for a second time president of St. Isidore's College. Here he had gathered about him Irish professors whose names are distinguished in the church literature of their age. In 1650, he was seized with an illness, from the debilitating effect of which his constitution did not recover. He lived on for seven years more, suffering in body, yet active and industrious in mind. On the 18th of October, 1657, he was relieved by death. His funeral was solemnly celebrated; his grave is in St. Isidore's, and over it a tomb, raised to his memory by a noble Roman, who was his friend through life—Hercules Rocconii. It bears a brief inscription in Latin.

* This ancient city is in the heart of the classic ground of Portugal. Above it frowns the castle of King Dinis "the farmer," and a few hours journey on the one hand, conducts to the ancient monasteries of Bathalla and Alcoliaca, and on the other to the University of Coimbra.

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OLIVER PLUNKETT, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

He was born early in the century of the noble house of Fingall. His studies were completed at the Irish College in Rome, from whence he was selected, in 1657, as one of the divines of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. On the death of Primate O'Reilly, often before mentioned in these pages, he was nominated by Pope Clement IX. Archbishop of Armagh, the ninety-fourth in succession from Saint Patrick. This was in the year 1669, while he still was doctor of divinity to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

He upheld with firmness, and asserted with tempered strength, the pre-eminence of his see over all others in Ireland. Not only in the synods of the clergy but in private life he bore himself as became the successor of Saint Patrick. The only work of which he was the author is written to the same effect. During the incumbency of his second removed successor the question was decided for Armagh, and no rival claim has been since revived.

Doctor Plunkett, beside his acquirements as a divine, was also somewhat of a verse-maker. There still exists an Irish address or ode written by him on the altered fortunes of the royal hill of Tara.

The most instructive and glorious part of Plunkett's life is the manner with which he met an unjust and ignominious death. The story of his persecutions and his fortitude is, perhaps, the most touching and noble that can be told of a Christian bishop.

In December, 1679, he was arrested and committed to Newgate, Dublin. Informations were sworn against him by two condemned Friars, named Mac Moyar and Duffy; but after they had so sworn, they suddenly left the kingdom and went over to London, preferring to prosecute there. The English Court of King's Bench received their testimony, and Plunkett, in October, 1680, after suffering ten months' incarceration, was removed to England. After being held seven months more in prison, he was, on the 3rd of May, 1681, arraigned at the bar of King's Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice. He then put in the plea that he had no notice of his arraignment; that he had been kept close prisoner since October, and had neither time nor liberty allowed him to send into Ireland for witness of his innocence. Thereon five weeks' time were allowed him to collect his witnesses, and on the 8th of June, 1681, he was again summoned to the bar. In the meanwhile, his messengers, in crossing the channel, had been put back by storm to Holyhead, and had not time afterwards to gather the scattered parties necessary to disprove so extensive an indictment. He asked ten days more, but that was peremptorily denied him. The Chief Justice told him his case must go on, and could not again be postponed.

The jury were then sworn in, Sir John Roberts being foreman.

The indictment was read, and the counsel for the prosecution spoke in succession. These were, Mr. Heath, Mr. Sergeant Maynard, Mr. Sergeant Jeffries, the Solicitor-General, and the Attorney-General. Then were called the witnesses for the crown: Wyer, Henry O'Neil, Edmond O'Murfey, and Friars Duffy and Mac Moyar. The sole witness that was present in Plunkett's favor was an unexpected one. His name is given as Gormar. He was a crown agent for procuring convictions, yet "a stranger" introduced him, at his own request, just as the trial was about to close. He admitted his occupation, but swore that in his opinion the primate "had always done more good than ill in Ireland." Sergeant Jeffries, in an unmerciful tirade, closed the prosecution, when the jury retired "for a quarter of an hour," and retured with a verdict of "Guilty." It was then the accused was heard in his own behalf. When Sir John Roberts pronounced his doom from the jury box, he merely exclaimed—"Deo gratias. God be praised." When asked if he had any reason to offer why the sentence should not be pronounced, he briefly recapitulated the arguments urged by him at the outset, and again asked for ten days' time. The Chief Justice then sentenced him to be hung, embowelled, and quartered on Friday, the 1st day of the succeeding month, (July,) at Tyburn.

On the appointed day of execution, Plunkett was carried on a hurdle to Tyburn. "A good, religious, quiet man," says Harris. "He suffered very decently," says Bigot Burnet, "expressing himself in many respects like a Christian bishop."

APPENDIX No. 1.

THE ARTICLES OF UNION.

RESOLVED, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 2. That for the purpose of establishing an Union upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, communicated by His Majesty's command in the message sent to this House by his excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty by his royal proclamation, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, 3. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner, as the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, 4. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 5. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the said United Parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same periods of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries, and that the Parliament of the United Kingdoms shall afterwards proceed in like manner, to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the United Parliament shall have declared as hereinafter provided, that the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, imposed on the like articles in both countries.

Resolved, 6. That for defraying the said expenses, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of the debt and sinking fund, shall, in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expense of the United Kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

Resolved, 7. That if at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution, and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the United Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of contribu-

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tion in time of war. *Provided*, The surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. *Provided*, That if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund,) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the United Parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expense of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the said United Parliament to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expenses, according to any of the rules hereinbefore provided.

Provided, nevertheless, That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionately as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the United Kingdom, shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that . . . . . lords spiritual of Ireland, and . . . . lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective Parliaments, by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Resolved, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be, heard and decided, subject nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the said United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Resolved, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities, and boroughs, respectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 16. That when His Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal and commons who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain shall together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Resolved, 17. That if His Majesty on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may, (in that case,) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain.

Resolved, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, should be united into one Church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to and enabled to sit in convocation of the United Church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preservation forever of the said United Church, as the Established Church of that part of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Resolved, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the Union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Resolved, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Resolved, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

Resolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either Kingdom, not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the Schedule No. 1;* and that the articles hereinafter enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. II.* annexed to this article, viz.:

Apparel,	Millinery,
Brass wrought,	Paper, stained,
Cabinet Ware,	Pottery,
Coaches and carriages,	Saddlery,
Copper, wrought,	Silk, manufactured,
Cottons,	Stockings,
Glass,	Thread, bullion for lace,
Haberdashery,	pearl, and spangles,
Hats,	Tin plates, wrought iron,
Lace, gold and silver; gold and silver threads	and hardware.

And that the woolen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicos and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportion, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn, and cotton twist, shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as

* This refers to Schedules annexed to the resolutions, as originally introduced.

shall be hereafter enacted, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Resolved 23. That any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles hereinbefore specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

Resolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

Resolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expenses of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. *Provided*, Nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

ORIGINAL RED LIST,

Or the Members who voted against the Union in 1799, *and* 1800, *with observations.*

Those names with a (*) affixed to them, are County Members; those with a (†) City Members; and those with a (§) Borough Members. Those in *Italics* CHANGED SIDES, and got either Money or Offices.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATION.
1.*	Honorable A. Acheson .	Son to Lord Gosford.
2.*	William C. Alcock . . .	County Wexford.
3.*	Mervyn Archdall . . .	County Fermanagh.
4.§	W. H. Armstrong . . .	Refused *all* terms from Government.
5.*	*Sir Richard Butler* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
6.*	*John Bagwell*	*Changed sides* TWICE. See Black List.
7.§	Peter Burrowes	Now Judge of the Insolvent Court; a steady Anti-Unionist.
8.*	*John Bagwell, Jun.* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
9.†	John Ball	Member for Drogheda—*incorruptible.*
10.†	Charles Ball	Brother to the preceding.
11.†	Sir Jonah Barrington . .	King's Counsel—Judge of the Admiralty—*refused all* terms.
12.§	Charles Bushe.	Afterwards Solicitor-General and Chief Justice of Ireland—incorruptible.
13.†	John C. Beresford . . .	*Seceded* from Mr. Ponsonby in 1799, on his declaration of independence. That secession was fatal to Ireland.
14.	*Arthur Brown*	Member for the University, *changed sides* in 1800; was appointed Prime Sergeant by Lord Castlereagh, through Mr. Under-Secretary Cooke—of all others the most open and palpable case. See Black List.
15.§	William Blakeney . . .	*A Pensioner*, but opposed Government.
16.*	William Burton	Sold his *Borough*, Carlow, to a Unionist (Lord Tullamore,) but remained staunch himself.
17.*	H. V. Brooke.	
18.§	Blayney Balfour.	
19.§	David Babington . . .	Connected with Lord Belmore.
20.†	Hon. James Butler . . .	(Now Marquis of Ormonde.) *voted in* 1800 *against a Union*, but with Government on Lord Corry's motion.
21.*	Col. J. Maxwell Barry . .	(Now Lord Farnham.) nephew to the Speaker.
22.§	*William Bagwell*	*Changed sides* TWICE, concluded as a *Unionist.* See Black List.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
23*	Viscount Corry	(Now Lord Belmore.) dismissed from his regiment by Lord Cornwallis—a zealous leader of the Opposition.
24.†	*Robert Crowe*	A Barrister, bribed by Lord Castlereagh. See his Letter to Lor Belvidere.
25.*	Lord Clements	(Now Lord Leitrim.)
26.*	Lord Cole	(Now Lord Enniskillen.) *unfortunately* dissented from Mr. Ponsonby's motion for a declaration of independence in 1799, *whereby* the Union was revived and *carried.*
27.§	Hon. Lowry Cole . . .	A General; brother to Lord Cole.
28.*	R. Shapland Carew . . .	
29.†	*Hon. A. Creighton* . . .	*Changed sides.* and became a Unionist. See Black List.
30.†	*Hon. J. Creighton* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
31.*	Joseph Edward Cooper.	
32.†	*James Cane*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
33.*	Lord Caulfield	(Now Earl Charlemont,) son to Earl Charlemont, a principal leader of the Opposition.
34.†	Henry Coddington.	
35.§	George Crookshank . . .	A son of the Judge of the Common Pleas.
36.*	Denis B Daly	Brother-in-law to Mr. Ponsonby; a most active Anti-Unionist.
37.†	Noah Dalway.	
38.*	Richard Dawson.	
39.*	Arthur Dawson	Formerly a Banker. father to the late Under-Secretary.
40.*	Francis Dobbs	Famous for his Doctrine on the-Millennium; an ENTHUSIASTIC Anti-Unionist.
41.†	John Egan	King's Council, Chairman of Kilmainham; offered a Judge's seat, but could not be purchased, though far from rich.
42.	R. L. Edgeworth.	
43.†	George Evans.	
44.*	Sir John Freke. Bart., . .	(Now Lord Carberry.)
45.*	Frederick Falkiner . . .	Though a distressed person, could not be purchased.
46.§	Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgerald. .	Prime Sergeant of Ireland; could *not* be bought, and was dismissed from his high office by Lord Cornwallis; father to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.
47.*	William C. Fortescue, (Poisoned by accident.) .	One of the three who inconsiderately opposed Mr. Ponsonby, *an thereby carried the Union.*
48.*	Rt. Hon. John Foster . .	Speaker; the chief of the Opposition throughout the whole contest
49.*	Hon. Thomas Foster.	
50.*	*Sir T. Fetherston, Bart.* .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
51.*	Arthur French	Unfortunately coincided with Mr. Fortescue in 1799, against Mr. Ponsonby.
52.§	*Chichester Fortescue* . . .	King at Arms; *brought over in* 1800, by Lord Castlereagh; voted both sides; *ended* a Unionist.
53.§	*William Gore*	*Bought* by Lord Castlereagh in 1800.
54.§	Hamilton Georges . . .	A distressed man. but *could not* be purchased; father-in-law to Under-Secretary Cooke.
55.§	Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan.	
56.§	Thomas Goold	Now Sergeant. brought into Parliament by the Anti-Unionists.
57.†	Hans Hamilton	Member for Dublin County.
58.†	Edward Hardman . . .	City of Drogheda; the Speaker's friend.
59.§	Francis Hardy	Author of the Life of Charlemont; brother-in-law to the Bishop of Down.
60.§	Sir Joseph Hoare . . .	
61.*	William Hoare Hume . .	Wicklow County.
62.§	Edward Hoare	Though *very old*, and *stone blind*, attended all the debates, and sat up all the nights of debate.
63.§	Bartholomew Hoare . .	King's Counsel.
64.§	Alexander Hamilton . .	King's Counsel; son to the Baron.
65.§	Hon. A. C Hamilton.	
66.§	Sir F. Hopkins, Bart. . .	Prevailed on to take money to *vacate*, in 1800, and let in a Unionist.
67.†	H. Irwin.	
68.*	Gilbert King.	
69.†	Charles King.	
70.*	Hon. Robert King.	
71.*	Lord Kingsborough . .	(Now Earl Kingston.)
72.	Hon. George Knox . . .	Brother to Lord Northland; lukewarm.
73.†	Francis Knox	Vacated his seat for Lord Castlereagh. See Mr. Crowe's Letter.
74.*	Rt. Hon. Henry King . .	
75.†	Major King	He opened the Bishop of Clogher's Borough in 1800.
76.§	Gustavus Lambert . . .	Brother to Countess Talbot.
77.*	David Latouche. jun., . .	A Banker.
78.§	Robert Latouche . . .	Ditto.
79.§	John Latouche, sen., . .	Ditto.

	NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
80.§	John Latouche, jun., . .	A Banker.
81.*	Charles Powell Leslie.	
82.*	Edward Lee	Member for the County of Waterford; zealous.
83.†	Sir Thomas Lighton, Bart.,	A Banker.
84.*	Lord Maxwell	Died Lord Farnham.
85.*	Alexander Montgomery.	
86.§	Sir J. M'Cartney, Bart., .	Much distressed, but could not be bribed; nephew, by affinity, to the Speaker.
87.§	*William Thomas Mansel* .	Actually *purchased* by Lord Castlereagh.
88.§	*Stephen Moore*	Changed sides on Lord Corry's motion.
89.§	John Moore.	
90.	Arthur Moore	Now Judge of the Common Pleas; a staunch Anti-Unionist.
91.*	Lord Mathew	(Now Earl Llandaff,) Tipperary County.
92.§	Thomas Mahon.	
93.§	John Metge	Brother to the Baron of the Exchequer.
94.§	*Richard Neville*	Had been a dismissed treasury officer; *sold his vote to be reinstated, changed sides.* See Black List.
95.§	Thomas Newenham . .	The Author of various Works on Ireland; one of the steadiest Anti-Unionists.
96.*	Charles O'Hara	Sligo County.
97.*	Sir Edward O'Brien . .	Clare County.
98.§	Col. Hugh O'Donnel . .	A most *ardent* Anti-Unionist; dismissed from his regiment of Mayo militia.
99.§	James Moore O'Donnel .	Killed by Mr. Bingham in a duel.
100.§	Hon. W. O'Callaghan . .	Brother to Lord Lismore.
101.	Henry Osborn	Could not be bribed; his brother was.
102.*	Right Hon. Geo. Ogle .	Wexford County.
103.§	Joseph Preston	An eccentric character; could not be purchased.
104.*	*John Preston*	Of Belintor, was *purchased* by a title. (Lord Tara,) and his brother, a Parson, got a living of £700 a year.
105.*	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Parnell .	Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed by Lord Castlereagh; incorruptible.
106.§	Henry Parnell.*	
107.§	W. C. Plunket	Now Lord Plunket.
108.*	Rt. Hon. W. B. Ponsonby	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby.
109.§	J. B. Ponsonby	Afterwards Lord Ponsonby..
110.§	Major W. Ponsonby . .	A General, killed at Waterloo.
111.*	Rt. Hon. G. Ponsonby .	Afterwards Lord Chancellor; died of apoplexy.
112.*	Sir Lawrence Parsons .	Kings County; now Earl of Rosse; made a remarkably fine speech.
113.§	Richard Power	Nephew to the Baron of the Exchequer.
114.*	*Abal Ram*	*Changed sides.*
115.*	*Gustavus Rochfort* . .	County Westmeath; seduced by Government, and *changed sides* in 1800. See Black List.
116.§	John S Rochfort . . .	Nephew to the Speaker.
117.	Sir Wm. Richardson.	
118.§	*John Reily*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
119.	William E. Reily.	
120.§	Charles Ruxton.	
121.§	William P. Ruxton.	
122.*	*Clotworthy Rowley* . . .	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
123.§	*William Rowley*	*Changed sides.* See Black List.
124.§	*J. Rowley*	*Changed sides.* See Black List
125.*	Francis Saunderson.	
126.*	William Smyth	Westmeath.
127.*	James Stewart.	
128.§	Hon. W. J. Skeffington.	
129.*	Francis Savage.	
130.§	Francis Synge.	
131.§	Henry Stewart.	
132.§	Sir R. St. George, Bart.	
133.§	*Hon. Benj. Stratford* . .	Now Lord Aldborough; gained by Lord Castlereagh; *changed sides.* See Black List.
134.*	Nathaniel Sneyd.	
135.*	*Thomas Stannus* . . .	*Changed sides.* Lord Portarlington's Member. See Black List.
136.§	Robert Shaw.	A Banker.
137.§	Rt. Hon. Wm. Saurin . .	Afterwards Attorney-General; a steady but calm Anti-Unionist.
138.§	William Tighe.	
139.§	Henry Tighe.	
140.§	John Taylor.	
141.§	Thomas Townshend.	

* Sir John Parnell was one of the ablest supporters of Government of his day. His son has taken assiduously a more extensive and deeper field of business in finance, but in any other point, public or private, has no advantage over his father.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS. O.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
142.* *Hon. Richard Trench.* .	Voted against the Union in 1799; was gained by Lord Castlereagh, whose relative he married, and voted for it in 1800, was created an Earl, and made an Ambassador to Holland; one of the Vienna Carvers; and a Dutch Marquess.
13.* Hon. R. Taylor.	
144 § Charles Vereker . . .	(Now Lord Gort,) City Limerick
145.§ Owen Wynne.	
146.* John Waller.	
147.§ E. D. Wilson.	
148.* *Thomas Whaley* . . .	First voted *against* the Union; *purchased* by Lord Castlereagh; he was Lord Clare's brother-in-law. See Black List
149.* Nicholas Westby.	
150.* John Wolfe	Member for the County Wicklow; Colonel of the Kildare Militia; refused to vote for Government, and was cashiered; could not be purchased.

ORIGINAL BLACK LIST.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
1. R. Aldridge	An English *Clerk* in the Secretary's office; *no* connection with Ireland.
2. Henry Alexander	Chairman of Ways and Means; cousin of Lord Caledon; his brother made a Bishop; himself a Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope.
3. Richard Archdall	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
4. William Bailey	Commissioner of the Board of Works.
5. Rt. Hon. J. Beresford . .	First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.
6. J. Beresford, jun., ...	Then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a Parson, and now Lord Decies.
7. Marcus Beresford	A Colonel in the Army, son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8. J. Bingham*	Created a Peer; got £8,000 for two seats; and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for *sale* to the Anti-Unionist; Lord Clanmorris.
9. Joseph H. Blake	*Created a Peer*—Lord Wallscourt, &c.
10. Sir J. G. Blackwood . . .	*Created a Peer*—Lord Dufferin.
11. Sir John Blaquiere . . .	Numerous Offices and Pensions, and created a Peer—Lord De Blaquiere.
12. Anthony Botet	Appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £500 a year.
13. Colonel Burton	Brother to Lord Conyngham; a Colonel in the Army.
14. *Sir Richard Butler* . . .	Purchased and changed sides; voted *against* the Union in 1799, and *for* it in 1800. Cash.
15. Lord Boyle	Son to Lord Shannon; they got an *immense* sum of money for their seats and Boroughs; at £15,000 each Borough.
16. Rt. Hon. D. Brown . . .	Brother to Lord Sligo.
17. Stewart Bruce	Gentleman Usher at Dublin Castle; now a Baronet.
18. George Burdet	Commissioner of a Public Board. £500 per annum.
19. George Bunbury	Commissioner of a Public Board. £500 per annum.
20. *Arthur Brown*	*Changed sides and principles.* and was appointed Sergeant; in 1799 opposed the Union, and supported it in 1800; he was Senior Fellow of Dublin University; lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.
21. ——— *Bagwell, sen.,* . . .	*Changed* TWICE; got half the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, &c., &c.
22. ——— *Bagwell, jun.,* . . .	*Changed* TWICE; got the Tipperary Regiment, &c.
23. William Bagwell	His brother.
24. Lord Castlereagh	The Irish Minister.
25. George Cavendish	Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure; son to Sir Henry.
26. Sir H. Cavendish	Receiver General during pleasure; deeply indebted to the Crown.
27. Sir R. Chinnery	Placed in office after the Union.
28. James Cane	Renegaded, and got a pension.
29. Thomas Casey	A Commission of Bankrupts under Lord Clare; made a City Magistrate.
30. Colonel C. Pope	Renegaded; got a Regiment, and the patronage of his county
31. General Cradock	Returned by Government; much military rank; now Lord Howden.
32. James Crosby	A regiment and the patronage of Kerry, jointly; seconded the Address.
33. Edward Cooke	Under-Secretary at the Castle.

* The Author of this work was deputed to learn from Mr. Bingham what his expectations from Government for his seats were; he proposed to take from the Opposition £8,000 for his two seats for Tuam, and oppose the Union. Government afterwards added a Peerage and £15,000 for the Borough.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
34. Charles H. Coote	Obtained a Regiment (which was taken from Colonel Warburton,) patronage of Queens County, and a Peerage. (Lord Castle coote.) and £7.500 in cash for his interest at the Borough of Maryborough, in which, in fact, it was *proved* before the Commissioners that Sir Jonah Barrington had more interest than his Lordship.
35. Rt. Hon. I. Corry	Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
36. Sir J. Cotter.	Privately brought over by cash.
37. Richard Cotter.	
38. Hon. H. Creighton 39. Hon. J. Creighton . . .	Renegaded (see Red List) privately purchased.
40. W. A. Crosbie	Comptroller to the Lord-Lieutenant's Household.
41. James Cuffe	Natural son to Mr. Cuffe of the Board of Works, his father created Lord Tyrawly.
42. General Dunne.	Returned for Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and Government, to keep out Mr. Barrington; gained the election by only *one*.
43. William Elliot	Secretary at the Castle.
44. General Eustace	A Regiment.
45. Lord C. Fitzgerald . . .	Duke of Leinster's brother; a Pension and a Peerage; a Sea Officer of no repute.
46. Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald.	
47. Sir C. Fortescue	Renegaded (see Red List) Officer, King at Arms.
48. A. Fergusson	Got a place at the Barrack Board, £500 a year and a Baronetcy.
49. Luke Fox	Appointed Judge of Common Pleas; nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
50. William Fortescue . . .	Got a secret Pension, out of a fund (£3.000 a year.) intrusted by Parliament to the Irish Government, solely to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, &c., &c., and those who informed against rebels.
51. J. Galbraith	Lord Abercorn's Attorney; got a Baronetage.
52. Henry D. Grady*	First Counsel to the Commissioners.
53. Richard Hare	Put two members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
54. William Hare	His son.
55 Col. B. Henniker	A regiment, and paid £3,500 for his Seat by the Commissioners of Compensation.
56. Peter Holmes	A Commissioner of Stamps.
57. George Hatton	Appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
58. Hon. J Hutchinson . . .	A General—Lord Hutchinson.
59. Hugh Howard	Lord Wicklow's brother, made Postmaster-General.
60. Wm. Handcock, (Athlone.).	An extraordinary instance; he made and sang songs *against* the Union in 1799, at a public dinner of the Opposition, and made and sang songs *for* it in 1800; he got a Peerage.
61. John Hobson	Appointed Storekeeper at the Castle Ordnance.
62. Col. G. Jackson	A Regiment.
63. Denham Jephson	Master of Horse to the Lord-Lieutenant.
64. Hon. G. Jocelyn	Promotion in the Army, and his brother consecrated *Bishop of Lismore*.
65. William Jones.	
66. Theophilus Jones	Collector of Dublin.
67. Major-General Jackson . .	A Regiment.
68. William Johnson	Returned to Parliament by Lord Castlereagh, as he himself declared, "to put an end to it;" appointed a Judge since.
69. Robert Johnson	Seceded from his patron, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a Judge.
70. John Keane	A Renegade; got a Pension; See Red List.
71. James Kearny	Returned by Lord Clifton being his Attorney; got an office.
72. Henry Kemmis	Son to the Crown Solicitor.
73. William Knot	Appointed a Commissioner of Appeals £800 a year.
74. Andrew Knox.	
75. Colonel Keatinge.	
76. Rt. Hon Sir H. Langrishe .	A Commissioner of the Revenue, received £15,000 cash for his patronage at Knoctopher.
77. T. Lingray, sen., ...	Commissioner of Stamps, paid £1.500 for his patronage.
78. T. Lindsay, jun., ...	Usher at the Castle, paid £1.500 for his patronage.
79. J. Longfield	Created a Peer; Lord Longueville.
80. Capt. J. Longfield. . . .	Appointed to the office of Ship Entries of Dublin taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.

* This gentleman was known to be entirely indisposed to a Union, but peculiar circumstances prevented him imperatively but honorably from following his own impression. Sir Jonah Barrington communicated to Mr. George Ponsonby these causes, as he thought it but justice to Mr. Grady, who, on some occasions, did not conceal his sentiments, and acted fairly.

BIGHES. ENG. COLUMBUS, O.

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.
81. Lord Loftus	Son to Lord Ely, Postmaster-General; got £30,000 for their Boroughs, and created an English Marquis.
82. General Lake	An Englishman (no connection with Ireland;) returned by Lord Castlereagh, *solely* to vote for the Union.
83. Rt. Hon. David Latouche.	
84. General Loftus	A General; got a Regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
85. Francis M'Namara . . .	Cash and a private pension, paid by Lord Castlereagh.
86. Ross Mahon	Several appointments and places by Government.
87. Richard Martin	Commissioner of Stamps.
88. Rt. Hon. Monk Mason . .	A Commissioner of Revenue.
89. H. D. Massy	Received £4,000 cash.
90. Thomas Mahon.	
91. A. E. M'Naghten	Appointed a Lord of the Treasury, &c.
92. Stephen Moore	A Postmaster at will.
93. N. M. Moore.	
94. Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris .	Created a Peer.
95. Sir R. Musgrave	Appointed Receiver of the Customs, £1,200 a year.
96. James M'Cleland	A Barrister—appointed Solicitor General, and then a Baron of the Exchequer.
97. Col. C. M'Donnel. . . .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
98. Richard Magenness . . .	Commissioner of Imprest Accounts, £500 per annum.
99. Thomas Nesbit	A Pensioner at will.
100. *Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.*	Bought, (see Memoir *ante*,) and a Peerage for his wife.
101. Richard Neville	Renegaded; reinstated as Teller of the Exchequer.
102. William Odell.	A Regiment, and Lord of the Treasury.
103. Charles Osborne	A Barrister; appointed a Judge of the King's Bench.
104. C. M. Ormsby	Appointed First Council Commissioner.
105. Admiral Pakenham . . .	Master of the Ordnance.
106. Col. Pakenham	A Regiment; killed at New Orleans.
107. H. S. Prittie	A Peerage—Lord Dunalley.
108. R. Pennefather.	
109. T. Prendergast	An office in the Court of Chancery, £500 a-year; his brother Crown Solicitor.
110. Sir Richard Quin . . .	A Peerage.
111. Sir Boyle Roche	Gentleman Usher at the Castle.
112. R. Rutledge.	
113. Hon. C. Rowley	Renegaded, and appointed to office by Lord Castlereagh.
114. Hon. H. Skeffington . . .	Clerk of the Paper Office of the Castle, and £7,500 for his patronage.
115. William Smith	A Barrister; appointed a Baron of the Exchequer.
116. H. M. Sandford	Created a Peer; Lord Mount Sandford.
117. Edmond Stanley	Appointed Commissioner of Accounts.
118. John Staples.	
119. John Stewart	Appointed Attorney-General, and created a Baronet.
120. John Stratton.	
121. *Hon. B. Stratford* . . .	Renegaded to get £7,500, his half of the compensation for Baltinglass.
122. *Hon. J. Stratford* . . .	Paymaster of Foreign Forces, £1,300 a-year, and £7,500 for Baltinglass.
123. Richard Sharkey. . . .	An obscure Barrister; appointed a County Judge.
124. *Thomas Stannus*. . . .	Renegaded.
125. J. Savage.	
126. Rt. Hon. J. Toler . . .	Attorney-General; his wife, an old woman, created a Peeress; himself made Chief Justice and a Peer.
127. Frederick Trench . . .	Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Works.
128. Hon. R. Trench	A Barrister; created a Peer, and made an Ambassador. See Red List.
129. Charles Trench	His brother; appointed Commissioner of Inland Navigation—a new office created by Lord Cornwallis, for rewards.
130. Richard Talbot.	
131. P. Tottenham	Compensation for patronage; cousin, and politically connected with Lord Ely.
132. Lord Tyrone	104 offices in the gift of his family; proposed the Union in Parliament, by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133. Charles Tottenham . . .	In office.
134 ——— Townsend . . .	A Commissioner.
135. Robert Tighe	Commissioner of Barracks.
136. Robert Uniack	A Commissioner; connected with Lord Clare.
137. James Verner.	Called the Prince of Orange.
138. J. O. Vandeleur	Commissioner of the Revenue; his brother a Judge.
139. Colonel Wemyss	Collector of Kilkenny.
140. Henry Westenraw . . .	Father of Lord Rossmore, who is of the very reverse of his father's politics.

RICHES. ENG. COLUMBUS.

APPENDIX No. III.

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

2d JULY, 1800.

WHEREAS, In pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the Parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the Parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two Parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles, for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following :—

ARTICLE I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and forever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies ; and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as His Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Article II. That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Article III That it be the third article of Union, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Article IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom ; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That such act as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof ; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the Parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting ; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the Parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be.

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom ; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election ; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.

That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union ; *Provided*, That no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct ; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that

part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for His Majesty his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the United Kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the United Kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; *Provided*, That nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, reported to His Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to His Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the Parliament of the United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities, and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That when His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding a first or any subsequent Parliament of the United Kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

That if His Majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; then the said lords and commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first Parlitment of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first Parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may by law now continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: *Provided always*, That until an act shall have passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown of Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall

otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the Parliament of Great Britain

That the lords of Parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of Parliament which shall belong to the lords of Parliament on the part of Great Britain: and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted); and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, existing at the time of the Union shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union shall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the United Kingdom, so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the United Kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the United Kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

Article V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland;* and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be and shall remain in full force forever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Article VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, His Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

That, from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the Schedule Number One, A. and B., hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the Schedule Number Two, hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said Schedule Number Two; and the woolen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain shall be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions, as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per centum from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule

Number One, A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the United Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: *Provided always*, That nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

Article VII. That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average; viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the United Kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall from time to time deem fit; *Provided always*, That in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; *Provided*, That the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all moneys to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; *Provided*, That, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each

separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand; that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before described; *Provided nevertheless*, That the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country; that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct; that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Article VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require. *Provided*, That all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom; *And provided*, That from and after the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to His Majesty's delegates in his Court of Chancery in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas, the said articles having, by address of the respective Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before His Majesty, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles; in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect forever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one. *Provided*, That before that period an act shall have been passed by the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

[Here follows the supplementary enactment for regulating the mode of summoning the Irish lords and commons to sit in the then current United Parliament. This enactment is sufficiently described in the text.]

APPENDIX No. IV.

PROCLAMATIONS FOUND IN EMMET'S ARMS-DEPOTS, INTENDED TO BE ISSUED ON THE DAY OF THE OUTBREAK.

The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland:—

"You are now called upon to show to the world that you are competent to take your place among nations, that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system, which has been organized within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of external assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience; which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the development of this system, you will show to the people of England, that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress. You will show them, that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count upon its obedience; under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them, that the question, which it now behooves them to take into serious and instant consideration, is not, whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will *drive us beyond separation;* whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they will take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds—a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and unalterable determination.

"If the secrecy, with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose, that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence, which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other, to look only at our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be a signal for insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound, at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We, therefore, solemnly declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives, that we will never, but at the express call of our country, abandon our post till the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England, and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country, while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration which we call on the people of Ireland to support. And we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralyzed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost by its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the NORTH to stand up and shake off their slumber and oppressions.

"CITIZENS OF DUBLIN:

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath and faithful to their engagement as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression.

"In this endeavor they are now successfuly engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal cooperation from the country, every part of which, from the extremity of the North to that of the South, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause. Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented, to many of you, notice of our plan, but the erection of our national standard, the sacred, though long degraded, Green, will be sufficient to call to arms and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism or sense of duty. Avail yourselves of your local advantages—in a city each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery—impede the march of your oppressors—charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike—and from your windows and roofs hurl stones, bricks, bottles and all other convenient implements, on the head of the satellites of your tyrant, the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its tyrant—attempt not an opposition, which will carry with it your inevitable destruction. Return from your paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert. All sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of your object. Repress, prevent and discourage excesses, pillage and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember, that during public agitation inaction becomes a crime. Be no other competition known than that of doing good; remember against whom you fight; your oppressors for six hundred years. Remember their massacres, their tortures—remember your murdered friends—your burned houses—your violated females—keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her high rank among nations, and in the honest terror of feeling, let us exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that, which will be last of all."

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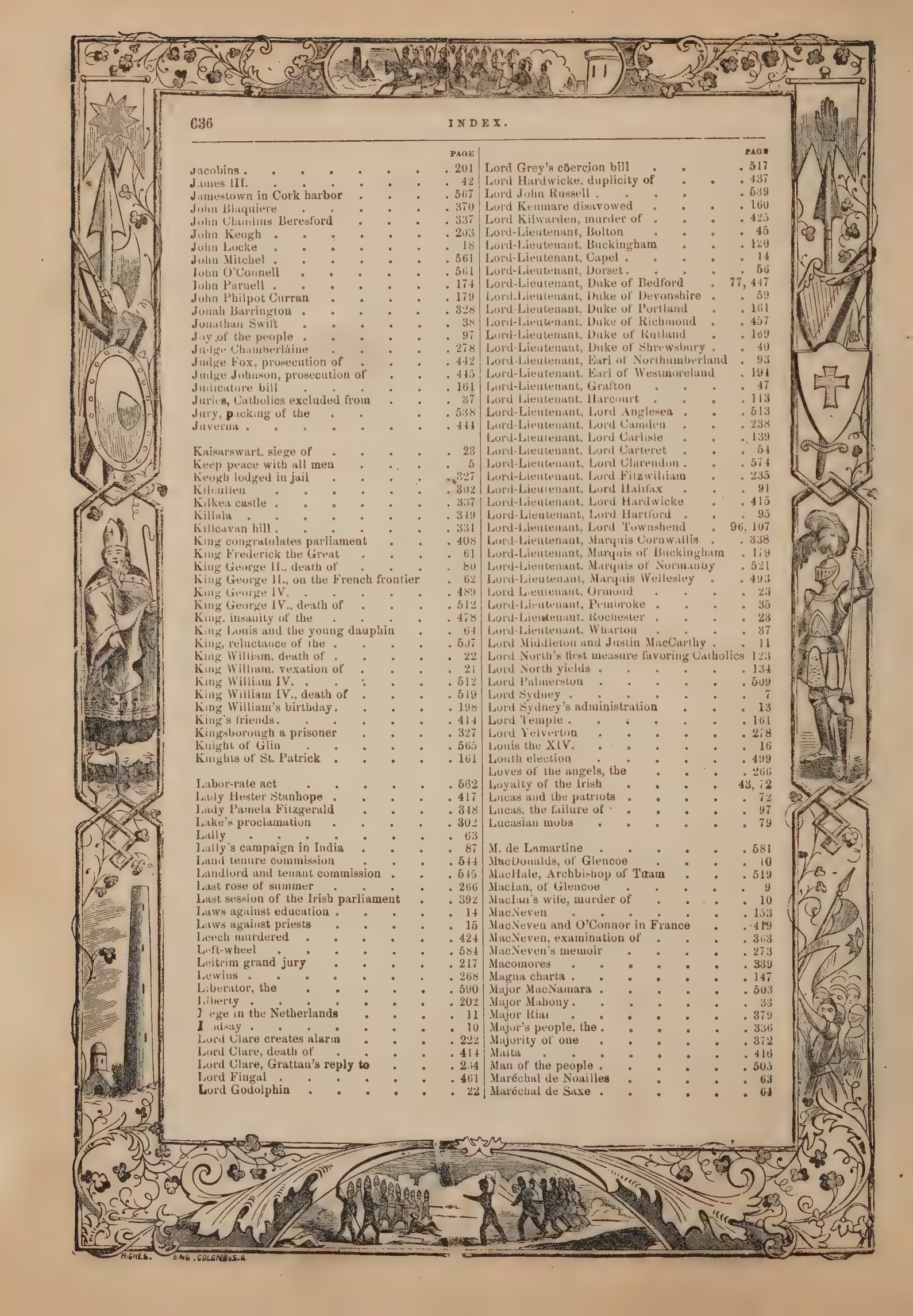
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